EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century

Victor Spinei

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Florin Curta

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archives de l'Athos* (Paris).
AARMSI	*Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (Bucharest).
ActaArchHung	*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest).
AD	*Analele Dobrogei* (Cernăuți–Constanța).
AECO	*Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* (Budapest).
AEMA	*Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (Wiesbaden).
a.H.	anno Hegirae.
AII(A)	*Anuarul Institutului de Istorie (şi Arheologie) ("A. D. Xenopol")* (Iaşi).
AIM	*Археологические исследования в Молдавии* (Kishinev).
AKM	*Археологическая карта Молдавской ССР* (Kishinev).
AM	*Arheologia Moldovei* (Iaşi–Bucharest).
Anonymus	P. Magistri qui Anonymus dicitur, *Gesta Hungarorum*, eds. A. Jakubovich—D. Pais, in *SRH*, I.
AO…G	*Археологическая открытия…года* (Moscow).
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest).
ASAI	*Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников* (Moscow–Leningrad).
ASUI	*Analele Ştiințifice ale Universității "Al.I.Cuza" din Iaşi* (Iaşi).
BBR	*Buletinul Bibliotecii Române. Studii şi documente româneşti* (Freiburg i. Br.).
BMNIN	*Buletinul Muzeului Național de Istorie Naturală din Chişinău* (Chişinău).
BSGR	*Buletinul Societății Geografice Române* (Bucharest).
BSRRG	*Buletinul Societății Regale Române de Geografie* (Bucharest).
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Munich).
Cantemir, *DM*	Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei*, trans. Gh. Guțu, commentary N. Stoicescu (Bucharest, 1973).

Călători, I–X	*Călători străini despre Ţările Române* (Bucharest), I (1968)—ed. M. Holban; II (1970); III (1971); IV (1972); V (1973); VII (1980); VIII (1983); IX (1997); X, 1 (2000); X, 2 (2001)—eds. M. Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu; VI (1976)—eds. M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, M. A. Mehmet.
CIs	*Cercetări istorice* (Iaşi).
Coman, *Statornicie*	G. Coman, *Statornicie, continuitate. Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Vaslui* (Bucharest, 1980).
CPict	*Chronicon pictum Vindobonense* (*IIR*, XI) (1937).
Curta, *Southeastern Europe*	F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge, 2006).
DAI, I, II	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* [I], eds. G. Moravcsik—R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, 1967); II, *Commentary*, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins (London, 1962).
Diaconu, *Coumans*	P. Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles* (Bucharest, 1978).
Diaconu, *Petchénègues*	P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube* (Bucharest, 1970).
DID, II, III	R. Vulpe, I. Barnea, *Romanii la Dunărea de jos* (*Din istoria Dobrogei*, II) (Bucharest, 1968); I. Barnea, Şt. Ştefănescu, *Bizantini, români şi bulgari la Dunărea de Jos* (*Din istoria Dobrogei*, III) (Bucharest, 1971).
DIR,A; C, v . . .	*Documente privind istoria României* (Bucharest), *A. Moldova, veacul XVI*, I (1953); II (1951); III (1951); IV (1952); *veacul XVII*, I (1952); II (1953); III (1954); IV (1956); V (1957); *C. Transilvania*, *veacul XI, XII şi XIII*, I (1951).
DPM	*Далекое прошлое Молдавии*, eds. N. A. Chetraru, V. I. Marchevici, L. L. Polevoi (gen. ed.), G. D. Smirnov (Kishinev, 1969).

DRH,A; B; C; D *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (Bucharest), *A. Moldova*, I (1975); XXI (1971); XXII (1974)—eds. C. Cihodaru, I. Caproşu, and L. Şimanschi; II (1976)—ed. L. Şimanschi, in collab. with G. Ignat and D. Agache; III (1980)—eds. C. Cihodaru, I. Caproşu, and N. Ciocan; VI (2008); XXVI (2003)—ed. I. Caproşu; XVIII (2006)—eds. I. Caproşu and V. Constantinov; XIX (1969)—ed. H. Chirca; XXIII (1996)—eds. L. Şimanschi, N. Ciocan, G. Ignat, and D. Agache; XXIV (1998)—eds. C. Cihodaru and I. Caproşu; XXV (2003)—eds. N. Ciocan, D. Agache, G. Ignat, and M. Chelcu; XXVII (2005)—eds. P. Zahariuc, C. Chelcu, M. Chelcu, S. Văcaru, N. Ciocan, D. Ciurea; *B. Ţara Românească*, I (1966)—eds. P. P. Panaitescu and D. Mioc; II (1972); VI (1985); VII (1988)—eds. Şt. Ştefănescu and O. Diaconescu; III (1975); IV (1981)—eds. D. Mioc and collab.; V (1983)—eds. D. Mioc and M. Adam-Chiper; VIII (1996)—eds. D. Mioc and I. Constantinescu; XI (1975)—eds. D. Mioc, Şt. Ştefănescu, M. Adam, C. Bălan, M. Bălan, S. Caracaş, R. Cămărăşescu, O. Diaconescu, C. Fotino; XXI (1965); XXII (1969); XXIII (1969)—ed. D. Mioc; XXIV (1974)—eds. D. Mioc, S. Caracaş, and C. Bălan (1974); XXV (1985)—eds. D. Mioc, M. Bălan, R. Cămărăşescu, and C. Fotino; XXXI (2003); XXXV (2003)—eds. V. Barbu, C. Ghiţulescu, A. Iancu, Gh. Lazăr, O. Rizescu; XXXII (2001)—eds. V. Barbu and Gh. Lazăr, in collab. with O. Rizescu; XXXIII (2006)—eds. Gh. Lazăr, C. Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, A. Iancu; XXXIV (2002)—eds. V. Barbu, Gh. Lazăr, O. Rizescu; XXXVI (2006)—eds. O. Rizescu and M.-D. Ciucă; XXXVII (2006)—eds. V. Barbu, C. Bălan, F. M. Constantin; *C. Transilvania*, X (1977)—red. Şt. Pascu, eds. S. Belu, I. Dani, A. Răduţiu, V. Pervain, K. G. Gündisch; XI (1981)—red. Şt. Pascu, eds. I. Dani, A. Răduţiu, V. Pervain, K. G. Gündisch, S. Belu; XII (1985)—red. Şt. Pascu,

	eds. A. Răduţiu, V. Pervain, S. Belu, I. Dani, M. Wolf; XIII (1994)—eds. I. Dani, K. Gündisch, V. Pervain, A. Răduţiu, A. Rusu, S. Andea; *D. Relaţii între Ţările Române*, I (1977)—eds. Şt. Pascu, C. Cihodaru, K. G. Gündisch, D. Mioc, V. Pervain.
Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*	G. B. Fedorov, G. F. Chebotarenko, *Памятники древних славян (VI–XIII вв.) (АКМ*, 6) (1974).
Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*	G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Кочевники Восточной Европы под властью золотоордынских ханов* (Moscow, 1966).
FHB	*Извори за българската история / Fontes historiae Bulgaricae* (Sofia).
FHDR, I–IV	*Fontes historiae Daco-Romanae* (Bucharest), I (1964)—eds. V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu, Gh. Ştefan; II (1970)—eds. H. Mihăescu, Gh. Ştefan, R. Hâncu, Vl. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu; III (1975)—eds. Al. Elian and N.-Ş. Tanaşoca; IV (1982)—eds. H. Mihăescu, R. Lăzărescu, N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, T. Teoteoi.
Gombos, I–III	A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stripe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCI* (Budapest), I, II (1937); III (1938).
HGR	*Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands*, eds. M. Hellmann, K. Zernack, G. Schramm, I, *Bis 1613. Von der Kiever Reichsbildung bis zum Moskauer Zartum*, ed. M. Hellmann, 1 (Stuttgart, 1981).
Hurmuzaki	E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Bucharest), I (1887); II, 4 (1894)—ed. N. Densuşianu; I, 2 (1890); II, 2 (1891); II, 3 (1892)—eds. N. Densuşianu, E. Kalužniacki; I, supl. 1 (1886)—eds. Gr. G. Tocilescu, A. I. Odobescu; II, 1 (1891)—ed. I. Slavici.
Hust.let.	*Густинская летопись*, in PSRL, II (St. Petersburg, 1843).
IIR	*Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, ed. G. Popa-Lisseanu (Bucharest).

Iorga, *Histoire*, II, III	N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, II, III (Bucharest).
Ip.let.	*Ипатіевская летопись*, in *PSRL*, II (St. Petersburg, 1843).
Ip.let.-2 =	*Ипатьевская летопись*, in *PSRL*, II, ed. A. A. Shakhmatov (St. Petersburg, 1908).
Ist.Rom., I, II	*Istoria României* (Bucharest), I, eds. C. Daicoviciu, E. Condurachi, I. Nestor, Gh. Ştefan, M. D. Matei (1960); II, eds. A. Oţetea, M. Berza, B. T. Câmpina, Şt. Pascu, Şt. Ştefănescu (1962).
IVESV	*Юго-Восточная Европа в средние века*, I, eds. I. G. Budak, Ia. S. Grosul (gen. ed.), V. D. Koroliuk, L. L. Polevoi, P. V. Sovetov (Kishinev, 1972).
Izv.-Kishinev	*Известия Молдавского филиала Академии Наук СССР (= Известия Академии Наук Молдавской ССР, Серия общественных наук)* (Kishinev/Chişinău).
Kedrenos, I, II	Georgii Cedreni *Compendium historiarum*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn), I (1838); II (1839).
KS	*Краткие сообщения (Института Истории материальной культуры) (= Института Археологии АН СССР)* (Moscow).
Let.Voskr. =	*Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, in *PSRL*, VII (St. Petersburg, 1856).
MA	*Memoria Antiquitatis* (Piatra Neamţ).
MASP	*Материалы по археологии Северного Причерноморья* (Odessa–Kiev).
MCA	*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice* (Bucharest).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
MGH,SS	*MGH, Scriptores* (Hannover).
MIA	*Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР* (Moscow–Leningrad).
Nik.let., I, II	*Летописный сборникъ, именуемый Патріаршею или Никоновскою летописью* [I,] in *PSRL*, IX (St. Petersburg, 1862); [II,] in *PSRL*, X (St. Petersburg, 1885).
NPL	*Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, ed. A. A. Nasonov (Moscow–Leningrad, 1950).

Orient.Ber.	H. Göckenjan and I. Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter. Die Ǧayhānī-Tradition (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Hudūd al-'Ālam, al-Bakrī und al-Marwazī)* (Wiesbaden, 2001).
Pascu, *Trans.*, I, II	Şt. Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (Cluj[–Napoca]), I (1971); II (1979).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Patrologiae graecae*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris).
PGM	*Проблемы географии Молдавии* (Kishinev).
Plano Carpini	Iohannes de Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, in *SF*.
Pletneva, *Pechenegi*	S. A. Pletneva, *Печенеги, торки и половцы в южнорусских степях*, in *MIA*, 62 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1958), pp. 151–226.
Psellos, I, II	Michel Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, ed. É. Renauld (Paris), I (1926); II (1928).
PSRL	*Полное собрание русских летописей* (St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad–Moscow).
PVL, I, II	*Повесть временных лет*, I, ed. D. S. Likhachev, red. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts; II, *Приложение*, ed. D. S. Likhachev (Moscow–Leningrad, 1950).
Relations	*Relations between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, eds. M. Constantinescu, Şt. Pascu, and P. Diaconu (Bucharest, 1975).
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes* (Bucharest).
RIR	*Revista istorică română* (Bucharest).
RIs	*(Studii.) Revista de istorie* (Bucharest).
RRH	*Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (Bucharest).
Rubruck	Guillelmus de Rubruc, *Itinerarium*, in *SF*.
SA	*Советская археология* (Moscow).
SAI	*Studii şi articole de istorie* (Bucharest).
SCIV(A)	*Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie)* (Bucharest).
SCN	*Studii şi cercetări de numismatică* (Bucharest).
SF	*Sinica Franciscana*, I, *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert (Ad Claras Aquas/Quaracchi–Florence, 1929).

Simon de Keza	Simonis de Keza *Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. A. Domanovszky, in *SRH*, I.
SK	*Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1–10 (Prague); 11 (Belgrade).
Skylitzes	Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1973).
SMIM	*Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, 1–16 (Bucharest); 17–25 (Brăila).
Spinei, *Moldova*	V. Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV* (Bucharest, 1982).
Spinei, *Great Migrations*, I, II	V. Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, I, *Hungarians, Pechenegs and Uzes*; II, *Cumans and Mongols*, 2nd ed., trans. D. Bădulescu (Amsterdam, 2006).
SRH, I, II	*Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery (Budapest), I (1937); II (1938).
Teodor, *Teritoriul*	D. Gh. Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic în veacurile V–IX e.n.* (Iaşi, 1978).
Tiesenhausen, I, II	*Сборник материалов относящихся к истории Золотой Орды*, I, ed. V. Tiesenhausen (St. Petersburg, 1884); II, ed. V. G. Tiesenhausen, red. A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin (Moscow–Leningrad, 1941).
VEDS	*Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье*, ed. L. V. Cherepnin (Moscow, 1978).
Zaharia, etc., *Aşezări*	N. Zaharia, M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, and Em. Zaharia, *Aşezări din Moldova. De la paleolitic pînă în secolul al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest, 1970).
ZOO	*Записки Одесского общества истории и древностей* (Odessa).

INTRODUCTION

The hardly reconcilable confrontation between sedentary agricultural communities and nomadic pastoralists is a quite well known aspect in the history of mankind. The antagonism between the two types of societies has been caused by the incompatibility between two systems of subsistence, and that antagonism manifested itself in many ways, in various parts of the world. The Carpathian-Danubian area particularly favoured the development of sedentary life, throughout the millennia, but, at various times, nomadic pastoralists of the steppes also found this area favourable to their own way of life.

The author of the present volume aims to investigate the relationships between Romanians and nomadic Turkic groups in the southern half of Moldavia, north of the Danube Delta, between the tenth century and the great Mongol invasion of 1241–1242. Due to the basic features of its landscape, the above-mentioned area, which includes a vast plain, became the main political stage of the Romanian ethnic space, a stage on which local communities had to cope with the pressures of successive intrusions of nomadic Turks, attracted by the rich pastures north of the Lower Danube. Other areas inhabited by Romanians (with the exception of the Bărăgan plain and Dobrudja) were significantly less affected by Turkic invasions and occupations than southern Moldavia.

The geographic area at issue includes the southern half of Moldavia, within its medieval boundaries: the Carpathians in the west, the Milcov, the Putna, the Siret, the Danube and the Black Sea in the south, and the Dniester in the east.

My approach does not follow the beaten tracks, nor does it represent a total breakthrough. The chosen topic has not been neglected by historiographers; on the contrary, it has been dealt with in outstanding works, and it has enjoyed scientific attention. With no intention of enumerating all the significant contributions in the field, or of assessing them, mention must be made of the works of Ilie Gherghel,[1] Ioan Ferenţ,[2] Nicolae

[1] I. Gherghel, *Zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens* (Vienna, 1891); idem, "Cercetări privitoare la istoria cumanilor," *Revista Tinerimea română*, NS, 2 (1899), pp. 263–269; 3 (1899), pp. 387–392; 5 (1900), pp. 114–118.

[2] I. Ferenţ, *Cumanii şi episcopiile lor* (Blaj, [1931]).

Iorga,[3] Petre Diaconu[4] and Ion Chirtoagă.[5] Those works highlighted the various levels of knowledge specific to the periods in which they were written. The problem of the Romanian-Turkic relations is also reflected in synthetic works on Romanian medieval history, as well as in other studies that will be mentioned below. In trying to define the place of Turkic nomads in the complicated context of medieval events, and, implicitly, in trying to achieve a clearer vision of the specific character of the relations between those nomads and the Romanians, the works on Turkic history published by the following authors can prove to be of much help: Vasilii Grigorovich Vasilievskii,[6] Piotr V. Golubovskii,[7] Joseph Marquart,[8] D. Rassovsky (D. A. Rasovskii),[9] Svetlana Aleksandrovna Pletneva,[10] German Alekseevich Fedorov-Davydov,[11] Omeljan

[3] N. Iorga, "Imperiul cumanilor şi domnia lui Băsărabă. Un capitol din colaboraţia româno-barbară în evul mediu," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 8 (1927–1928), pp. 97–103 (reprint in idem, *Studii asupra evului mediu românesc*, ed. Ş. Papacostea (Bucharest, 1984), pp. 67–71); idem, *Histoire*, III, pp. 34–44 and 68–74; idem, "Revelaţii toponimice pentru istoria neştiută a românilor, I, Teleormanul," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 23 (1940–1941), pp. 333–350.

[4] Diaconu, *Petchénègues*; idem, *Coumans*.

[5] I. Chirtoagă, *Din istoria Moldovei de Sud-Est până în anii '30 ai secolului al XIX-lea* (Chişinău, 1999), pp. 26–70.

[6] V. G. Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги (1048–1094)," in idem, *Труды*, I (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 1–117.

[7] P. Golubovskii, *Печенеги, торки и половцы до нашествія татаръ* (Kiev, 1884); idem, *Половцы въ Венгріи* (Kiev, 1889).

[8] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903); idem, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in W. Bang and J. Marquart, "Ostürkische Dialektstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, NF, 13 (1914), no. 1, pp. 25–238.

[9] D. Rassovsky [D. A. Rasovskii], "Печенеги, торки и берендеи на Руси и въ Угріи," *SK* 6 (1933), pp. 1–66; idem, "Половцы," *SK* 7 (1935), pp. 245–262; 8 (1936), pp. 161–182; 9 (1937), pp. 71–85; 10 (1938), pp. 155–178; 11 (1940), pp. 95–128.

[10] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, pp. 151–226; eadem, "Половецкая земля," in *Древнерусские княжества X–XIII вв.*, eds. L. G. Beskrovnyi (gen. ed.), V. A. Kuchkin, V. T. Pashuto (Moscow, 1975), pp. 260–300; eadem, "Кочевники восточноевропейских степей в X–XIII вв," in *Степи Евразии в эпоху средневековья*, ed. S. A. Pletneva (Moscow, 1981), pp. 213–222; eadem, *Кочевники средневековья* (Moscow, 1982); eadem, *Половцы* (Moscow, 1990); eadem, *Печенеги и гузы на Нижнем Дону (по материалом кочевнического могильника у Саркела-Белой Вежи)* (Moscow, 1990); eadem, *Кочевники южнорусских степей в эпоху средневековья IV–XIII века. Усобное пособие* (Voronezh, 2003); eadem, *Древнерусский город в кочевой степи (опыт историко-стратиграфического исследования)* (Simferopol, 2006).

[11] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*; idem, *Искусство кочевников и Золотой Орды* (Moscow, 1976).

Pritsak,[12] Peter G. Golden,[13] Andrei Olegovich Dobroliubskii,[14] Jean-Paul Roux,[15] András Páloczi Horváth,[16] Igor O. Kniaz'kii,[17] Petro Petrovich Tolochko,[18] István Vásáry,[19] etc. Besides appearing in individual volumes,[20] the issues of the evolution of later nomad Turkic tribes in eastern and south-eastern Europe have been approached in numerous collected volumes on various topics. Outstanding among those are, by their amplitude and diversity of subjects, the first two volumes of an extensive work devoted to the history and civilization of Turkic peoples,

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[12] O. Pritsak, "Das Kiptschakische," in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, I, eds. J. Deny, K. Grønbech, H. Scheel, Z. V. Togan (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 74–87; idem, "Половці," *Український історик* 10 (1973), nos. 1–2 (37–38), pp. 112–118; idem, "The Pečenegs," *AEMA* 1 (1975), pp. 4–29; idem, *Studies in medieval Eurasian history* (Variorum Reprints) (London, 1981); idem, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *AEMA* 2 (1982), pp. 321–380.

[13] P. B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaqs in Georgia," *AEMA* 4 (1984), pp. 45–87; idem, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli: The fortunes and misfortunes of an Inner Asian nomadic clan," *AEMA* 6 (1986), pp. 5–29; idem, "Cumanica III: Urusoba," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*, III, *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, June 19–25, 1987*, ed. D. Sinor (Bloomington, IN, 1990), pp. 33–46; idem, "Cumanica IV: The tribes of the Cuman-Qipčaqs," *AEMA* 9 (1995–1997), pp. 99–122; idem, "Nomads and their sedentary neighbors in Pre-Činggisid Eurasia," *AEMA* 7 (1987–1991), pp. 41–81; idem, "The peoples of the south Russian steppes," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 256–284; idem, "The Qipčaqs of medieval Eurasia: an example of stateless adaptation in the steppes," in *Rulers from the Steppe. State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, eds. G. Seaman and D. Marks (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 132–157; idem, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992); idem, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Variorum Collected Studies Series) (Aldershot–Burlington, 2003).

[14] A. O. Dobroliubskii, *Кочевники Северо-Западного Причерноморья в эпоху средневековья* (Kiev, 1986).

[15] J.-P. Roux, *Histoire des Turcs. Deux mille ans du Pacifique à la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1984); idem, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris, 1984).

[16] A. Pálóczi Horváth, *Besenyők, kunok, jászok* (Budapest, 1989); idem, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Mediaeval Hungary* (Budapest, 1989); idem, *Petschenegen, Kumanen, Jassen. Steppenvölker im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest, 1989); idem, *Hagyományok, kapcsolatok és hatások a kunok régészeti kultúrájában* (Karcag, 1994).

[17] I. O. Kniaz'kii, *Русь и степь* (Moscow, 1996); idem, *Славяне, волохи и кочевники Днестровско-Карпатских земель (конец IX–сер. XIII вв.)* (Kolomna, 1997).

[18] P. P. Tolochko, *Кочевые народы степей и Киевская Русь* (Kiev, 1999).

[19] I. Vásáry, *Geschichte des frühen Innerasiens*, trans. T. Schäfer (Herne, 1999); idem, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005); idem, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries* (Variorum Collected Studies Series) (Aldershot–Burlington, 2007).

[20] For the Russian and Soviet historiography concerning the late nomad Turks tribes and their relations with the Kievan Rus', see R. M. Mavrodina, *Киевская Русь и кочевники (печенеги, торки, половцы)* (Leningrad, 1983).

a work that is co-ordinated by Turkish historians and benefits from the collaboration of renowned specialists from all over the world.[21]

The investigation of the many-sided contacts between the sedentary inhabitants and the nomads in southern Moldavia during the tenth–thirteenth centuries may encounter serious difficulties, due to the vague and fragmentary way in which those contacts were recorded in documents of those times. The scarcity and ambiguity of those sources made it necessary to resort to collateral historical information and to interdisciplinary data. Much emphasis has been placed upon the insertion of relevant documents, especially those which were unpublished or rarely discussed in connection with the history of the eastern Carpathian space. In that respect, the territory under consideration has many essential aspects that have not been adequately explored and clarified. The access to the past and to credible reconstructions is unconceivable without a clarification of specific aspects, certainly not of all, but at least of those that had substantial consequences.

No claims are made here for an exhaustive research on the chosen topic. In some directions the knowledge is limited; also, the space allotted here would not be enough even for a presentation of what is known. To imagine that one could give credible answers to all the controversial problems implied here and that nothing has escaped attention would merely be sinking into an abyss of vanities. The level of research is still underdeveloped in some fields; therefore my conclusions are just working assumptions, which are liable to suffer further modifications. The goal is to open discussions even on problems that have not yet been elucidated, and which, consequently, may lead to quite different interpretations. I take such diversity of opinions as granted, and try to stimulate a further development of ideas. In general, I will avoid ostentatious polemic gestures, but will uphold my own opinion, in opposition to theories I suspect of having wrongly interpreted the idea of *bona fide*, or of having tendentiously presented historical realities.

[21] *The Turks*, eds. H. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz, O. Karatay, chief of the ed. board Y. Halaçoğlu, ed. advisor H. Inalcik, 1, *Early Ages* (Ankara, 2002) (S. Koca, T. Gündüz, M. U. Yücel, K. A. Brook, C. Zuckerman, B. Z. Takács, O. Pritsak, A. Alemany, O. Karatay, P. S. Tzvetov, I. Zimonyi, G. Vörös, A. Gökbel, P. B. Golden, V. Stoyanov, U. Tavkul, O. Belli, S. Başkan et al.); 2, *Middle Ages* (Ankara, 2002) (N. Yazici, S. Koca, M. Heiduk, G. Watson, U. Schamiloglu, M. A. Usmanov et al.).

Along general lines, this volume follows the structure of a book published in Iaşi in 1985.[22] There are, however, several important differences. I have left out lengthy passages on the specific features of the geographical background, as well as the descriptions of Turkic funerary complexes. Many new paragraphs have been added, in order to enrich the text published more than two decades ago.

The additions were possible due to my research in several national libraries, or in some belonging to reputed institutes and universities such as those in Berlin (*Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie/Freie Universität*), Frankfurt am Main (*Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität*), Konstanz (*Universität*), London (*School of Oriental and African Studies, School of Slavonic and East European Studies/University College London*), Mainz (*Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*), Munich (*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Historicum/Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), Stockholm (*Kungliga Biblioteket, Vitterhetsakademiens Bibliotek*), Vienna (*Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*), Washington, D.C. (*Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Library of Congress*), etc. The books and copies I have received from foreign colleagues, such as Uwe Fiedler (Berlin), Irina G. Konovalova (Moscow), Anton Cuşa (Evry) and others, felicitously filled up bibliographic gaps. I have also been able to use a rich archaeological material discovered and published lately in Romania, Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

The illustrative part of the volume consists of representations of archaeological items that are significant both for the Romanian medieval society and for the Turkic nomads. Many of the vessels and objects have not been published until now; they come from archaeological diggings led by the present author (Băiceni, Bârlad, Bârlăleşti, Dăneşti, Grivița-Vaslui, Iaşi, Pâhneşti, etc.), or from the collections of some museums and archaeological institutes in Romania (Bârlad, Botoşani, Focşani, Iaşi, Tecuci, Vaslui, etc.), the Republic of Moldova (Kishinev/Chişinău), Ukraine (Kiev, Odessa), and Russia (Moscow, Leningrad/Sankt Petersburg). The drawings were done by Waltraud Delibaş, Emilia Drumea and Romeo Ionescu of the Institute of Archaeology in Iaşi, and by Aneta Corciova of the Department of Archaeology of the "Alexandru

[22] V. Spinei, *Realităţi etnice şi politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români şi turanici* (Iaşi, 1985).

Ioan Cuza" University of Iaşi. I owe the computer typeset to Carmen Hrişcu and Mariana Petcu and the illustration scanning to Diana-Măriuca Vornicu of the Department of Archaeology of the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University and Cătălin Hriban of the Moldavian Historical Museum of Iaşi.

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Iaşi, April 2008

CHAPTER ONE

THE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS RELATION TO THE ANTHROPIC ELEMENT

The reconstruction of the landscape of the southern half of Moldavia at the beginning of the second millennium is of great importance, and should demonstrate the character and extent of the influence of the geographic background on the evolution of human communities. Landscape is a complex body of elements with different structures that have not remained the same through the ages. Of particular interest are the constituent parts of the lithosphere, the hydrosphere, and the biosphere, with which man remains in continuous connection. My view is essentially anthropocentric, and my investigation is particularly focused on the use of the landscape.

At least until the eighteenth century, in the panorama of the eastern Carpathian territories, no structural modifications had appeared in regard to its physical conformation since the dawn of the medieval period. Therefore we consider that in order to shape a comprehensive image of the territory after the beginning of second millennium, one can also resort to the written and the cartographical sources that appeared in subsequent periods, without surpassing, as a rule, the above-mentioned century.

During the last decades, the problems implied by the investigation of the connection between the geographic background and the development of Romanian society have been neglected, to a certain extent. Some historians have gone so far as to completely refuse that a connection exists. Perhaps this nihilism is a reaction to earlier exaggerations by the supporters of vulgar determinism and some excessive trends in geopolitics. Many contemporary scholars consider geopolitics to be discredited as a structural aggregate of epistemological cognition, as a result of Nazi abuse. It would be out of place to analyse here the harmfulness of such irrevocably discredited practices, but we can afford the observation that the repudiation of the pseudo-scientific principles of geopolitics, as well as of their supporters, neither imposes, nor justifies a total rejection of it. Its valid constituent parts cannot be denied just because they were also embraced by the promoters of

fascism (just as nobody would think of excluding Dürer's, Goethe's or Wagner's works from the world's artistic heritage solely due to their names having once been invoked in the service of for exacerbated nationalist propaganda).

The influence of the geographic factor must not be reduced only to biologic, demographic and economic aspects that are reflected (more or less clearly) in social life, and in administrative, military and political organization.[1] A focus on the role of the geographic background in the general evolution of society does not presume joining the geodeterminist theories, but it is justified since, during the last decades, approaches to this problem in the specialized Romanian and east-European literature have not always proven adequate, partially due to their adoption of dogmatic positions that limited the contribution of the geographic background only to the economic sphere.

Generally, there is an idea that the further we move back in time, the greater the dependence of humans upon nature appears to be, and that, through the general evolution of humankind, this dependence gradually decreases. But in fact, what we owe to nature never dwindles. On the contrary, the ever increasing necessities of society, both material and spiritual, make it look for new resources in the environment, its relations with which grow more and more diverse. What can usually be dissociated from the dependence on nature means, in fact, an increase in the possibilities of humankind of using the resources of a certain area, of adapting distinct components of the environment to its own necessities, and of facing natural calamities and cataclysms, due to technical progress and to accumulations of ever deeper knowledge about nature's intimate mechanisms.

In the evaluation of the natural environment in connection with the evolution of society, a range of specific aspects and nuances must be

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[1] C. Goehrke, "Geographische Grundlagen der russischen Geschichte," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, NF, 18 (1970), no. 2, p. 161–204; M. Chisholm, *Research in Human Geography* (London, 1971); K. R. Cox, *Man, Location, and Behavior: An Introduction to Human Geography* (New York–London–Sydney–Toronto, 1972); A. V. Dulov, "Литература о роль географической среды в истории общества," *Вопросы истории* (1973), no. 8, pp. 142–148; B. Butzin, "Elemente eines konfliktorientierten Basisentwurfs zur Geographie des Menschen," in *Kultur-/Sozialgeographie. Beiträge zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung* (Paderborn–Munich–Vienna–Zurich, 1982), pp. 93–124; G. Smith, "Political theory and human geography," in *Human Geography. Society, Space and Social Science*, eds. D. Gregory, R. Martin, and G. Smith (Houndmills–London, 1994), pp. 54–77; D. Gregory, "Social theory and human geography," in *ibidem*, pp. 78–112; V. M. Kruker, J. Rauh, *Arbeitsmethoden der Humangeographie* (Darmstadt, 2005).

taken into consideration. With good reason, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) said "Nature must be neither overestimated, nor underestimated" (*Die Natur darf nicht zu hoch und nicht zu niedrig angeschlagen werden*),[2] an idea that should be unanimously accepted nowadays.[3] Undoubtedly, human activity is the main factor in the progress of civilization, but, as long as the life of human communities develops within a certain geographic area, it is not inconsequent at all whether or not it disposes of resources, fertility, proper climate, natural protection, or whether it is large enough and has free access to land or waterways. Its evolution can be hastened when there are elements present capable of stimulating the achievements of society. That is why I fully subscribe to the idea that the geographic area is not only a condition for social activities, but also one of their stimuli.[4]

At the same time, I believe it necessary to underline that the profoundly complex relation between humans and nature implies neither temporal nor spatial immovability. The generosity of the environment that appears to be vital at a certain time may become an obstacle for the productive system in the long run. In the same way, the impoverishment of some territories, by determining tenacity and rigidity of occupations of the human communities, proves to be capable of leading them to important progress. In the mid-eighteenth century, Montesquieu, by simplifying and by upholding realities as absolute, concluded that whereas sterility of the soil stimulates diligence and resilience, fertility produces a decrease in vigor.[5] It has also been observed that, as compared to the temperate zones that provide proper conditions for development, the excesses of the warm climate produce a certain inertia and lack of motion; and a too cold climate concentrates, by insidious means, the

[2] G. W. Fr. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, 3rd ed. K. Hegel (Berlin, 1848), p. 99.

[3] G. Heyden, *Critica geopoliticii germane* (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 72–74; J. H. G. Lebon, *An Introduction to Human Geography*, 5th ed. (London, 1966), pp. 145–169; T. Herseni, "Sociologie şi geografie," in *Sociologia militans*, V, *Sociologie geografică* (Bucharest, 1972), p. 30; *Nutzung und Veränderung der Natur. Tagungsband anlässlich des III. Geographen-Kongresses der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1981 in Leipzig*, ed. H. Richter (Leipzig, 1981), *passim*; I. G. Simmons, *Changing the Face of the Earth. Culture, Environment, History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford–Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 2–9; G. Ó. Tuathail and S. Dalby, "Introduction: Rethinking geopolitics: toward a critical geopolitics," in *Rethinking Geopolitics*, eds. G. Ó. Tuathail and S. Dalby (London–New York, 1998), pp. 1–15.

[4] T. Herseni, *Sociologie. Teoria generală a vieţii sociale* (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 544–545.

[5] Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois* (Paris, 1867), p. 234.

vital energy in the efforts for ensuring subsistence.[6] The climate influences some somatic features of the people, including their anatomical structure, but that requires a very long time. There is no direct action of the environment upon the moral nature of the people.[7] If in the past the most elevated achievements of mankind were specific to warm zones of the Orient and the Mediterranean, at the beginning of the modern period the centre of gravity of the civilized world moved to the temperate zones less favoured by nature, but with a population in which hardships had stimulated its inventiveness and diligence. The progress of science and technology partially diminish the importance of primary conditions of the environment, since it opens possibilities of adaptation.

Prosperous territories, rich in all kinds of resources, have always had a high demographic rate. The ill luck of the gifted regions was that, like magnets, they attracted plundering neighbours, who wished to enlarge their own wealth by stealing from others. In exchange, the arid and hardly explored territories were less coveted and enjoyed more peace.

The relation between humans and nature has never had a unique direction, but rather an ambivalent one, in the way that man, in his turn, has acted as a moulding agent upon the lithosphere, the hydrosphere, and especially on the biosphere. In that respect, it has been noted that "by giving life to history on the earth, people also give life to geography."[8] As a constituent of the biosphere—by representing what is named anthroposphere—humans separate themselves from the other living beings due to their intellect and usage of complex scientific-technical means, so that they master the main modifying potentialities of the planetary cover.[9]

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[6] J. Szczepański, *Noțiuni elementare de sociologie* (Bucharest, 1972), p. 37.

[7] L. Febvre, *La Terre et l'évolution humaine. Introduction géographique a l'histoire* (Paris, 1938), pp. 125–135; A. V. Perpillou, *Human Geography*, trans. E. D. Laborde (London, 1966), pp. 3–20; Lebon, *An Introduction to Human Geography*, pp. 42–59; M. Sorre, *La fondements biologiques de la géographie humaine. Essai d'une écologie de l'homme* (Paris, 1971), pp. 13–77.

[8] J. Brunhes and C. Vallaux, *La géographie de l'histoire* (Paris, 1921), p. 3.

[9] F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, I, *Grundzüge der Anwendung der Erdkunde auf die Geschichte*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1921); II, *Die geographische Verbreitung des Menschen*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1922); P. Vidal de la Blanche, *Principes de géographie humaine*, ed. Emm. de Martonne (Paris, 1922), pp. 12–15 and 108–111; H. Hambloch, *Kulturgeographische Elemente im Ökosystem Mensch-Erde. Eine Einführung unter anthropologischen Aspekten* (Darmstadt, 1933), pp. 96–139; G. East, *Géographie historique de l'Europe*, trans. A. Vaillant (Paris, 1939), pp. 7–11 and 381–388; S. Mehedinți, *Opere complete*, I, 1–2 (Bucharest, 1943); idem, *Opere alese*, ed. V. Mihăilescu (Bucharest, 1967), *passim*; C. O. Sauer, "The agency of man

It is of utmost importance not to produce any disturbances in the natural equilibrium. Because of the interaction between the human communities and the natural-geographic space, the negative effects of any disturbances are to be felt sooner or later, with a reduced or amplified intensity, by the human society as well. As for the necessity of stability in the concord between human activity and nature, "in order that man should be at peace with himself—and with others—he must be first at peace with the Earth."[10] Along the same lines, but considering other domains, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) stated: "Nature is defeated by obeying it" (*Natura enim non nisi parendo vincitur*).[11] Among the structural elements of the environment a remarkable equilibrium has been established, so that any deterioration within a region or all over the world, suffered by any of the elements, lifeless or alive—because of the permanent interdependence between them—produces chain reactions.[12] An impact of the anthropic factor on the natural environment became obvious beginning with the first stages of civilization.

Before the Middle Ages, or even before the modern times, the relatively low density of the population in the Carpathian-Danubian regions (taking into account the same situation in other regions of the planet) and the limited technical possibilities could not generate widespread disturbance of the environment. This does not mean that the initial landscape did not suffer at all because of the concrete action of humans and of lifeless elements. For certain historical periods, archaeological investigations have revealed a higher rate of population density in the Carpathian-Dniestrian area. Among other things, we can refer to the situation of the second half of the third millennium B.C., in the Late Neolithic of the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture area, and to that of the

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of the earth," in *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, ed. W. L. Thomas, Jr., with the collab. of C. O. Sauer, M. Bates, L. Mumfort (Chicago–London, 1956), pp. 49–69; P. B. Sears, "The processes of environmental change by man," in *ibidem*, pp. 471–486; Perpillou, *Human Geography*, pp. 21–32; Sorre, *La fondements biologiques de la géographie humaine*, pp. 121–157; J. Babitz, "Friedrich Ratzel et Paul Vidal de la Blanche. Deux tendances de la géographie humaine moderne," in *La naissance de la géographie humaine. Friedrich Ratzel et Paul Vidal de la Blanche. Colloque de la Commission d'Histoire de la Pensée Géographique tenu au cours de la Conférence Régionale Européenne de l'UGI à Budapest le 8–9 août 1971* (Budapest, 1974), pp. 1–23.

[10] Ph. Saint Marc, *Progrès ou déclin de l'homme?* (Paris, 1978), p. 282.

[11] Francisci Baconi de Verulamio *Novum Organum. Pars Contemplativa* (Lipsiae, 1840), p. 43.

[12] Al. Roşu, I. Ungureanu, *Geografia mediului înconjurător* (Bucharest, 1977); V. Tufescu, M. Tufescu, *Ecologia şi activitatea umană* (Bucharest, 1981); P. Stugren, *Bazele ecologiei generale* (Bucharest, 1982).

third and fourth centuries corresponding to the evolution of Sântana de Mureş-Cherniakhov culture. The discoveries reveal a high rate of density at the end of the Bronze Age (the Noua culture) too, in the Late Hallstatt and in Latène III, with the Thraco-Dacian communities, as well as in the last quarter of the first millennium of the modern era. Human communities seem also to have grouped in the south-western part of Moldavia in the Middle Bronze Age (the Monteoru culture) and in western Moldavia in the second and third centuries (the Carpo-Dacian culture).[13] The ensuring of subsistence for a significant population with rudimentary technical means required extensive tilled land and pasture, damming up of the rivers to create fishing ponds, intense hunting of certain animals for meat and fur, etc. At times, the anthropic impact on the terrestrial environment suffered deteriorations of its constituents, which, without being always doubled by the regen-

[13] A. C. Florescu, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea culturii Noua," *AM* 2–3 (1964), pp. 143–216; I. Ioniţă, "Contribuţii cu privire la cultura Sîntana de Mureş-Cerneahov pe teritoriul Republicii Socialiste România," *AM* 4 (1966), pp. 189–259; M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu, "Cercetări arheologice de suprafaţă în judeţul Bacău," *AM* 6 (1969), pp. 213–275; Zaharia etc., *Aşezări, passim*; Gh. Bichir, *Cultura carpică* (Bucharest, 1973); V. I. Markevici, *Памятники эпох неолита и энеолита* (*AKM*, 2) (1973); V. A. Dergacev, *Памятники эпохи бронзы* (*AKM*, 3) (1973); V. I. Lăpuşnian, I. T. Niculiţă, M. A. Romanovskaia, *Памятники раннего железного века* (*AKM*, 4) (1974); Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*; E. A. Rikman, *Памятники сарматов и племен Черняховской культуры* (*AKM*, 5) (1975); Al. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, V. Chirica, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Botoşani*, I, II (Bucharest, 1976); Teodor, *Teritoriul*; idem, *Descoperiri arheologice şi numismatice la est de Carpaţi în secolele V–XI d.H. (Contribuţii la continuitatea daco-romană şi veche românească)* ed. D. Popovici (Bucharest, 1996 [1997]); Coman, *Statornicie*; I. Mitrea, "Regiunea centrală a Moldovei dintre Carpaţi şi Siret în secolele VI–IX e.n.," *Carpica* 12 (1980), pp. 55–190; S. Sanie, *Civilizaţia romană la est de Carpaţi şi romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei (sec. II î.e.n.–III e.n.)* (Iaşi, 1981); D. Monah, "Cîteva observaţii asupra cauzelor şi efectelor exploziei demografice cucuteniene," *Carpica* 14 (1982), pp. 33–38; D. Monah, Şt. Cucoş, *Aşezările culturii Cucuteni din România* (Iaşi, 1985); V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Iaşi* (Iaşi) I (1984); II (1985); V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Dacia Răsăriteană în secolele VI–I î.e.n. Economie şi monedă* (Iaşi, 1990); A. László, *Începuturile epocii fierului la est de Carpaţi* (Bucharest, 1994); C.-M. Mantu, *Cultura Cucuteni. Evoluţie, cronologie, legături* (Piatra-Neamţ, 1998); N. Ursulescu, *Începuturile istoriei pe teritoriul României* (Iaşi, 1998); Gh. Postică, "Evoluţia aşezărilor din spaţiul pruto-nistrean în epoca migraţiilor (sec. V–XIII)," *Thraco-Dacica* 20 (1999), nos. 1–2, pp. 329–364; Gh. Dumitroaia, *Comunităţi preistorice din nord-estul României. De la cultura Cucuteni până în bronzul mijlociu* (Piatra-Neamţ, 2000); M. Andronic, P. V. Batariuc, F. Hău, M. Gogu, B. P. Niculică, I. Mareş, "Noi cercetări arheologice de teren în judeţul Suceava," *Suceava. Anuarul Complexului Muzeal Bucovina* 29–30 (2002–2003), no. 1, pp. 117–226; I. Hâncu, *Vetre strămoşeşti din Republica Moldova. Materiale arheologice informativ-didactice* (Chişinău, 2003); M. Andronic, *Teritoriul nord-est-carpatic în a doua jumătate a primului mileniu creştin* (Suceava, 2005); S. Musteaţă, *Populaţia spaţiului pruto-nistrean în secolele VIII–IX* (Chişinău, 2005).

erative processes, suffered changes that were harmful for the natural equilibrium, as recorded even in the early Middle Ages.

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The territory inhabited by Romanians has a well-marked individuality that, on the whole, and in spite of its large variety and complexity, has a remarkable homogeneity and symmetry.[14] Indeed, one may confidently assert that that the unity of the land has much to do with the unity of the Romanian people. The great scholar Simion Mehedinţi (1869–1962) justly characterized the Romanian regions as "a classic example of unity in diversity".[15]

Romania's diversity results from a combination of all the main forms of relief, whereas its unity is manifest in their proportional and harmonious ordering. The central part of the Romanian territory is a plateau surrounded by a majestic ring-shaped mountain chain—usually compared to a fortress[16]—flanked by hills, which in turn border on a broad strip of plain. The order of the landscape formations creates the impression of concentric circles. From the climatic point of view, the Carpathian-Danubian area is under a triple influence, as manifest especially in the eastern regions of the continent, and less manifest, due to the distance and to the Carpathian chain and other mountains, in the direction of the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. From the mountain belt there start, like a fan, countless rivers, which segment

[14] Emm. de Martonne, *Europe centrale* (*Géographie universelle*, co-ord. P. Vidal de la Blanche and L. Gallois, IV, 2) (Paris, 1931), pp. 699–735; V. Mihăilescu, *România. Geografie fizică* (Bucharest, 1936), pp. 22–24; idem, *Geografia fizică a României* (Bucharest, 1969), p. 12; I. Simionescu, *Ţara noastră. Natură. Oameni. Muncă* (Bucharest, 1937), pp. 23–26; S. Mehedinţi, *Le pays et le peuple roumain* (Bucharest, 1944), pp. 24–30; T. Morariu, "Hipsografia," in *Monografia geografică a Republicii Populare Române*, I, *Geografia fizică*, eds. I. P. Gherasimov et al. (Bucharest, 1960), p. 95; V. Tufescu, *România. Natură, om, economie* (Bucharest, 1974), p. 13; idem, "Teritoriul şi populaţia României," in *Istoria românilor*, I, *Moştenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, gen. eds. M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, Al. Vulpe (Bucharest, 2001), p. 5; Al. Roşu, *Geografia fizică a României*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1980), pp. 16–21; V. Dumitrescu, "România, ţară carpatică, dunăreană şi pontică," in *Geografia României*, I, *Geografia fizică*, co-ord. L. Badea, P. Gâştescu, V. Velcea (Bucharest, 1983), pp. 25–26.

[15] I. Conea, "Simion Mehedinţi despre rolul factorului geografic în istoria poporului roman," in Mehedinţi, *Opere alese*, p. 101.

[16] The comparison of the mountains around the Transylvanian Plateau to a fortress is commonly attributed to N. Bălcescu, *Românii supt Mihai-Voievod Viteazul*, ed. A. Rusu (Bucharest, 1967), pp. 221–222, or E. de Martonne, "La Terre roumaine," in *La Roumanie*, ed. P. Gaultier (Paris, *sine anno*), p. 91. However, the comparison goes back to Sebastian Münster (1489–1552) and Peeter Heyns (1537–1598). See M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice şi cartografice* (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 128 and 133.

the relief forms, so that they facilitate transversal and longitudinal circulation. The harmony of the relief is completed by the symmetry of the distribution of vegetation in close connection with the types of soil. The variety of the cover is explained not only by the stratification of the relief, but also by a triple section of geo-botanical areas of the eastern, central and northern parts of the continent, each of them imposing its predomination at certain levels of vegetation. The disagreement in some parts of vegetal formations, forests included, reflects the flexibility of the phenomena that occur in the biosphere.[17] So, there is conspicuous interaction among relief, climate, hydrologic network and the pedologic, vegetable and animal cover. All these elements of the geographic complex, in their turn, induce the spreading, density and mobility of the population, as well as the latter's material and spiritual creations.

The individuality and the homogeneity of the Romanian geographic landscape do not presume a separation of its components from the rest of the European territory. On the contrary, all these constituents systematically gather in more extensive units of the continental landscape, without reproducing, as a whole, the environment composed of relief, climate structure, pedologic and hydrologic ones, etc. of other parts of Europe, but only fragments of them. In this way, the south-eastern Carpathians form only a part of the Alpine-Carpathian-Balkan chain that branches out over a large area of the central and south-eastern Europe. The Moldavian Plateau is continued towards the north east by the Volhyno-Podolian Plateau and the Dnieper Plateau, and the Bugeac and the Romanian Plain represent the western end of the Eurasian steppes. The interference of environmental entities—both inanimate and living—from other parts of the Earth, has left conspicuous marks in the Carpathian-Danubian area.

As part of the Carpathian-Danubian area, Moldavia shares the main characteristics of the whole to which it belongs organically. Moldavia, the region of our focus, has the same complexity, unity and variety shown by the relief configuration itself, ordered in levels that descend, without discordant deviations, from west to east, from the Carpathian summits to the vast Lower Danubian plains and the Pontic shores. The altitude range of the vegetation, the structure of the soils and the atmospheric phenomena—primarily the climate differentiations—closely

[17] See footnote 14.

follow the outline of the relief. The main co-ordinates of the geographic medium are, to the largest extent, similar to those of the north-Danubian regions in the neighbourhood.

At the beginning of the climatic subsystem in the southern part of the east-Carpathian area there has been conjugated action of the same factors that shaped the characteristic features of the Romanian climate too: cosmic factors (solar radiation), dynamic factors (atmospheric circulation) and the geographic ones (environment). The general atmospheric evolution in the Carpathian-Danubian regions gave rise to some important differentiations in temperature between the seasons, and to non-periodical variations too, mainly mediated by the Azores and Siberian anticyclones, as well as by the Iceland and Mediterranean Cyclones. By lying in a fully temperate zone, at the junction of some contrastive influences, Moldavia must be included in the category of territories with moderate continental climate, having, at the same time, transitory forms towards an extreme continental climate. Unlike other Romanian regions, Moldavia is not protected by the Carpathians against harsher weather coming from polar regions, or against an excessive continental climate characterized by hot and arid winds in summer, and cold and dry ones in winter. At the same time, the summits of the Carpathians often act as a filter in front of the warm Mediterranean masses of air, or those of the western Atlantic. Without having an important impact upon the climate, the Black Sea acts as a thermal reducer along the strip of the seaside.[18] On its whole, the territory of Moldavia lies within an area with relatively low precipitations, 69 percent of the years being droughty between 1881 and 1961. Nor is the pluviometric compensation regular and immediate.[19]

As the investigations of the last decades have proven, the climate of Europe witnessed certain fluctuations at the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second one. In the steppes of the southern part

[18] Ş. M. Stoenescu, "Date noi referitoare la clima R.P.R.," *Probleme de geografie* 6 (1959), pp. 39–45; idem, "Clima," in *Monografia*, I (see above, n. 14), pp. 257–375; V. Mihăilescu, *Geografia*, pp. 162–175; I. Sîrcu, *Geografia fizică a Republicii Socialiste România* (Bucharest, 1971), pp. 15–47; Roşu, *Geografia* (see above, n. 14), pp. 73–103; M. Schram, "Marea Neagră," in *Geografia României*, I, *Geografia fizică*, pp. 367–369; O. Bogdan, E. Niculescu, "The climate," in *Romania. Space, Society, Environment*, eds. D. Bălteanu (co-ord.), L. Badea, M. Buza, Gh. Niculescu, C. Popescu, M. Dumitraşcu (Bucharest, 2006), pp. 82–102.

[19] N. Topor, *Ani ploioşi şi secetoşi în Republica Populară Română* (Bucharest, 1963), p. 293.

of Eastern Europe, a long moist period was interrupted by droughty climate in the ninth-tenth centuries.[20] At the same time the level of the Caspian Sea and of some rivers and lakes of the Mediterranean basin rose considerably, bringing about flooding.[21] Also, in the Europe north of the Alps there was a period of moderate winters between 1150 and 1330, interrupted by cold periods in the middle of the twelfth century and the beginning of the following two. From 1240 to 1400, winter precipitations increased in comparison with the previous period. In contrast, the west European summers between 1200 and 1300 were generally dry, unlike the previous and the following periods; they were preceded by warm springs until the fourteenth century, when an evident cooling took place.[22] One can suppose that the evolution of the climate in Carpathian-Danubian space had, mainly, the same features, but there is no certainty in this respect, because of the lack of concrete data.

The entire hydrologic network of Moldavia belongs to the Black Sea basin. With the exception of some small rivers that are tributary to the maritime and Danubian lakes, most water courses run into three main rivers, the Siret, the Prut and the Dniester; the first two flow into the Danube, and the last one into the Black Sea.

The Moldavian flora and fauna structures—evidently influenced by the relief and by the pedologic-climatic conditions—are characterized by variety and regional differentiations. Among the planetary spheres, the one most obviously affected by anthropic modifications was the biosphere, which has undergone substantial changes since the Middle Ages. In the agricultural and animal-breeding activities that developed

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[20] P. Veres, "Le rôle de facteurs écologiques et économiques dans la conquête du bassin des Carpathes par les Hongrois en 896," in *Les questions fondamentales du peuplement du bassin des Carpathes du VIII^e au X^e siècle*, ed. L. Gerevich (Budapest, 1972), pp. 222–223; idem, "A honfoglaló magyarok életmódjának vitatott kérdései," in *Honfoglalás és néprajz*, eds. L. Kovács, A. Paládi-Kovács (Budapest, 1997), pp. 109–134.

[21] H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (London–New York, 1982), pp. 173–175.

[22] P. Alexandre, *Le climat en Europe au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1987), pp. 806–808. See also E. Le Roy Ladurie, "Aspects historiques de la nouvelle climatologie," *Revue historique* 85 (1961), 225, no. 1, pp. 8–10; idem, "Le climat des XI^e et XVI^e siècles: séries comparées," *Annales. Économie. Sociétes. Civilisations* 20 (1965), no. 5, pp. 899–922; idem, *Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil* (Paris, 1967), pp. 250–255; B. Brentjes, "Nomadenwanderungen und Klimaschwankungen," *Central Asiatic Journal* 30 (1986), nos. 1–2, pp. 14–15; M. Pinna, "Il clima nell'alto medioevo. Conoscenze attuali e prospettive di ricerca," in *L'ambiente vegetale nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXXVII) (Spoleto, 1990), pp. 437–446; J. C. Drăgan, Şt. Airinei, *Geoclimă şi istorie* (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 292–297; Ch.-D. Schönwiese, *Klimaänderungen. Daten, Analysen, Prognosen* (Heidelberg, 1995), pp. 81–90.

within the Carpathian-Dniestrian area, especially in the last two or three centuries, the initial flora and fauna have suffered great transformations. In the place of the cultivated and wild original fund, numerous cereals, technical and leguminous plants of American and Asian origins were introduced (maize, rice, sunflower, potatoes, tomatoes, eggplants, tobacco, etc), which now occupy vast areas.

Due to the special place of forests in the history of the Romanians, one must take a closer look at some aspects of this feature. In accordance with the specialists' estimations, forests must have covered about 60 to70 percent of the territory of ancient Dacia[23] (Fig. 1B). There are many historical references from which the large surface area of forests in the whole of Moldavia can be deduced, up until close to the modern period,[24] an exception being only its southern extremity. The map representations of Moldavia in the eighteenth century, including the ones published by Dimitrie Cantemir,[25] Hora von Otzellowitz[26] and Friedrich Wilhelm von Bawr,[27] also indicate large forested areas, especially in the northern, western and central regions. The everglades of the main rivers were also dominated by the arborescent vegetation, which was meant to minimize the effects of high floods. The road along the Bârlad Valley, between the cities of Bârlad and Vaslui, crossed

[23] M. David, *Considerațiuni geopolitice asupra statului român* (offprint from *Învățătorul român contemporan şi destinul neamului nostru*) (Iaşi, 1939), pp. 48–49 and fig. 2; E. Pop, *Pădurile şi destinul nostru național* (offprint from *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Naturii* 9 [1941], nos. 1–4) (Bucharest, 1942), pp. 18–20; Tufescu, *România*, p. 234; C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii românești din cele mai vechi timpuri şi pînă astăzi*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1976), p. 11.

[24] *Călători*, I, p. 401 (A. Verancsics); II, p. 641 (B. de Vigenère); III, pp. 200 (*Descrierea anonimă a Moldovei din 1587*), 296, 680 (H. Cavendish); IV, p. 36 (B. Quirini); V, p. 81 (N. Barsi); V. A. Urechia (ed.), *Codex Bandinus. Memoriu asupra scrierii lui Bandinus de la 1646*, in *AARMSI*, Ser. II, 16 (1893–1894), pp. 133 and 309; Marco Bandini, *Codex. Vizitarea generală a tuturor Bisericilor Catolice de rit roman din Provincia Moldova, 1646–1648*, ed. T. Diaconescu (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 370–371; Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 110–111; Gh. G. Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi în Moldova şi Muntenia* (Bucharest, 1947), pp. 110 and 172; Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii*, pp. 74–84; V. Băican, *Geografia Moldovei reflectată în documentele cartografice din secolul al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest, 1996), pp. 48–54.

[25] G. Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei de Dimitrie Cantemir," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 6 (1927), p. 203 and pl. I; P. P. Panaitescu, "Contribuții la opera geografică a lui Dimitrie Cantemir," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 8 (1927–28), pp. 181–188; E. D. Tappe, "Another specimen of Dimitrie Cantemir's map of Moldavia," *Revue des études roumaines* 3–4 (1957), p. 220.

[26] N. Docan, "Memoriu despre lucrările cartografice privitoare la războiul din 1787–1791," *AARMSI*, Ser. II, 34 (1911–1912), p. 1281.

[27] A. Năstase, "O hartă a Moldovei din secolul XVIII," *Natura*, *Seria Geografie-Geologie* 15 (1963), no. 5, p. 38; Băican, *Geografia Moldovei*, pp. 48–52.

beech forests.[28] North of Vaslui the road continued, crossing vast and thick forests, through the village of Scânteia towards the city of Iaşi.[29] At the same time, there also are reports about forests along the Prut,[30] as well as on those along the road between Roman and Focşani, along the Siret Valley.[31]

Until the beginning of the modern period, deforestations were not extensive, although there were not restrictions in that respect. Forests represented communal ownership, but the members of rural communities could extend their farming land to the detriment of the forests, which was usually done by slash-and-burn. Beginning especially with the eighteenth century, Moldavia's forested areas were subject to vast and irrational deforestation, both during the time of the Turkish trade monopoly imposed on the Romanian Principalities, and after its abolition in 1829, despite some restrictive laws regarding the revaluation of the forestry fund. Still more irresponsible were the actions of the Tsarist administration in the spoliation of the forests in the province of Bessarabia (Basarabia) between 1812 and 1917, when that territory was annexed to Russia.

Romania's forestry fund in 1980 represented 26.6 percent of the total surface of the country (in comparison with the 41.4 percent farming land and 18.8 percent pastures and hayfields).[32] The Romanian mountain ranges are lined by hills. Whereas the Moldavian counties with mountainous and subalpine regions have a high percentage of forests (Suceava—51.7 percent; Neamț—44.3 percent; Bacău—40.1 percent; Vrancea—37.4 percent), in the hilly counties and plain areas, that percentage is much lower (Iaşi—16.2 percent; Vaslui—12.9 percent; Botoşani—11 percent; Galați—7.8 percent).[33] The regions most affected

[28] *Călători*, V, p. 487 (R. Bargrave); VII, p. 356 (Solia lui I. Gninski); R. G. Boscovich, *Giornale di un viaggio da Constantinopoli in Polonia* (Bassano, 1784), pp. 105–108.

[29] *Călători*, V, pp. 117 (Solia lui Krasinski), 155 (Solia lui W. Miaskowski), 488 (R. Bargrave); VI, pp. 30 (Paul de Alep), 732 (Evlia Çelebi); VII, p. 356 (Solia lui I. Gninski); VIII, p. 189 (Leontie); Boscovich, *Giornale*, pp. 112, 114; Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi*, p. 139; D'Hauterive, *Journal inédit d'un voyage de Constantinople à Jassi, capitale de la Moldavie dans l'hiver de 1785*, ed. A. Ubicini, in idem, *Memoriu asupra vechii şi actualei stări a Moldovei prezentat lui Alexandru Vodă Ipsilante, domnul Moldovei, la 1787* (Bucharest, 1902), pp. 327–328; N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călătorii*, ed. A. Angelescu (Bucharest, 1981), p. 360.

[30] *Călători*, VII, pp. 288–289 (Ph. le Masson du Pont).

[31] *Călători*, VI, pp. 156–157 (Paul de Alep). See also Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 64–65.

[32] *Enciclopedia geografică a României*, ed. G. Posea (Bucharest, 1982), p. 146.

[33] *Pădurile României*, ed. C. Chiriță (Bucharest, 1981), pp. 228–230.

by irrational deforestation were the hilly ones, where forests were cleared to make room for farmland, pastures, orchards and vineyards. On the Tutova Hills, for example, the surface area covered by forests rapidly decreased from 47.37 percent in 1832 to 21.9 percent in 1893. After 1900, deforestation slowed down, so that the forested area still covered 18.8 percent of the region in 1970.[34]

In 1978, afforested areas covered only 278,400 ha of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (the present Republic of Moldova, partially coresponding with the old territory of Bessarabia). That surface represents only 8.2 percent of the republic's territory,[35] and it covers a strip of land on the left of the Dniester, without including the Bugeac (almost totally forestless), and the Hotin region. In 1896 Bessarabia had 276,581 ha of forest, which decreased to 249,356 ha in 1919, a surface of 92,258 ha being deforested between 1873 and 1919 alone. In the southern half of Bessarabia, corresponding to the former counties Chişinău, Tighina, Cetatea Albă, Ismail and Cahul, there was a surface of 108,124 ha in 1919, out of which more than a half was in the Chişinău (Lăpuşna) county.[36] From 1850 to 1901 the forested area was reduced by 59 percent, due to irrational deforestation ordered by Russian governors.[37] After World War I, when Bessarabia was united with Romania, the regression of the forested area was much slower: in 1926 forests covered 235,200 ha, that is 5.4 percent of the whole province–44,422 km^2–and in 1933 it amounted to 233,095 ha.[38] Bessarabia's southern steppe regions were almost totally devoid of forests; in 1927 they hardly occupied 1 percent of all the territory of the Cetatea Albă and Ismail counties, whereas in the Cahul and Tighina counties they were of about 2 percent and 3 percent, respectively.[39] The above-mentioned data indicate that, in the past, the forested area was much larger and that the mentioned evaluations regarding its size are not exaggerated.

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[34] P. Poghirc, *Satul din Colinele Tutovei* (Bucharest, 1972), p. 59.

[35] T. Heideman, V. Chirtoca, in *Enciclopedia sovietică moldovenească*, 8, *R.S.S. Moldovenească* (Chişinău, 1981), p. 38. See also Iu. P. Kravchuk, "Лесные ресурсы Молдавии, их динамика, состояние, использование," *PGM* 9 (1974), pp. 97–106.

[36] C. Filipescu and E. N. Giurgea, *Basarabia. Consideraţii generale agricole, economice şi statistice* (Chişinău, 1919), pp. 117–120.

[37] N. K. Mogilianskii, *Материалы для географии и статистики Бессарабия* (Kishinev, 1913), p. 118.

[38] *Бессарабия. Военно-географический справочник* (Moscow, 1940), p. 109.

[39] D. A. Sburlan, I. C. Demetrescu, and At. Haralamb, *Pădurea şi omul* (Bucharest, 1942), p. 87.

The forest, besides its economic significance (as a cardinal constituent of the ecosystem, and as a generator of the favourable facilities) meant an extremely efficient refuge in front of the numerous invasions of the peoples in the neighbourhood. Finding shelter in the forests became a frequent way of defence,[40] beginning especially with the second half of the sixteenth century, at the time of the military weakening of the Moldavian Principality, marked by the Ottoman demand that the country's fortresses be demolished.

In maintaining the continuity of the Romanised population in the Carpathian-Danubian area during the troubled period of the migrations, forests was also came to play an important role. It is significant that some generic terms in Romanian regarding the forest are of Thraco-Dacian origin and that many names of trees and of the constituent parts of a tree are inherited from the Latin.[41] The earlier historiography had given credit to the idea of the inhabitants' refuge in the higher Carpathian regions during the migrations, which seems to be less probable as long as the subsistence possibilities offered by mountains are relatively limited, and the practice of agriculture becomes,

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[40] *Călători*, III, p. 200 (*Descrierea anonimă a Moldovei din 1587*); IV, pp. 45, 46, 50 (B. Quirini), 351 (J. Wilden), 355 (G. di Nicolo Ragusanul); V, pp. 425, 429 (B. Valentini), 487 (R. Bargrave), 501 (*Activitatea misiunii iezuite din Moldova în anii 1653–1654*); VI, pp. 82, 102–103 (Paul de Alep); VII, pp. 175 (P. Parčević), 388–389 (G. B. Volponi); VIII, pp. 142–143 (Nicolo de Porta); Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la Aron vodă încoace*, in idem, *Opere*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1958), p. 133; Nicolae Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la zidirea lumii pînă la 1601 şi de la 1709 la 1711 (Opere*, I*)*, eds. C. A. Stoide and I. Lăzărescu (Iaşi, 1976), pp. 326 and 338; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte*, ed. G. Ştrempel (Bucharest, 1982), p. 815; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor. Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695–1754*, eds. N. Camariano and A. Camariano-Cioran (Bucharest, 1965), pp. 94–95, 114–117 and 268–269; N. Muste (attributed to), *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei*, in *Cronicele României sau letopiseţele Moldaviei şi Valahiei*, 2nd ed., ed. M. Kogălniceanu, III (Bucharest, 1874), pp. 44 and 49; I. Canta, *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei*, in *Cronicele României*, p. 193; Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, Ioan Canta, *Cronici moldoveneşti*, eds. A. Ilieş and I. Zmeu (Bucharest, 1987), pp. 81 (Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu) and 176 (I. Canta); *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, VIII, *Acte interne (1781–1790)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2006), no. 461, p. 591; N. I. Antonovici, "Codrii şi numele de Prut şi Argeş în continuitatea românilor din sud-estul Carpaţilor," *BSRRG* 56 (1937), pp. 283–287; Sburlan, Demetrescu and Haralamb, *Pădurea şi omul*, pp. 75–78.

[41] C. C. Giurescu, "Termeni de origine daco-getă şi latină privind pădurea românească," in *Sub semnul lui Clio. Omagiu Acad. Prof. Ştefan Pascu* (Cluj, 1974), pp. 105–109; idem, *Istoria pădurii* (see above, n. 23), pp. 21–23 and 27. According to I. I. Russu, *Etnogeneza românilor* (Bucharest, 1981), pp. 268, 278, 280, 281, 294, 321 and 360, the following words are of Geto-Dacian origin: *brad* (fir tree), *bunget* (thicket), *butuc* (tree trunk), *buturugă* (log), *copac* (tree), *gorun* (common oak) and *mugure* (bud). See also Gr. Brâncuş, *Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române* (Bucharest, 1995), p. 22 ff.

partially, ineffective. In exchange, the capacity of the forests in the hill and plain regions to provide food sources, as well as protection, is much higher. The old concept of "refuge in the mountains" should be replaced by "refuge in the forest".[42] Moldavia's forests were also used in the Middle Ages as strategic positions to face enemies superior in number and endowment.[43]

In Moldavia's southern regions, the more clearly outlined geographic elements are placed at the extremities of these regions: the Carpathian arch in the west, and the Danube Delta and the Black Sea coast in the south and the south-east.[44]

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In Simion Mehedinți's opinion, the destiny of the Romanians is as inseparable from the Carpathian citadel as that of the Egyptians from the Nile Valley, or that of the Italians from their Mediterranean Peninsula. The Carpathians—"the backbone" of the Romanian territory—represented in the great geographer's conception "the most advanced citadel of Europe in front of the Ponto-Caspian steppe," because, indeed, from the Urals towards the west, along 2.500 km, no more prominent form of relief is to be found.[45]

The east-Carpathian branch consists of three parallel strips, oriented north-west—south-east. The central part is represented by a crystalline-Mesozoic strip, with the highest altitude in the eastern Carpathians,

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[42] Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii*, p. 31; idem, "Pădurea în viața și istoria poporului român," in *Pădurile României*, p. 15; idem, "Românii în mileniul migrațiilor. Considerații asupra unor aspecte," in *Discursuri de recepție [Academia Română]*, VII *(1974–1976)*, ed. D. N. Rusu (Bucharest, 2005), pp. 152–155.

[43] Joannis Dlugossi seu Longini *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. A. Przezdziecki, III (= *Opera omnia*, XII) (Cracow, 1876), pp. 277–278; M. Bielski, *Kronika* (Warsaw, 1764), p. 197; *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1959), pp. 12, 21, 59, 65, 73, and 181; Gr. Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1955), pp. 67–68, 104; *Războieni. Cinci sute de ani de la campania din 1476* (Bucharest, 1977), pp. 194, 195, 243, 253, 300, 301, 315, and 337; *Călători*, I, pp. 418–419 (A. Verancsics); II, pp. 621 (A. M. Graziani), 625 (Guagnini-Paszkowski); Miron Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, pp. 132 and 193; Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 110–111; Axinte Uricariul, *Cronica paralelă a Țării Românești și a Moldovei*, I, ed. G. Ștrempel (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 7–8, 47–49, and 86–89. See also I. Toderașcu, *Unitatea românească medievală* (Bucharest, 1988), pp. 35–40.

[44] For details on the names, relief, climate, hydrographic system, flora and fauna of southern Moldavia, see V. Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români și turanici* (Iași, 1985), pp. 20–42.

[45] Mehedinți, *Le pays* (see above, n. 14), pp. 5–6.

which marks the borderline separating Moldavian territories from Transylvanian ones.

The depressions and the river valleys occupy considerable surfaces within the Carpathian landscape, and they count among its specific forms. Their importance lies in the fact that, due to more favourable conditions than those in the mountains, they provide facilities for human habitation, while being, at the same time, lines of communication. The depressions usually shelter the so-called *curături* ("clearings"), created by deforestations meant to create pasture or tilled land, especially when, because of the pressures of incoming migrants, the inhabitants were forced to retreat from the plain regions.[46]

In spite of the fact that the eastern Carpathians are of average height, to cross them means to face difficulties, because they do not have easily accessible passes; no rivers flow through them crosswise, the way the Olt crosses the southern Carpathians at Turnu Roşu, for example. The links between the slopes of the Carpathians are also difficult due to the fact that the mountains are ordered in parallel ranges and are covered to their summits with thick forests.[47] Some roads that cross the eastern Carpathians now were but simple paths a few centuries ago. But the above-mentioned hardships were not an obstacle in establishing connections between Moldavia and Transylvania. On the contrary, such connections were uninterrupted through the ages. As early as the Neolithic Age, on both sides of the mountains, the same archaeological cultures developed for centuries, which is an indication of ethnic-cultural unity. In this way, the bearers of the Criş culture and of the Linear Pottery culture of the Early Neolithic, those of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture of the Late Neolithic, and those of the Noua culture of the Late Bronze Age were spread both in Moldavia and in Transylvania. Between the Chalcolithic and the Hallstatt period, numerous kinds of tools, weapons and jewels of copper, bronze, gold and iron, made in intra-Carpathian centres of production, entered Moldavia by intertribal exchanges by way of mountain passes. A remarkable flourishing, as well as a unity, is manifest in the Daco-Getic civilization of the inner- and outer-Carpathian areas.[48]

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[46] G. Vâlsan, "O fază în popularea ţărilor româneşti," in idem, *Opere alese*, ed. T. Morariu (Bucharest, 1971), p. 549.

[47] S. Mehedinţi and G. Vâlsan, *România* (Bucharest, 1933), pp. 83 and 98.

[48] *Ist. Rom.*, I, *passim*; H. Daicoviciu, *Dacii* (Bucharest, 1965); D. Berciu, *Zorile istoriei în Carpaţi şi la Dunăre* (Bucharest, 1966); S. Morintz, *Contribuţii arheologice la istoria tracilor*

After the Roman conquest, between the intra-mountainous territories of the province Dacia and the part of the province Moesia Inferior covering the south of Moldavia and the whole of Dobrudja, permanent links were established, especially through the Oituz Pass. The road starting from the Roman camp and the *castellum* of Galaţi-Barboşi—extending eastward up to Tyras, and towards the south up to the west-Pontic fortresses—followed the Siret Valley up to present-day Poiana, then the Trotuş Valley and the Oituz Valley up to what is now Breţcu, the Transylvanian extremity of the Oituz Pass. Though there are signs of the use of that road before that—by the Dacians themselves, and by the Greek merchants—its military-strategic importance considerably increased during the time of the Roman rule.[49] The relations between the two sides of the eastern Carpathians inhabited by Daco-Roman population were maintained throughout the period of the migrations until the formation of the Romanian people was complete.[50] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, an Armenian scholar keenly pointed out the importance of the mountains and the paths for the Romanians: "For the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Carpathians were good refuge during the wars, because here and there, the mountains as a whole, are inaccessible, having passes in very few places, known only by those familiar with the area".[51]

Among the trans-Carpathian passes that link southern Moldavia and Transylvania, larger and more accessible was the one along the Oituz Valley, known in the Middle Ages under the name of "the lower road"[52]—as opposed to "the upper road of Suceava"—or as "the Braşov

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timpurii, I (Bucharest, 1978); M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, *Scurtă istorie a Daciei preromane* (Iaşi, 1978); V. Dumitrescu, A. Vulpe, *Dakien vor Dromichaites. Abriss der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Rumäniens* (Bucharest, 1988); Ursulescu, *Începuturile istoriei* (see above, n. 13), *passim*. See also I. Şandru, "Rolul pasurilor şi trecătorilor carpatice în mobilitatea populaţiei," *ASUI*, Secţ. II, b. *Geologie-geografie* 20 (1974), pp. 83–92; I. Ioniţă, "Les Carpates pendant la préhistoire et la protohistoire: une barrière entre l'Occident et l'Orient de l'Europe?," in *Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Michel Rouche*, eds. M. Aurell and Th. Deswarte (Paris, 2005), pp. 283–298.

[49] V. Pârvan, "Castrul de la Poiana şi drumul roman prin Moldova de Jos," *AARMSI*, Ser. II, 36 (1913), no. 4, pp. 119–120; idem, *Începuturile vieţii romane la gurile Dunării*, ed. R. Vulpe (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 50–51.

[50] L. Bârzu, *Der Fortbestand der Rumänen im ehemaligen Dazien* (Bucharest, 1981); D. Gh. Teodor, *Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană şi Bizanţul în veacurile V–XI e.n.* (Iaşi, 1981).

[51] H. Ingigian, *Valahia şi Moldova*, ed. H. Dj. Sirouni, *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 9 (1928–29), p. 265.

[52] *Cronica* lui Macarie, in *Cronicile slavo-române* (see above, n. 43), pp. 82, 96.

road".[53] The pass was an important trade road, as well as a strategic one; it was through it that armies such as those of Matthias I Corvinus, Petru Rareş, Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave) and of other voivodes and commanders passed.[54] Generally, the travellers and the medieval chronicles qualify the Oituz Pass as difficult. Georg Reicherstorffer wrote, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, that it is "a very difficult road, stony and so narrow that only one cart can hardly advance along it";[55] the information was confirmed by his contemporary, Anton Verancsics, who wrote that the pass was "full of dangers," with "very steep slopes covered with very thick and large forests".[56] In the same way the difficulties of crossing the Oituz Pass are described in other accounts of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries.[57] The heavy use of the road necessitated maintenance, especially the removal of broken rocks and of fallen tree trunks.[58]

Besides the road axis of the Oituz, there were numerous other roads that penetrated the eastern Carpathians, but they were much less favourable. In the first half of the second millennium, it is probable that those roads of southern Moldavia were but simple paths that could not be used by carts. One could go on foot or on horseback, and shepherds could also move their sheep to the alpine pastures. South of the Bistriţa (a river which runs out of the mountains, and which, together with its tributaries, constituted an important means of communication with

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[53] *Cronica* lui Eftimie, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 109, 117; Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 43), p. 139; Axinte Uricariul, *Cronica paralelă*, I (see above, n. 43), p. 150.

[54] Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, p. 153; Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), pp. 145, 147, 183; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte* (see above, n. 40), pp. 273, 327, 376, 781, 787, and 837; Acsinti Uricariul, *A doua domnie a lui Neculai Alecsandru Mavrocordat V.V. în Moldova*, in *Cronicele României*, II (Bucharest 1872), p. 166; Muste (attributed to), *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), III, pp. 21, 67; *Cronica anonimă a Ţerei Moldovei*, trans. Al. Amiras, in *Cronicele României*, III, p. 107; N. Chiparissa, *Cronicul*, in *Cronicarii greci care au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă*, ed. C. Erbiceanu (Bucharest, 1888), pp. 76 and 83; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor* (see above, n. 40), pp. 398–401. See also P. Binder, "Drumurile şi plaiurile Ţării Bîrsei," *SAI* 14 (1969), p. 209.

[55] Georgii a Reichersdorff, Transilvani, *Chorographia Moldaviae, recognita et emendata*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaric[arum]*, ed. J. G. Schwandtner, III (Vindobonae, 1768), pp. 105 and 110.

[56] *Călători*, I, pp. 420–421 (A. Verancsics).

[57] *Călători*, III, pp. 212 (I. C. Decsi de Barania), 580 (*Darea de seamă a venirii celor "O sută de toscani" în Transilvania şi Ţara Românească*, 1595); IV, p. 218 (S. Zolkiewski); V, p. 592 (C. I. Hiltebrandt); VIII, pp. 324–325 (E. H. Schneider von Weismantel); X, 2, p. 957 (F. Pizzagalli).

[58] Hurmuzaki, II, 1, p. 231; II, 4, pp. 286 and 308.

northern Transylvania), there were more roads and lower mountainous regions covered with pastures.[59] Along the Bicaz no one could cross because of the steep narrow pass, so roundabout paths were used instead. Of much more importance was the road through the Ghimeş Pass that connected the Trotuş Valley and the Olt Valley, between the depressions of Dărmăneşti and Ciuc. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Ghimeş Pass, also called "the pass of the Szeklers," could be crossed on horseback, despite its narrowness.[60] From the following century we have some map representations of that pass as well as of the Oituz one.[61] The broad valley of the Trotuş favoured the trade between medieval Moldavia and the Szekler settlements, being also used as a point of entry into Transylvania for Tatar raiding parties from the Bugeac. In the Middle Ages, besides the main roads with Moldavian customs at Prisăcani, Bicaz, Comăneşti and Oituz, numerous paths and flat mountainous regions were also used, with no less than eight lateral paths being recorded in the Ghimeş region at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[62] At the beginning of the twentieth century, in order to cross to Moldavia through Vrancea, the transhumant Transylvanian shepherds used three main roads. To those, a few minor ways of communication could be added.[63] Undoubtedly, many of them had been used long before, for hundreds or even thousands of years. Some older roads and paths may have been given up as well, for various reasons, in favour of others that were subsequently opened.

Like other Carpathian regions, the eastern range has a large variety of terms (e.g., *trecătoare* [pass] or *şea* [saddle]) created by a population speaking Romanian.[64] In the course of time, the importance of those passes rested not only in their role as a mediator of interethnic relations,

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[59] I. Ionescu-Bregoveanu, "Consideraţii generale asupra teritoriului şi economiei zonei Bicaz," in *Etnografia văii Bistriţei. Zona Bicaz*, gen. ed. R. Vuia (Piatra Neamţ, 1973), pp. 71–72.

[60] *Călători*, V, p. 602 (C. I. Hiltebrandt).

[61] Docan, "Memoriu despre lucrările cartografice" (see above, n. 26), pp. 1328 and 1340; I.-I. Bidian, "Hărţile medievale despre ţările române păstrate la Biblioteca Institutului român din Freiburg-Germania," *BBR*, SN, 8 (12) (1980–81), pp. 359–360.

[62] P. Binder, "Drumurile şi plaiurile Carpaţilor Orientali," *SAI* 20 (1972), pp. 73–74.

[63] N. A. Rădulescu, *Vrancea. Geografie fizică şi umană* (Bucharest, 1937), pp. 112–113; C. Constantinescu-Mirceşti, *Vrancea arhaică. Evoluţia şi problemele ei* (Bucharest, 1985), pp. 117–121; A. Paragină, *Habitatul medieval la Curbura exterioară a Carpaţilor în secolele X–XV* (Brăila, 2002), pp. 61–68.

[64] E. Petrovici, "Nume româneşti de trecători peste culmi," in idem, *Studii de dialectologie şi toponimie* (Bucharest, 1970), pp. 264–274.

but also in the shelter they offered, as well as in facilitating the traffic of goods from one side of the Carpathian Mountains to the other. The data briefly presented above supports the assertion that the east-Carpathian branch has never separated the population on one side from that of the other side.

One level below the Carpathians towards the east is the subunit of relief known as sub-Carpathians. The term has been applied to a relatively compact area of higher, hilly country. Although its altitude is generally higher than that of common hills, the relief does not always mark it as distinct from lower hilly regions, the differences being visible mainly in the petrographic structure.

Neighbouring the sub-Carpathians to the east, the Moldavian Plateau is the largest relief unit of the entire Romanian Carpathian-Dniestrian territory. Despite that, its landscape is far from uniform, in regard to both the relief proper, and the bio-pedo-climatic register. In the Ukrainian territories, north-east of the Dniester, the Moldavian hilly forms come after the Volhyno-Podolian Plateau between the Dniester and the Bug, and after the Dnieper Plateau, between the Bug and the Dnieper.

The hydrographic systems of the Siret, the Prut and the Dniester drain almost the whole surface of the Moldavian Plateau. Their lengths are of 686 km, 967 km and l,352 km, respectively, and the surface of the basins of 44,811 km², 28,396 km² and 72,100 km², respectively. As all the main tributaries of the Prut rise in the plateau and plain regions and are supplied by snow-thawing and incidental rains, the river's average yearly discharge is of only 110 m³/s, being much more reduced than that of the Siret (230 m³/s), which is shorter but collects its main tributaries from the mountains. Their liquid flow values are big in spring and summer, and considerably diminishes in the other seasons.[65] Although the solid flow recorded along the Prut in certain periods reaches high enough values, the drinkable qualities of that river's water, often remarked upon in the past, seem not to be affected.[66]

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[65] V. Slastikhin, in *Enciclopedia sovietică* (see above, n. 35), pp. 30–32; *Enciclopedia geografică* (see above, n. 32), pp. 57 and 59; P. Gâştescu, I. Zăvoianu, B. Driga, D. Ciupitu, I.-J. Drăgoi, "Waters," in *Romania. Space, Society* (see above, n. 18), pp. 103–111.

[66] *Kurtze Beschreibung von denen moldauischen Ländern*, in N. Iorga, "O nouă descriere a Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea de un suedez," *Revista istorică* 16 (1930), nos. 1–2, pp. 12–13; G. Cristea, *Regi şi diplomaţi suedezi în spaţiul românesc (Secolele XVII–XX)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), pp. 106 and 115 (E. H. Weismantell); Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 64–65; Ingigian, *Valahia* (see above, n. 51), p. 267; A. de Demidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale*

The Dniester, which makes the border of Moldavia in the east, represents an outstanding, well individualized boundary.[67] In ancient times its stream separated Dacia from Sarmatia,[68] and in the Middle Ages and the modern period it separated the Romanians in Moldavia from the Golden Horde, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and Russia, respectively. Its waters have cut its bed in the hard rock, and the steep rocky banks made the chronicler Miron Costin state that the Dniester "flows among naturally sculptured rocks, as if they were carved by man".[69] Upstream of Tighina (Bender) its medium width is about 200–300 m, varying in some portions between 100 m and 500 m, and its depth between 2 m and 20 m. Between Tighina and the sea the river bed narrows to 65–85 m, but the width grows along limited lengths up to almost 200 m. In several places there were more fords that would have been good for carts.[70] Across one of those fords the famous surprise attack of the Huns against the positions of Athanaric's Visigoths took place in 376.[71]

The crossing of the Dniester becomes possible in winter when the river water freezes. The running of the Dniester's water is not uniformly proportioned; in spring and in summer about 44.4 and 25.5 percent of the whole was recorded, and in autumn and in winter only 16.0 and 14.1 percent.[72] The shalower parts of the course of the Dniester are obstacles for navigation, and the information before the eighteenth century is contradictory in regard to naval transport.

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et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie exécuté en 1837 (Paris, 1841), p. 253; *Prin Țările Române. Călători străini din secolul al XIX-lea*, ed. S. Vărzaru (Bucharest, 1984), p. 44 (D. Sestini).

[67] A. Babel, *La Bessarabie. Étude historique, ethnographique et économique* (Paris, 1926), pp. 15 and 21.

[68] *FHDR*, I, pp. 538–541 (Ptolemeu); Moïse de Corène, *Géographie d'après Ptolémée*, ed. A. Soukry (Venice, 1881), p. 19; Ananias of Širak, *The Geography (Ašxarhac'oyc'). The Long and the Short Recensions*, ed. R. H. Hewsen (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 48.

[69] Miron Costin, *Istorie în versuri polone despre Moldova şi Ţara Românească (Poema polonă)*, in idem, *Opere* (see above, n. 40), p. 230.

[70] *Бессарабия* (see above, n. 38), pp. 22–25.

[71] Ammiani Marcellini *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. W. Seyfarth, II (Leipzig, 1978), p. 167. See also O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns. Studies in Their History and Culture*, ed. M. Knight (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1973), pp. 26–28; H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. Th. J. Dunlap (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1990), pp. 70–71; S. Krautschick, "Hunnensturm und Germanenflut. 375—Der Beginn der Völkerwanderung?," *BZ* 92 (1999), no. 1, p. 10 ff.

[72] Slastikhin, in *Enciclopedia sovietică*, p. 32.

Some Greek authors, such as Pseudo-Scymnos[73] and Strabo,[74] as well as Georg Reicherstorffer,[75] Anton Verancsics (Antonio Verantio)[76] and Dimitrie Cantemir,[77] asserted that the Dniester—known as Tyras in antiquity—was a navigable river, which was contradicted by a French report in 1712[78] and by other sources.[79] In fact, the disagreement among these sources is due to the fact that in some cases the lower river that was navigable was taken into consideration, whereas the upper river was not navigable. The oldest known project of improving the Dniester navigation was ordered by the Polish crown; it dates from 1568, and was commissioned to a Florentine.[80]

The river freeze, which usually lasts from December until February or March, affects the whole hydrologic network of Moldavia, the duration and the forms of manifestation alternating in accordance with the climate. In mild winters there may be no ice bridge or the ice is very thin for short periods of time, and only over limited surfaces. When there was an ice bridge, the rivers could be easily crossed on horseback or by sledge. Sometimes Moldavia's enemies waited for the rivers to freeze in order to start their attacks.[81] Besides rivers and underground waters, the plateau and hilly territories have numerous lakes and ponds. Their large number and the abundance of fish were seldom noticed in the documents of the Moldavian administration and in the notes of the foreign travellers of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.[82] The fate of

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[73] *Géographes grecs*, I, *Introduction générale.* Ps.-Scymnos: *Circuit de la Terre*, ed. and trans. D. Marcotte (Paris, 2000), p. 137. See also Anonymi [Scymni Chii, ut fertur], *Orbis descriptio*, in *Geographi Graeci minores*, I, ed. C. Müllerus (Paris, 1855; reprint Hildesheim, 1965), p. 229; *Périple du Pont-Euxin d'un auteur inconnu (qui l'on avait attribute à Arrien)*, in A. Baschmakoff, *La synthèse des périples pontiques. Méthode de précision en paléo-ethnologie* (Paris, 1948), pp. 150–151; F. A. Ukert, *Skythien und das Land der Geten oder Daker* (Weimar, 1846), p. 185.

[74] *The Geography of* Strabo, III, ed. and trans. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1967), pp. 218–219.

[75] Georgii a Reichersdorff, Transilvani, *Chorographia Moldaviae* (see above, n. 55), p. 105.

[76] Ant[onius] Verantius, *De situ Transylvaniae, Moldaviae, & Transalpinae, Fragmentum. Farrago indigesta,* in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores*, II, ed. M. G. Kovachich (Budae, 1798), p. 93.

[77] Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 64–65.

[78] Hurmuzaki, I, supl. I, p. 424.

[79] *Călători*, VIII, p. 287 (M. Eneman).

[80] N. Iorga, *Acte şi fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, I (Bucharest, 1895), p. 14; *Călători*, II, p. 631 (G. Ruggiero).

[81] Hurmuzaki, II, 3, pp. 1–2; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor* (see above, n. 40), pp. 272–273.

[82] Georgii a Reichersdorff, Transilvani, *Chorographia Moldaviae*, p. 111; *Călători*, I, pp. 192, 202 (G. Reicherstorffer); III, p. 181 (François de Pavie); V, p. 276 (P. Beke);

those water-bodies was also to correct, to a certain extent, the inconstant character of the liquid flow, by holding back the floodwater.

In the hilly areas there is alternation of forest and forest-steppe (Fig. 1B), within which central-European plants and trees intermix with east-European ones. The extension of tillage and deforestation substantially limited wild flora, a fact that partially accounts for the extension, during the last centuries, of steppe to the detriment of forest, against a background of slight aridity. Conversely, in some postglacial periods, forested areas tended to extend towards the steppe, whose area thus decreased.

On the lowest altimeter level of the Carpathian-Dniestrian relief there is a strip of plains, of variable width, north of the Danube and the Black Sea; this strip is bordered by the hills, the sub-Carpathians and the Lower Dniester. The south of Moldavia's flat regions divide into two distinct parts: the Romanian Plain, between the sub-Carpathians and the Prut, and the Bugeac Plain, or the Bessarabian Plain (included in the North-West-Pontic Plain), between the Prut and the Dniester. The Moldavian strip of the Romanian Plain is a low area, easily flooded in places. Seen from the Danube everglades, which it dominates in height, the edges of the plain look like a plateau, even if they are lower than the right bank of the river.

The Bugeac Plain (as part of the North-West-Pontic Plain) reaches 200 m in altitude, going down towards the sea-coast; some geographers have considered it to be a plateau. Delimited towards the Cogâlnic Platform by the alignment marked by the localities Văleni, Căuşani and Purcari, the Bugeac looks like a region of broad hillocks with even ridges and north-to-south inclinations, crossed by parallel longitudinal valleys, wide and deep, at long distances from one other. Some of the wider valleys end in prolonged depressions that open in Danubian and maritime shores. In the seventeenth century, around Akkerman (Cetatea Albă), Evlia Çelebi noted vast sand dunes,[83] which in the meantime have become stabilized and cultivated.

The lowest plain regions lie about the Danube Delta, a unique territory of the European landscape. The Delta begins at the bifurcation

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Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi* (see above, n. 24), p. 110; V. Neamţu, "Exploatarea peştelui în Moldova în secolul al XV-lea," *Studii şi cercetări ştiinţifice, Istorie*, Iaşi, 6 (1955), nos. 1–2, pp. 29–49; C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria pescuitului şi a pisciculturii în România*, I (Bucharest, 1964), pp. 76–82 and 251–255.

[83] *Călători*, VI, p. 412.

of the Danube into the arms of Chilia and Tulcea, respectively, the latter being also known as Ceatalul Ismail (the term *çatal* meaning "bifurcation" in Turkish);[84] it ends where the river waters flow into the sea. The Danube Delta represents a young unit of relief, which is still in the making, by the joint action of river and sea, plus the contributions of wind and flora. That is why it is difficult to determine its real image at the beginning of the Middle Ages, to say nothing about earlier times. It has been estimated that the Danube yearly removes 67.5 million tons of solid materials, which are deposited along the banks or poured into the sea, so that the land advances by a few meters every year, especially on the Chilia arm. The vast spring flows, due to which only some higher fluvial, maritime or continental banks remain out of water, make permanent habitation in the Delta difficult. In spite of this, the endless possibilities of fishing and of hunting different species of birds, as well as the good facilities for sheep to spend the winter, were factors that attracted man to the Danube Delta.

In the south, along ca. 160 km of Moldavia's border is the most important fluvial thoroughfare of Europe, the Danube, which dominates the whole Romanian hydrologic network and, at the same time, absorbs it almost entirely. From the junction with the Siret up to the Delta, the Danube is, on an average, 500–600 m wide and 6–7.5 m deep, on short distances being 25–34 m deep. The width of the Chilia arm varies between 220 and 500 m.[85] Navigation was possible even for big crafts along its whole lower course, so that the river waters were steadily crossed by ships of fishermen or of merchants, as well as by military fleets. Dangerous enough obstacles for navigation were the alluvial sand banks deposited at the river mouths, where ships of less skilful sailors and of those who did not know the places often got stranded. Such difficulties were mentioned even by Polybius[86] and by Strabo,[87]

[84] *Ibidem*, p. 283 (Paul de Alep).

[85] I. T. Vidraşcu, "Lunca Dunării şi regimul apelor ei," *BSRRG* 36 (1915), pp. 131–163; G. Vâlsan, "Dunărea," *BSRRG* 54 (1935), pp. 38–55; Simionescu, *Ţara noastră* (see above, n. 14), pp. 193–197; Sîrcu, *Geografia*, pp. 54–57; I. Ujvári, *Geografia apelor României* (Bucharest, 1972), pp. 177–225.

[86] *FHDR*, I, pp. 160–163 (Polibius).

[87] *The Geography of* Strabo, III, pp. 216–219. When Ammianus Marcellinus, I (see above, n. 71), p. 269, referred to the rivers flowing into Pontus Euxinus making sand banks, he also took into account the Danube.

as well as by various travellers in the Middle Ages.[88] Herodotus'[89] and Pseudo-Scymnos'[90] information about the constancy of the Danube's flow in all seasons was certainly inexact.

Downstream of Silistra—where its waters bifurcate and form the Ialomița marshes, and then, after joining again at Vadul Oii, the Brăila marshes—up to its flowing into the sea, the Danube is difficult to cross not only because of its width and of repeated high floods, but also as a result of the fact that the river divides into two or three arms lined by numerous lakes, backwaters and swamps. Along its course, the everglades are rich vegetation consisting of willows, poplars, common reed and mace reed. The crossing of the Danube is easy in the cold winter months, a fact known to nomadic peoples of the steppes north of the Black Sea, who organized raids into the Balkan Peninsula. A majority (78 percent) of the analysed samples from the lower river, stretching over 100 years, indicate the formation of a thick ice-bed lasting for about 49 days.[91] Even Aristotle and Claudius Aelianus knew that the Danube froze in the winter and that it could be crossed on horseback or by carts.[92] The Byzantine historians narrated that during the war with the Pechenegs in the middle of the eleventh century, the Danube's waters froze for 15 cubits.[93]

Because of hard frost, navigation was interrupted in late autumn. We know, for example, that, in order not to be caught by the ice sheet, the Burgundian fleet under Walerand of Wavrin's command, retreated towards Constantinople; they raised anchor near Nicopolis at the beginning of October 1445 and cast it in the Bosporus' waters about a month later.[94] In years with normal temperatures, ships could freely navigate later in the cold season. A notary document written at Chilia on October 18, 1360, showed the imminent departure of a

[88] *Călători*, II, p. 526 (G. Mancinelli); P. P. Panaitescu, *Călători poloni în Țările Române* (Bucharest, 1930), p. 212.

[89] Herodotus, II, *Books III and IV*, trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1982), pp. 250–251.

[90] *Géographes grecs*, I, *Introduction générale.* Ps.-Scymnos: *Circuit*, p. 136. See also *Périple du Pont-Euxin d'un auteur inconnu* (see above, n. 73), pp. 152–153.

[91] Ujvári, *Geografia*, pp. 221–222.

[92] *FHDR*, I, pp. 112–113 (Aristotel), 650–651 (Claudius Aelianus).

[93] Skylitzes, p. 458; Kedrenos, II, p. 585.

[94] Jehan de Wavrin, *Anciennes cronicques d'Engleterre*, II, ed. [E.] Dupont (Paris, 1859), p. 158.

Genoese ship from that town upstream to Vicina, from where it was to sail back to Pera.[95]

In the other seasons the only good point for crossing between the Bugeac and the Dobrudja was near Isaccea (Tulcea county). According to Heroditus' information, Darius' attack against the Scythians appears to have taken place on a bridge where the Danube divides into its arms.[96] That bridge must have been built near the place where Isaccea lies today. The distinct strategic character of the Dobrudjan locality is also suggested by the fact that the Romans built an important fortress there, Noviodunum, where the Danubian military fleet established its base, *classis Flavia Moesica*.[97] In the same place, at Noviodunum, Valens ordered a floating bridge to be built, in order to lead his army against the Ostrogoths and Athanaric's Visigoths in 369.[98] The fortress regained its importance after the incorporation of the first Bulgarian Tsardom within the Byzantine Empire and again during Mongol rule. By the close of the thirteenth century, Saqdja (Isaccea) was to become a residence for the powerful emir Nogai, and then, after his fall from power, for Tükäl Buga, the son of Toqtai Khan;[99] it was from there that they could efficiently control the Golden Horde's lands on the Lower Danube. The Ottomans would also pay much attention to Isaccea. The sixteenth-century chronicler Mustafa Gelalzade indicated it as the most propitious place for crossing to the north of the Lower Danube,[100] a fact that was also confirmed by Kiatip Çelebi (1609–1657).[101] The crossing of the Danube near Isaccea (also called Obluciţa) by travellers, missionaries,

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[95] M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, II, *Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzò (1360)* (Paris-The Hague-New York, 1980), pp. 155–159. See also P. S. Năsturel, "Mais où donc localiser Vicina?," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987), pp. 159–164.

[96] Herodotus, II, pp. 290–293.

[97] R. Vulpe, "Perioada Principatului (Sec. I–III)," in *DID*, II, pp. 61, 122, and 193; A. Suceveanu, A. Barnea, *La Dobroudja romaine*, trans. M. Plătăreanu (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 28–29, 47–49, and 67; O. Bounegru, *Trafiquants et navigateurs sur le Bas Danube et dans le Pont Gauche à l'époque romaine* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 29–30 and 109.

[98] Ammianus Marcellinus, II (see above, n. 71), p. 40.

[99] Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 117 (Baibars), 161 (an-Nuwairi). See also Spinei, *Moldova*, p. 172; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Documente numismatice privind relaţiile spaţiului est-carpatic cu zona Gurilor Dunării în secolele XIII–XIV," *AIIA* 22 (1985), no. 2, pp. 585–590; idem, «Începuturile prezenţei tătarilor în zona Gurilor Dunării în lumina documentelor numismatice," in *Originea tătarilor. Locul lor în România şi în lumea turcă*, ed. T. Gemil (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 111–120 and 123–128.

[100] *Cronici turceşti privind Ţările Române. Extrase*, I, eds. M. Guboglu and M. Mehmet (Bucharest, 1966), p. 264.

[101] *Cronici turceşti privind Ţările Române. Extrase*, II, ed. M. Guboglu (Bucharest, 1974), p. 113.

or armies, by common boats, floating bridges or even on ice, was often mentioned in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[102] Another place for crossing the Danube between Moldavia and Dobrudja, often used during the medieval period, especially after the building of the Ismail *raia*, was the crossing point near the port of Galaţi, which provided a link with the road to Măcin.[103]

Information on the remarkable richness in fish of the Lower Danube, including the low prices at which sturgeon and other fishes could be bought, often appears in the notes of the travellers who went along the Moldavian bank of the river in sixteenth-eighteenth centuries.[104]

The whole plain between the Prut and the Dniester is divided by a range of lakes with two distinct groups: the Danubian lakes and the

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[102] Hurmuzaki, II, 4, pp. 150, 152; *Cronici turceşti*, I, pp. 225 (Nasuh Matrakci), 254 (Rustem-Paşa), 264, 271 (Mustafa Ğelalzade), 325 (Sa'adeddin Mehmed), 355 (Mustafa Ali), 523 (Ibrahim Pecevi), 556 (Kara-Celebi-Zade Abdul-Aziz efendi); II, pp. 77, 113 (Kiatip Celebi), 163 (Solakzade Mehmed Hemdemi); *Călători*, I, p. 384 (*Itinerar turc*); II, p. 515 (J. Newberie); III, p. 354 (T. Korobeinikov); IV, p. 89 (J. v. d. Does); V, p. 411 (A. Suhanov); VI, pp. 283 (Paul de Alep), 489 (Evlia Celebi); VII, pp. 249, 481 (Secretarul de la Croix), 359, 364 (Solia lui I. Gninski), 517 (G. Levasseur de Beauplan); VIII, pp. 410 (Frederic-Ernest de Fabrice), 516, 525 (Aubry de la Motraye), 543 (J. Jeffries), 639 (C. E. Rönne); Iorga, *Acte şi fragmente*, I (see above, n. 80), p. 93; Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi* (see above, n. 24), p. 63; Nicolae Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), p. 337; Acsinti Uricariul, *A doua domnie* (see above, n. 54), p. 125; Muste (attributed to), *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), pp. 7–11; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte* (see above, n. 40), pp. 214 and 220; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor* (see above, n. 40), pp. 80–81 and 382–385; D. Cantemir, *Viaţa lui Constantin Cantemir zis cel Bătrîn, domnul Moldovei* (Bucharest, 1960), p. 43; Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, Ioan Canta, *Cronici* (see above, n. 40), pp. 5 and 137.

[103] *Călători*, IV, pp. 347 (Simeon Dbir Lehaţi), 359–360, 365 (T. Alberti); VI, p. 24 (Paul de Alep); VIII, pp. 183 (*Descrierea anonimă a soliei lui Rafael Leszczynski*), 234 (J. Pápai), 240 (M. Bay and G. Pápay), 328 (E. H. Schneider von Weismantel), 586 (S. Chometowski), 596–597 (F. Gościecki); Panaitescu, *Călători poloni* (see above, n. 88), pp. 96, 97, 107, 108, 118, 119, 130, 174, 212, 221, 239; Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi*, p. 62; Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 170–171; idem, *Viaţa lui Constantin Cantemir*, pp. 20, 21, 30; Acsinti Uricariul, *A doua domnie*, p. 130; Muste (attributed to), *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei*, p. 11; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte*, pp. 229, 307, 439, 494, and 855; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor*, pp. 546–547, 608–609; Pseudo-Enache Kogălniceanu, Ioan Canta, *Cronici*, pp. 49, 124, and 159; Boscovich, *Giornale* (see above, n. 28), pp. 89–91.

[104] *Călători*, II, pp. 516 (J. Newberie), 524 (G. Mancinelli); III, pp. 179 (François de Pavie), 368, 682 (Al. Comuleo); IV, pp. 87 (J. v. d. Does), 560 (Th. Alberti); V, pp. 83 (N. Barsi), 226 (P. B. Bakšić), 486 (R. Bargrave); VI, pp. 284–285 (Paul de Alep); VII, p. 525 (J.-B. Tavernier); VIII, pp. 190–191 (Leontie), 596 (F. Gościecki); Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi*, p. 73; Panaitescu, *Călători poloni*, p. 139; Giurescu, *Istoria pescuitului* (see above, n. 82), pp. 25–29 and 87–91; P. Cernovodeanu, "Ţările române în viziunea călătorilor englezi (a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea şi primele decenii ale celui de-al XVIII-lea)," *SMIM* 6 (1973), p. 116.

maritime ones. The former have great fishing possibilities, in contrast with the latter ones, poor in fish, whose economic value is partially compensated for by the possibilities of salt production. The salt sediment obtained by closing the link with the sea can become thick enough; in only two years (1835 and 1836) 120 tons of salt were extracted at Alibei and Şagan. The profitability of such operations cannot be achieved without some appropriate arrangement.[105] Strabo knew only two lakes between the Istros and the Tyras, that is between the Danube and the Dniester, and he mentioned that only one of them was linked to the sea and had harbour facilities.[106] From his information, we may suppose that the Greek geographer took into account the Sasic bank-lagoon group and the one consisting of the Şagan, Alibei and Burnas lakes with their extensions,[107] and not only the Sasic and Alibei lakes.[108] By the formation of the offshore bars, maybe as far back as in antiquity, the lakes had separated from the sea and lost their importance for navigation, which explains why the Italian sea maps of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries totally ignore them, or simply show them schematically and arbitrarily.[109] The only important bank for navigators was that of the Dniester, which, unfortunately, usually freezes from December until March and, evidently, becomes unserviceable.

Ligneous vegetation is rare in the plain, and it consists especially of shrubs. Owing to the lack of forests, and consequently of firewood, earlier inhabitants had to burn dry dung-and-straw bricks (*tizic*).[110] Because of reduced precipitations, high temperatures in summer,

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[105] T. Porucic, *Lacurile sărate din sudul Basarabiei* (Bucharest, 1924); I. Lepşi, "Lacurile din sudul Basarabiei," *BMNIN* 4 (1932), pp. 110–227; S. Zaharov, "Suprafeţele lacurilor din România," *BMNIN* 5 (1933), pp. 149–150 and 157–159; Gh. I. Năstase, "Industria sării marine din Bugeac," *BSRRG* 61 (1942), pp. 266–272.

[106] *The Geography of* Strabo (see above, n. 74), III, pp. 218–219.

[107] Gh. I. Năstase, "Bugeacul în Antichitate," *BSRRG* 55 (1936), p. 140.

[108] V. V. Slastikhin, "Гидрологические сведения древних авторов о Дунае, Пруте и Днестре (VII в. до н.э–VI в. н.э.)," *PGM* 5 (1970), p. 157.

[109] Santarem, *Atlas, composé de mappemondes, de portulans, et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques, depuis le VI^e jusqu'au XVII^e siècle, pour la plupart inédites, devant servir de preuves à l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le Moyen Age et a celle des progrès de la géographie* (Paris, 1842–53); A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889); idem, *Periplus, an Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions* (New York, 1897); R. Almagià, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal secolo XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (= *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana*, I) (Vatican, 1944), *passim*.

[110] *Călători*, IV, pp. 575 (G. Botero), 587 (G. A. Magini); Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 82–83; Hugas Ingigian, *Paşalîcul din Ozu (I)*, in H. Dj. Siruni, "Dobrogea şi Basarabia descrise de geografi armeni," *Ani* 1 (1936), 4, p. 66.

endemic draughts, the great evaporation, and the mass of dry air, plants lack water, and that produces natural drying of a part of the vegetation and can imperil the crops during warm seasons.

Great calamities could bring about the invasion of migratory locusts (*Pachytilus migratorius*), whose main north-Danubian multiplying grounds lie along the Delta banks and in the Prut meadows, in the Măstăcani-Cârja area of the Fălciu hills and plain.[111] Old sources often mention the devastations caused by these locusts to crops and pastures.[112] One of Moldavia's voivodes, Ştefan Lăcustă (1538–1540), acquired a nickname ("Locust") recalling the detested insects, which had devastated the country during his rule.[113] Although the earliest information about their devastations east of the Carpathians is from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, it does not mean that they had not also occurred previously. Considering the direction of the penetration of those insects (*ex partibus Orientis*) into Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and Lombardy in 1338,[114] and in Poland in 1343,[115] it can be admitted that the devastations also affected the Romanian territory. A similar assumption can also be made regarding the great invasion of the migratory locusts in the year 700 of the Armenian era (= 1251), on which contemporary

[111] P. Bănărescu, Th. Buşniţă, R. Călinescu, "Fauna," in *Monografia*, I (see above, n. 14), p. 624.

[112] *Călători*, I, p. 135 (G. M. Angioletto); VIII, pp. 317–318 (E. H. Schneider von Weismantel), 435 (L. N. Allard), 499 (P. H. Bruce), 561 (*Jurnalul lui Petru cel Mare*); Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 43), p. 149; Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), p. 166; Nicolae Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 40), p. 331; Enaki Kogălniceanu, *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei*, in *Cronicele României*, III (see above, n. 40), p. 214; *Kurtze Beschreibung* (see above, n. 66), p. 2; Bezviconi, *Călători ruşi* (see above, n. 24), pp. 96 and 260; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor*, pp. 22–23 and 628–629; Muste (attributed to), *Letopiseţul Ţerei Moldovei*, p. 48; Ingigian, *Valahia* (see above, n. 51), p. 274; *Prin Ţările Române* (see above, n. 66), pp. 49–50 (D. Sestini), 112–113 (A. Joanne); P. Cernovodeanu, "Un flagel ecologic al evului mediu românesc: invaziile de lăcuste," *SMIM* 11 (1992), pp. 63–73; C. Tofan, "Calamităţi naturale pe teritoriul Ţării Moldovei din secolul al XV-lea până în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Invazii ale lăcustelor," *Carpica* 29 (2000), pp. 155–170.

[113] Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 43), p. 149.

[114] Anonymi Leobiensis *Chronicon*, in *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum*, I, ed. H. Pez (Lipsiae, 1721), col. 952. See also *Chronicon Claustro-Neoburgense ab anno aerae Christianae CCXVIII ad annum ejusdem MCCCXLVIII*, in *ibidem*, col. 488; Paltrami seu Vatzonis, consulis Viennensis, *Chronicon Austriacum*, in *ibidem*, col. 727.

[115] Martini Cromeri *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Basileae, 1554), p. 303.

sources specify that they destroyed everything "east and west" of the Caucasian regions.[116]

From certain points of view, the great rivers everglades present differences due to the regions they cross. Some centuries ago, the dense ligneous vegetation in the meadows—especially in the Danubian one—provided a protection almost as efficient as that of the forests of the hills and mountains,[117] the everglades being capable of providing easily obtainable food. Among the marshes and the forests along the Danube, shelter had been found by, among others, the Goths attacked by Valens' armies,[118] and later by the Pechenegs chased by the Uzes.[119] The forests on the right bank of the Danube, in their turn, were used as shelter by the Bulgarians threatened by Byzantine attacks.[120]

In the Middle Ages the general aspect of the plain area of southern Moldavia remained, to the greatest extent, the same as in antiquity. Not accidentally did Strabo call the territory between Pontus Euxinus, Istros and Tyras "the desert (wasteland) of the Getae" (ἡ τῶν Γετων ἐρημία); he specified that it was totally flat and poor in waters.[121] The first who accurately localized the territory described by the Greek geographer was Anton Verancsics (1504–1543), also known as Verantio, who showed that only shepherds and their sheep crossed that land, and that there were few wells to water those animals.[122] A correct identification of the ancient *Solitudo Getarum* as *Tartarie d'Akerman*, the land between Ismail

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[116] Grigor of Akanc', *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*, eds. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1948), no. 2, pp. 323 and 325. See also Kiracos de Gantzac (*Histoire d'Arménie*, in *Deux historiens arméniens*, trans. [M.-F.] Brosset, I [St. Petersburg, 1870], pp. 173–174), who describes a catastrophic invasion of locusts in Armenia in 701 (= 1252), which also spread during the following year to Asia Minor, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc.

[117] Mehedinți and Vâlsan, *România* (see above, n. 47), p. 30; S. Mehedinți, "Deliormanul—o verigă între Carpați și țărmul Mării Negre," *AD* 19 (1938), no. 2, p. 231.

[118] Zosimi *Historiae*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1837), p. 185; Zosimus, *Historia nova. The Decline of Rome*, trans. J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis (San Antonio, Texas, 1967), p. 145. On this events in general, see Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (see above, n. 71), pp. 67–69.

[119] Skylitzes, p. 455; Kedrenos, II, p. 582.

[120] Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, ed. C. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 152–153.

[121] *The Geography of* Strabo, III (see above, n. 74), pp. 216–217. V. Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, ed. R. Florescu (Bucharest, 1982), p. 45, preferred to translate the phrase as the "steppe of the Getae".

[122] Ant[onius] Verantius, *De situ Transylvaniae, Moldaviae* (see above, n. 74), p. 93. About the collecting of the water for very deep wells in *Bassarabia* (= Bugeac), see also Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 82–83.

and Očakov, dominated by "the Tatars from Akerman (Cetatea Albă)," belongs to Aubry de Montraye (1674–1743). The French diplomat, who had reached the Bugeac in 1711, reported that in that "desert" he had not found more than two or three huts of the shepherds.[123]

The well-known treaty of 1412 concluded at Lublau between the kings of Hungary and Poland mentions the "uninhabited" Moldavian plain near the sea.[124] The formula "grans désers" used by Guillebert de Lannoy, who travelled to Moldavia in 1421,[125] probably designated the same area, as well as the level country between the Dniester and Crimea. At the same time, a Polish source of 1523 mentioned "the deserts" between the Black Sea and Wallachia (= Moldavia in this case).[126] An Italian Minorite, who crossed the area in February 1691, referred to *Campi deserti* in southern Moldavia. It is strange that he considered the Bugeac and *Campi deserti* as being two different geographical entities.[127] Many foreign travellers and geographers of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries describe the Bugeac as a vast and waste plain,[128] and more rarely as a "very rich" (*abundantissimus*)[129] one. The term "desert" must not be interpreted as a wholly uninhabited place, but only as a steppe-like region, with few settlements and a low density of population.

The lowlands of southern Moldavia are directly opened to the vast Eurasian steppes, stretching over 4,000 km up to Central Asia. The Ural Mountains that separate two continents do not represent in fact a clear-cut geographic border. Only the Yenisei river precisely separates two geological-tectonically, morphologically and climatically distinct areas, since its lower course separates the steppe from the taiga.[130] Though there is no full similarity between, on the one hand, the plain of East Europe and of Central Asia, and, on the other hand, the one north of

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[123] *Călători*, VIII, pp. 514–515, 522.

[124] *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae et magni ducatus Litvaniae*, I, ed. M. Dogiel (Vilnae, 1758), p. 47; Hurmuzaki, I, 2, p. 486.

[125] Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Ch. Potvin (Louvain, 1878), p. 59. See also E. Diaconescu, "Călători străini în Ţările române—Guillebert de Lannoy," *Lucrările Societăţii geografice "Dimitrie Cantemir"* 3 (1941), p. 232.

[126] Hurmuzaki, II, 3, p. 436.

[127] *Călători*, VIII, p. 117.

[128] V. A. Urechia (ed.), *Codex Bandinus* (see above, n. 24), pp. 42 and 202; Marco Bandini (see above, n. 24), pp. 106–107; *Călători*, II, p. 381 (A. M. Graziani); IV, p. 439 (G.-B. Malbi); VII, pp. 304 (Ph. le Masson du Pont), 516 (G. Levasseur de Beauplan); IX, p. 196 (J. Bell of Antermony).

[129] *Călători*, II, p. 392 (Anonim ungur).

[130] C. Goehrke, "Die geographischen Gegebenheiten Russlands in ihrem historischen Beziehungsgeflecht," in *HGR*, I, 1, pp. 17–18.

the Danube mouths, they do have numerous common characteristics in relief, climate, flora, and soil.[131]

The region north of the Black Sea was known in antiquity as "the Scythian desert," and described as "a plain rich in pastures, without trees, watered with moderation".[132] In the first centuries of the second millennium, that area was known as "the steppe of the Qipchaq/Cumans" (*Desht-i Qipchaq*).[133] After that, formulae such as "the great field," "the Tatar steppe"[134] or "the wild plain" (*Dikiie polia*)[135] were also used. While travelling through "the vast deserts" north of the Black Sea in the middle of the thirteenth century, William of Rubruck found neither forests, nor mountains, nor stone, but the finest grass (*nulla silva, nullus mons, nullus lapis, herba optima*).[136] In the subsequent century, the Armenian chronicler Hethum (Hayton) of Korykos noted that Comania—a name given at that time to the Golden Horde—, "one of the biggest kingdoms existing in the world," was wholly flat and with no trees, being limited by Khwarazm and by a vast desert in the East.[137]

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[131] V. V. Dokuchaev, *Наши степи прежде и теперь* (Moscow, 1953); L. S. Berg, *Die geographischen Zonen der Sowjetunion*, II (Leipzig, 1959), p. 2 ff.

[132] *FHDR*, I, pp. 78–79 (Hipocrate).

[133] Tiesenhausen, I, II, *passim*. See also J. Marquart, „Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in W. Bang and J. Marquart, „Osttürkische Dialektstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, NF, 13 (1914), no. 1, p. 158–162.

[134] *Archiva istorică a României*, ed. B. Petriceicu-Hăjdeu, II (Bucharest, 1865), p. 49; *Хожденіе инока Зосимы*, ed. Kh. M. Loparev, *Православный Палестинскій сборникъ* 8 (1889), no. 3, p. 2; *The Xenos of Zosima the Deacon*, in G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 178–179.

[135] *Хроника Литовская и Жмойтская*, in *PSRL*, 32, ed. N. N. Ulashchik (Moscow, 1975), p. 43; *Могилевская хроника Т. Р. Сурты и Ю. Трубницкого*, in *PSRL*, 35, ed. N. N. Ulashchik (Moscow, 1980), p. 526. *Dzike-Polie/Dzyke Pole* is also mentioned on eighteenth-century maps. See Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei" (see above, n. 25), pp. 207–210 and pl. II (J. B. d'Anville, 1771–1779); L. Szántai, *Atlas Hungaricus. Magyarország nyomtatott térképei 1528–1850/Hungary in printed maps 1528–1850*, I (Budapest, 1996), p. 256 (Janvier, 1762 and 1773).

[136] Rubruck, p. 194. See also Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'Empire mongol (1253–1255)*, trans. and eds. C. and R. Kappler (Paris, 1985), p. 112; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. P. Jackson, eds. P. Jackson and D. Morgan (London, 1990), p. 105.

[137] Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient/Flos historiarum terre Orientis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, II (Paris, 1906), pp. 124 and 264; idem (Hethum von Korykos), *Geschichte der Mongolen*, trans. R. Senoner, ed. W. Baum (Klagenfurt-Vienna, 2003), pp. 26–27; S. Dröper (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise (1351)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 194–195; L. de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1877), p. 130.

One of the most suggestive descriptions of these regions belongs to the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta (1304–1377): "This wilderness is green and grassy with no trees, nor hills, high or low, nor narrow pass nor firewood. What they use for burning is animal dung (which they call *tazak*) and you can see even their men of rank gathering it up and putting it in the skirts of their robes. There is no means of travelling in this desert except in wagons".[138]

One of his contemporaries, Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin (Qazwini), who wrote in a.H. 740 (= 1340), revealed other features of Desht-i Qipchaq: "This is of the Sixth Clime, its plains bear excellent pasturage, […] but there are here few houses or towns or villages. Most of the inhabitants are nomads of the plain. […] Most of the lands here are swamps (Hāmūn) […] The pasturage, however, being excellent, horses and cattle are numerous, and the population for the most part subsists on the produce thereof. The climate is cold, and their water comes from springs and wells".[139]

The Bugeac is not represent the western limit of the Eurasian steppes, which actually continue further to the south-west. After they become narrower between the Prut and the Siret, there follows a plain drained by the Danube, stretching up to the junction of the Carpathian and Balkan ranges at the Danubian Iron Gates (*Porțile de Fier*). The eastern part of that plain, the Bărăgan, has obvious steppe characteristics in temperature, precipitations, air mass motion, and vegetation.[140] South of the Danube, the steppe climate and vegetation continue to the centre and the south of the Dobrudja. It was not by accident that the animal-breeding tribes in the north-Pontic regions were steadily attracted by the environment of the Dobrudjan Plateau, which closely resembles the native places of those pastoralists, so that the Greek and Roman authors used the name of Scythia Minor for today's Dobrudja, in considering it an extension of the north-east territories.

The area between the heart of Asia and the Danube's lower basin acted as a large passage for the movements of nomadic pastoralist

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[138] Ibn Battuta, *The Travels, A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, II (Cambridge, 1962), p. 470; Ibn Batoutah, *Voyages*, eds. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, II (Paris, 1949), pp. 356–357.

[139] Hamd-Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub*, trans. G. Le Strange (Leiden–London, 1919), pp. 251–252.

[140] Emm. de Martonne, *La Valachie. Essai de monographie géographique* (Paris, 1902), pp. 186–189; G. Vâlsan, "Câmpia Română. Contribuții la geografia fizică," in idem, *Opere alese* (see above, n. 46), pp. 147–318.

horsemen. The direction of those movements was rather consistently from east to west, perhaps due to the fact that many Asian territories were semi-deserts, and they were more arid than those west of the Urals. The steppe's climatic perturbations sometimes caused extreme damages to the herds of animals that made up the main subsistence of the nomads. Anomalies of the climatic factors account for some of the migrations from the steppe. Movements of peoples could also be motivated by the powerful tribes' wish to plunder and conquer their neighbours, as well as by the retreat of those unable to face the attackers efficiently.

The waters of the Black Sea wash Moldavia's shores between the mouths of the Danube and the Dniester, the distance between them being about one hundred kilometres. Between the Odessa Gulf and the Danube Delta, salinity is lower than in other parts of the Black Sea because of the great quantities of fresh water coming from the large rivers. The low salinity at the Danube's mouth was remarked upon by ancient navigators,[141] and Aristotle even wondered whether the white colour of the Pontus Euxinus was not due to the water of the large rivers flowing into it.[142]

The climate of the neighbouring continental area greatly influences the maritime climate, so that the temperature of the superficial stratum of water varies from season to season, without preservation of caloric energy. As a result, in very cold years the sea water freezes near the shores, up to distances of hundreds of meters or even a few kilometres. Such phenomena are rare enough, and early sources mention them as singular too. As an exile at Tomis, Ovid noted that the sea waves were "frozen with frost".[143] According to Theophanes Confessor, in the winter of 763–764, because of the terrible frost, the Pontic shore became frozen as far as one hundred miles into the sea, and it reached 30 cubits in depth, from Mesembria (= Nesebăr), to the Danube's mouths, the Danastris (= Dniester) and the Dnieper, all the way to Crimea.[144] This

[141] *FHDR*, I, pp. 402–403 (Pliniu cel Bătrân); Ammianus Marcellinus, I (see above, n. 71), p. 269.

[142] *FHDR*, I, pp. 112–113 (Aristotel).

[143] Publius Ovidius Naso, *Scrisori din exil*, trans. T. Naum (Bucharest, 1957), pp. 62 (*Tristele*, II, 196), 90 (III, X, 37–40, 43–44, 47–48). See also I. Micu, "Pontus Euxinus în operele ovidiene din exil," *Pontica* 14 (1981), pp. 320–323.

[144] Theophanes, *The Chronicle.* An English translation of *anni mundi* 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813), by H. Turledove (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 123.

information was also mentioned in the abridged chronicle of Nikephorus, patriarch of Constantinople.[145]

At sea, against the north-western shores, surface waters appear running from north to south, mainly caused by the air masses coming from the continent, and occasionally by the river waters. In its movement, part of the water flows through Bosporus to the Propontis (Marmara) and the Mediterranean. From Bosporus the running waters follow the line of the coast of Asia Minor, then they bifurcate eastwards and northwards. The existence of these cyclic streams was of major importance for navigation, the sailing along the flow-way being easier. In earlier times, in order to sail towards the Mediterranean Sea, the sailors at the Danube's mouths would wait for favourable winds.[146] The journeys by sea had the advantage of being much shorter than those by land. Thus, a tenth-century letter written in Hebrew at the Khazar court for Hasdai ibn Shaprut in Cordoba (the so-called Schechter text) specifies that a journey from Khazaria to Constantinople lasted nine days by ship and 28 days by land.[147] Sailing in stormy weather was dangerous; storms, which were most frequent in winter, produced waves that exceeded seven meters in height. According to observations made near the Snakes' Island (*Insula Şerpilor*), about 70 percent of the stormy winds blow from the north, that is, from the same direction as that of the hurricanes whose speed is over 28 m.p.s.[148] The fame of a gloomy sea, with tumultuous winds and violent waves capable of causing shipwrecks, had reached the east Mediterranean Islamic world as well, at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century.[149]

The bad weather of the cold season brought about temporary breaks in the navigation. The Spanish messenger at the court of Timur Lenk

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[145] Nikephoros *Short History* (see above, n. 120), pp. 146–147.

[146] *Călători*, VI, p. 284 (Paul de Alep); Panaitescu, *Călători poloni* (see above, n. 88), p. 238.

[147] N. Golb and O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca–London, 1982), p. 121.

[148] Mogilianskii, *Материалы* (see above, n. 37), pp. 28–37; R. Ciocârdel, "La circulation générale des eaux de la Mer Noire," *BSRRG* 56 (1937), pp. 216–229; *Contributions roumaines à l'étude de la Mer Noire*, ed. M. Semenescu (Bucharest, 1966); Sîrcu, *Geografia*, pp. 420–430; Ujvári, *Geografia* (see above, n. 85), pp. 159–176; Tufescu, *România* (see above, n. 14), pp. 227–230; Roşu, *Geografia* (see above, n. 14), pp. 138–142 and 185–187.

[149] Shems ed-Dîn Abou-'Abdallah Moh'ammed de Damas, *Manuel de la cosmographie du Moyen Âge traduit de l'arabe "Nokhbet ed-dahr fi 'adjaib-il-birr wal-bah'r"*, ed. A. F. Mehren (Copenhague–Paris–Leipzig, 1974), p. 191.

(Tamerlane), Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, had to remain at Pera from 24 October 1403 until 20 March of the next year, when he managed to find a galiot to take him to Trebizond. As long as he stayed in the Genoese citadel near Constantinople, no seamen ventured north of Bosporus. But in November, Genoese and Venetian galiots coming from Caffa and Tana, respectively, dropped anchor at the Golden Horn.[150] Because of the storms that had burst out before St Philip's Eve (November 10), the Russian deacon and pilgrim Zosima, who went to the Holy Land in 1419, had to face great difficulties in trying to reach Constantinople from Cetatea Albă (*Белаград, Белеград*).[151] Sometimes terrible storms started even earlier, in October, such as the one of 1323, which caught the Venetian, Genoese, Pisan and Greek merchants on the Black Sea (*Mare Maggiore*) and caused them great damage.[152] Even on the more quiet area of the Mediterranean Sea, navigation might be interrupted in winters, with the exception of short local travels or of peculiar ones. Official interdictions against sailing (*mare clausum*)—for variable periods—were stipulated during the Roman Empire and afterwards, with the Byzantines, the Arabs, and other navigating peoples, but not with the Italian cities of the first centuries of the second millennium. Violations of such regulations, especially after the middle of that millennium (which witnessed gradual improvement in the quality of ships), often ended in catastrophic wrecks.[153]

The sea coast between the mouths of the Dniester and the Danube is not sinuous, most of it having sand banks that separate the sea from the lakes of southern Bessarabia. The shallow sea and the lack of gulfs make that coast inadequate for great harbours.[154] From that

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[150] Roy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Itinéraire de l'ambassade espagnole à Samarcande en 1403–1406*, ed. I. Sreznevski (St. Petersburg, 1881) (= idem, *The Spanish Embassy to Samarcand, 1403–1406*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1971), pp. 96–105; Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlan, 1403–1406*, trans. G. Le Strange (London, 1928), pp. 94 and 101–103.

[151] *Хожденіе инока Зосимы* (see above, n. 134), p. 3; *The Xenos of Zosima the Deacon*, in Majeska, *Russian Travelers* (see above, n. 134), pp. 180–181.

[152] Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, in *Croniche* di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani, I, ed. A. Racheli (Trieste, 1857), p. 272; idem, *Nuova cronica*, II, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1991), p. 410.

[153] F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde meditérranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), pp. 211–217; D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters (Untersuchungen zur Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, II) (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 31–34.

[154] V. Mihăilescu, "Ţărmul românesc," in *Omagiu profesorului Constantin Stoicescu* (Bucharest, 1940), pp. 239–240; O. Şelariu, "Litoralul românesc al Mării Negre," in *Geografia României*, I, *Geografia fizică* (see above, n. 14), p. 370.

point of view, the Dniester lagoon is somewhat better, even though the accumulation of alluvial deposits requires special upkeep. Even in antiquity, in the neighbourhood of the Dniester estuary, at Tyras, there developed an important Greek, and later a Roman harbour, which then enjoyed great prosperity under the Genoese, Moldavian and Ottoman rules as well.[155]

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The complex aggregate of geographic elements specific to the southern part of the east-Carpathian area could provide a favourable background for the life and activity of the human society. The generosity of the land, its fertility, the abundance of crops, the quality of the grazing grounds and the large number of cattle were mentioned by some early geographers, and by most foreign travellers who had the opportunity to cross Moldavia's territory during the medieval period and at the beginning of modern times.[156] Georg Reichestorffer, who knew Moldavia

[155] E. Diehl, "Tyras," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd ed. K. Mittelhaus, VIII A (*R-Z*) (Stuttgart, 1943), col. 1850–1863; N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetăţii Albe* (Bucharest, 1899); Gh. I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini pînă la cucerirea turcească*, 2nd ed., trans. M. Spinei, ed. V. Spinei (Iaşi, 1999), pp. 72, 76, 77, 119, 164, 325, and 386; Şt. Andreescu, "Note despre Cetatea Albă," *SMIM* 18 (2000), pp. 57–77 (reprint in idem, *Din istoria Mării Negre [Genovezi, români şi tătari în spaţiul pontic în secolele XIV–XVII]* [Bucharest, 2001], pp. 9–33); *Tyras. Cetatea Albă/Belhorod-Dnistros'kyj*, I, *Săpături 1996–1999*, eds. P. Roman and S. Kryzickij (Bucharest, 2002), *passim*; I. Cândea, "Cetatea Albă în istoriografia românească (1), (2)," *SMIM* 19 (2001), pp. 217–226; 21 (2003), pp. 327–348.

[156] Georgii a Reichersdorff, Transilvani, *Chorographia Moldaviae* (see above, n. 55), pp. 99, 105, and 111; *Călători*, I, pp. 133 (G. M. Angiolello), 149 (M. Muriano), 192, 194, 202 (G. Reicherstorffer), 465–466 (F. Mignanelli); II, pp. 406 (B. Paprocki), 631 (G. Ruggiero), 641 (B. de Vigenère); III, pp. 200 (*Descrierea anonimă a Moldovei din 1587*), 215 (I. C. Decsi de Baranya), 296, 680 (H. Cavendish), 368, 682 (A. Comuleo), 560 (G. P. Giordano), 657 (*Ziarul expediţiei lui Zamoyski în Moldova din anul 1595*); IV, pp. 36 (B. Quirini), 383 (Ch. de Joppecourt), 439 (G.-B. Malbi), 569 (G. L. D'Anania), 586–587 (G. A. Magini); V, pp. 81 (N. Barsi), 116 (Solia lui Krasinski), 223, 232 (P. B. Bakšić), 275–276 (P. Beke); VI, p. 485 (Evlia Çelebi); VII, pp. 221 (G.-B. del Monte Santa Maria), 254–255 (Secretarul de la Croix), 296–297 (Ph. le Masson du Pont), 438 (*Situaţia misiunilor catolice din "provincia" Moldova*), 511 (Anonim englez—1664), 521 (*Relaţie anonimă olandeză*—1687); VIII, pp. 188–189 (Leontie), 515 (Aubry de la Motraye); IX, pp. 388 (C. Dapontes), 400–402 (Ch.-C. de Peyssonnel); V. A. Urechia (ed.), *Codex Bandinus* (see above, n. 24), pp. 133–134, 309–310; Marco Bandini (see above, n. 24), pp. 368–373; Hurmuzaki, I, supl. I, pp. 418, 422; *Kurtze Beschreibung* (see above, n. 66), pp. 13–14; M. Holban, "Pretinsele aventuri în Ţara Românească ale unui pretins călător german din secolul XVIII," in *Izvoare străine pentru istoria românilor*, ed. Şt. S. Gorovei (*Românii în istoria universală*, III, 3) (Iaşi, 1988), p. 110; Boscovich, *Giornale* (see above, n. 28), pp. 113, 125. See also *Cronica Ghiculeştilor* (see above, n. 40), pp. 602–603; Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 108–109; M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, "Economia

very well, made the following exaggerated statement: "This country lacks nothing that man could make use of."[157] One century later, Peter Bogdan Bakšić, a bishop who travelled to the Romanian lands several times, considered that Moldavia is "well proportioned and arranged,"[158] and Philippe Avril was even more generous in epithets, in estimating that Moldavia appeared to be "one of the most beautiful and pleasant countries of Europe."[159]

Besides moderate and objective points of view, there have been some in which the enthusiasm for the Moldavian landscape could not be contained. For example, in 1594 Alessandro Comuleo wrote to cardinal of San Giorgio that "there is no country more beautiful than this one anywhere in the world" (*non c'é paese in tutto il mondo piu bello d'essa*).[160] Because of the authors' aims, not all the evaluations made by him on Moldavia's riches and sceneries must be accepted at face value.

Taking such view into account, it is indisputable that medieval Moldavia was known all over the continent, due to its remarkable agricultural and animal-breeding capacities. From that standpoint, its southern half was not provided in its entirety with the same resources. A very early report indicated that the region near the mountains was "very unfruitful, so that people eat millet bread there,"[161] as the region was less adequate for tilling. However, due to good grazing grounds, it was very favourable for animal breeding. Generally, it can be said that, because of its roughness, the Carpathian mountainous area requires deep knowledge of its specific natural phenomena, and great efforts are needed in order to turn it to good account. Even today the demographic density within the Carpathian area is significantly lower than that of the rest of the Romanian territory. At the same time, because of the difficulties in exploiting the level country, its population had also remained low until modern times.[162] Under such circumstances, ever since ancient times

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agrară a Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei descrisă de călători (secolele XV–XVII)," *RIs* 21 (1968), no. 5, pp. 843–864.

[157] *Călători*, I, p. 202.

[158] *Călători*, V, p. 223.

[159] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călătorii* (see above, n. 29), p. 272; *Călători*, VIII, p. 104.

[160] *Călători*, III, pp. 368, 682.

[161] *Călători*, VII, p. 221 (G.-B. del Monte Santa Maria).

[162] Emm. de Martonne, "Recherches sur la distribution géographique de la population en Valachie," *BSGR* 23 (1902), no. 2, pp. 120–121, 128–129, and 139–141; S. Mehedinţi, "Die rumänische Steppe. Eine anthropogeographische Skizze," in *Zu Friedrich Ratzels Gedächtnis. Geplant als Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstage nun als Grabspende dargebracht* (Leipzig,

the limits of the anthropic area were those of the territories we discuss, that is, the subalpine plateaus with severe climate, which were used and temporarily inhabited by shepherds and their sheep.

In regard to the fertility of the soil, and implicitly the possibilities of growing plants and breeding animals, the Carpathian-Dniestrian area has occupied a privileged position; but the same thing cannot be said in reference to its underground resources. Oil, natural gas and coal, found in the Carpathian depressions and in the sub-Carpathians, had no economic importance in ancient times; only salt was vital. By contrast, the east-Carpathian regions are, in general, poor in iron and non-ferrous ores. Nothing was known in the Middle Ages about the iron and manganese of northwestern Moldavia, which were first found in the late 1700s.[163] The lack of iron and non-ferrous ores represented a real challenge, which explains why crafts in Moldavia depended upon raw materials from Transylvania and the neighbouring territories. Imports from those regions into Moldavia consisted either of ready made artifacts, or of raw materials necessary for the local manufacturing of similar artifacts.

Our observations refer to realities that developed in the time between the Neolithic and the period during which a unitary Romanian state came into being. One traditional view—according to which Moldavia's mountains contained important gold and silver ores that the inhabitants would not exploit, lest they should rouse the Turks' greediness—is totally untenable. The existence of such ores would have been welcomed, since they could ensure important exchange values.

For all the relative equilibrium of Moldavia's climate, due to its position in the temperate zone, the occurrence of some anomalies was noted even in the past, before the disturbances brought about by the massive intervention of human activity. The natural phenomena causing material damage and loss of human life include droughts and

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1904), pp. 249–255; V. Mihăilescu, "Contribuţie la studiul populaţiei şi aşezărilor omeneşti din câmpia românească între 1853–1899," *BSRRG* 41 (1922), pp. 96–108; idem, "Aşezările omeneşti din Câmpia Română la mijlocul şi la sfârşitul sec. XIX," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 4 (1925), p. 50 ff.; R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads. The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 182 and 184–185.

[163] *Bucovina în prima descriere fizico-politică. Călătorie în Carpaţii Daciei (1788–1789)*, ed. R. Grigorovici (Balthasar Hacquet, *Recentele călătorii fizico-politice ale lui Hacquet în anii 1788 şi 1789 prin Munţii Dacici şi Sarmatici sau Carpaţii Nordici*) (Rădăuţi, 2002), pp. 80–83; G. Irimescu, "Din istoria mineritului din Bucovina," *Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean* 8 (1981), pp. 265–277; M. Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei*, I *(1774–1862). De la administraţia militară la autonomia provincială* (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 232–237.

floods, as calamities against which people with rudimentary means could do almost nothing.

Various reports from the middle of the second millennium point out numerous climatic disturbances in the Carpathian-Danubian area. As already mentioned above, most dangerous were droughts and floods, to which severe frosts, hail storms, and earthquakes can added. Sometimes natural disturbances favoured invasions of insects (locusts, tree beetles), and of rodents (such as field mice). In their turn, all those factors could lead to loss of human lives and the destruction of crops, flocks, and dwellings, the usual results being famine, epidemics, pauperization, malnutrition, and emigration.[164] The catastrophic consequences of the natural calamities were considerably greater when they were accompanied by wars. Such natural anomalies were also present in the space and the period we are dealing with, and they influenced all sectors of life.

The variety of the circumstances produced certain peculiarities in the spreading of human communities, as well as in their development, and such peculiarities did not remain the same through time. The inhabitants of the area, as well as different communities of intruders, took full advantage of the natural environment.

As its position remained strategically important over time, the southern half of the Carpathian-Dniestrian area was the stage for many important events. By virtue of its location at the western extremity of the Eurasian steppes, that territory was crossed by waves of nomadic peoples, who followed "the way of the sun" towards the Balkan Peninsula and the Lower-Danubian Plain. Also important was its access to the north-west coast of the Black Sea, to the most navigable great river of ancient and medieval Europe, as well as to the Danube Delta' Black Sea. From another standpoint, Moldavia's attachment to the Carpathian arch was destined to ensure its stability, a lasting stronghold for resistance to outside pressures and, at the same time, hidden channels of communication with other Romanian territories.

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[164] Şt. C. Hepites, "Secetele din România," *BSGR* 27 (1906), no. 1, pp. 83–128; Topor, *Ani ploioşi* (see above, n. 19); A. Armbruster, *Dacoromano-Saxonica. Cronicari români despre saşi. Românii în cronica săsească* (Bucharest, 1980), pp. 381–407; P. Cernovodeanu, P. Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamităţile naturale din trecutul României (pînă la 1800)* (Bucharest, 1993), *passim*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CARPATHIAN-DNIESTER REGION AND OF THE NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES

By being placed at the junction of the western extremity of the Eurasian steppes with the Lower Danube Plain, towards the northernmost limit of the Balkan Peninsula, southern Moldavia fell in the path of the great migrations. When they reached the Bugeac and the Bărăgan, the nomad peoples made their way either towards the Balkans, or along the Danube. On their way to the middle course of the great river, some of those peoples of eastern Europe avoided Moldavia, and they reached the Pannonian Plain through the Verecke Pass of the northern (Sylvanian, or Ukrainian) Carpathians. The direction of the nomad peoples' advance was, without exception, from east to west, their return to the Black Sea steppes taking place only when their incursions failed.

During the first millennium, southern Moldavia was one of the European regions most affected by the movement of people. Ever since the first half of the seventh century, when the Danube ceased to be the northern frontier of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, the territories on the left bank of the river were not any more among the political and diplomatic priorities of the Byzantine government in Constantinople. However, both before and after the Iconoclastic crisis, Byzantium remained concerned with the situation in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea and strove to maintain control of the Danube Delta, especially by means of the navy, as well as of skilful diplomacy aimed at manipulated the military potentials of the "northern barbarians."

Tenth Century

By the end of the third quarter of the first millennium, a perceptible stagnation in the demographic dynamics of eastern Europe took place. This occurred due to the strengthening of the Khazar state north of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Khazars were now a major power in eastern Europe. Their alliance with Byzantium,

consolidated during their confrontations with the Persians and the Arabs, was to remain stable until the end of the millennium, even if, temporarily, the interest of both in ruling Crimea also created discontinuities. The political circles on the Bosporus saw in Khazaria not only an ally against some common enemies, but also a barrier meant to stop the penetration of the nomad peoples towards the Byzantine boundaries. From the latter point of view, the Kaghanate proved to be extremely efficient, by establishing a prolonged period of peace in the southern steppe lands of eastern Europe. At the same time, the Khazars effectively stopped the Arab advance into eastern Europe at the passes across the Caucasus Mountains, at about the same time Charles Martel was pshing the Arabs beyond the Pyrenees. Without those successes the balance between the Christian world and the Islamic one would overwhelmingly have weighed in the favour of the latter.

The infiltration of the Arab cultural influence in eastern Europe was but partially attenuated, and it materialized not only through the conversion of some communities to Islam, but also through getting some privileged positions in the caravan trade. Khazaria, a polity in which most inhabitants were Turanian pagans, was the target of missions from both the Caliphate and Byzantium. However, the confrontation between Christianity and Islamic did not lead to the conversion to either one of the two world religions, since the Khazar elites eventually chose to convert to Judaism.[1]

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[1] On Khazar history, see especially J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 1–27, 270–305, and 474–477; M. I. Artamonov, *История хазар* (Leningrad, 1962); D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (New York, 1967); W. Barthold – P. B. Golden, "Khazar," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, NE, IV, eds. E. v. Donzel, B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, C. E. Bosworth (Leiden, 1978), pp. 1172–1181; P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, I–II (Budapest, 1980); idem, "Khazaria and Judaism," *AEMA* 3 (1983), pp. 129–156; idem, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 233–244; D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen* (Münster/Westf., 1982); M. G. Magomedov, *Образование хазарского каганата. По материалам археологических исследований и письменным данным* (Moscow, 1983); S. A. Pletneva, *Хазары*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1986); eadem, *Кочевники южнорусских степей в эпоху средневековья IV–XIII века. Усобное пособие* (Voronezh, 2003), pp. 28–102; A. P. Novosel'tsev, *Хазарское государство и его роль в истории Восточной Европы и Кавказа* (Moscow, 1990); T. S. Noonan, "The Khazar economy," *AEMA* 9 (1995–1997), pp. 253–318; S. A. Romashov, "Историческая география Хазарского каганата (V–XIII вв.)," *AEMA* 11 (2000–2001), pp. 219–338; 12 (2002–2003), pp. 81–221; 13 (2004), pp. 185–264; 14 (2005), 107–196; L. Gmyria, "Восточная Европа в эпоху Хазарского каганата," in *История татар с древнейших времен*, I, *Народы степной Евразии в древности*, gen. ed. S. Kliashtornyi (Kazan,

The political supremacy of the Khazars extended westwards up to the Dnieper region. While some populations—including the Bulgars and the Alans—were under their direct rule, some Slav tribes—the Polianians, the Viatichi, the Severians, the Radimichi—had only to pay tribute.[2] The archaeological correlate of the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Khazar polity is the so-called Saltovo-Maiaki culture, which between the eighth and the tenth century spread within a vast territory between the Volga and Dnieper rivers, while displaying four regional variants perhaps reflecting ethno-cultural distinctions.[3] Through the imposition of the Khazars' political control over the steppes of eastern Europe the liberty of motion of the nomad communities was drastically restricted. At the same time, the Lower Volga, now occupied by the Kaghanate, became a true filter for other groups attempting to cross the river. Thus, by imposition of the Khazar political domination upon numerous populations, a period of stability and peace was established, a *pax Chazarica* as some historians have named it.[4]

2002), pp. 277–295; V. Petrukhin, "Хазарский каганат и его соседи," in ibidem, pp. 296–315; *Българи и хазари през ранното средновековие*, ed. Ts. Stepanov (Sofia, 2003); *Хазары/Khazars* (*Евреи и славяне/Jews and Slavs*, 16), eds. V. Petrukhin, W. Moskovich, A. Fedorchuk, A. Kulik, D. Shapira (Moscow–Jerusalem, 2005); *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, eds. P. B. Golden, H. Ben-Shammai, and A. Róna-Tas (Leiden–Boston, 2007).

[2] *PVL*, I, pp. 16, 18, 20, 47.

[3] S. A. Pletneva, *От кочевий к городам. Салтово-Маяцкая культура* (*MIA*, 142) (Moscow, 1967,) pp. 185–190; eadem (S. A. Pletnjowa), *Die Chasaren. Mittelalterliches Reich an Donau und Wolga*, trans. A. Häusler (Vienna, 1979), pp. 75–96; eadem (S. A. Pletneva), *Очерки хазарской археологии*, ed. V. Ia. Petrukhin (Moscow–Jerusalem, 1999), p. 7 ff.; eadem, *Кочевники южнорусских степей*, pp. 52–102; C. Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe. Steppenvölker zwischen Volga und Donau vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. F. Daim (Vienna–Cologne, 1989), pp. 44–71; G. E. Afanas'ev, *Донские аланы. Социальные структуры алано-ассо-буртасского населения бассейна Среднего Дона* (Moscow, 1993), *passim*; B. Werbart, "Khazars or "Saltovo-Majaki culture"? Prejudices about archaeology and ethnicity," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 4 (1996), pp. 199–221.

[4] A. Zajaczkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* (Cracow, 1947), p. 77; I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs. Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century* (The Hague, 1967), p. 39; D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *Ἀρχεῖον πόντου* 35 (1979), p. 126; O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, I, *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 446–447; F. Conte, *Les Slaves. Aux origines des civilisations d'Europe centrale et orientale (VI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1986), pp. 410–411; I. Zimonyi, *The Origins of the Volga Bulghars* (Szeged, 1990), pp. 158, 183; P. R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1996), pp. 46–47; A. Róna-Tas, *Hungarian and Europe in the Early Middle Age. An Introduction to Early Hungarian History*, trans. N. Bodoczky (Budapest, 1999), p. 328.

Due to these realities, north of the Black Sea and the Danube's mouths there was a much more peaceful political climate. After the invasion of Asparukh's Bulgars on the left of the Danube, no important invasions were recorded. The local population of the Carpathian-Danubian area fully profited from the *pax Chazarica* for almost two centuries. During the period of the evolution of the Dridu culture (eighth to eleventh centuries), the Lower Danube Plain area experienced a steady demographic growth, which distinguishes this period from both previous and subsequent centuries (Fig. 2). The increase of the population in the Bugeac and the Bărăgan was a natural consequence of the prevention of the trouble caused by migrations and raids. It seems that the same circumstances account, at least partially, for the shift of the Slav tribes to the Black Sea steppe lands.[5]

In the ninth century, the Khazar Kaghanate was confronted with new difficulties, both internal and external. Within the ethnical conglomerate subject to its authority there were centrifugal movements, such as the one caused by the Kabars. After repressing the Kabars' rebellion, those of them who managed to escape joined the Hungarian tribes.[6] Religious reasons—that is, the adoption of Judaism by the Khazar aristocracy—have been invoked as causes for the Khazar-Kabar divergence,[7] and while we do not entirely reject that idea, it is not a very convincing explanation due to the confessional tolerance known to have been a dominant line of the Kaghanate's policy. The separation of the Kabars from the Khazars and their joining the Hungarians did not probably take place before the middle of the ninth century.[8] The break of the political balance in eastern Europe due to *pax Chazarica* represents, in our opinion, the result of two main factors, whose

[5] Boba, *Nomads*, p. 39 with n. 1; V. V. Sedov, *Славяне. Историко-археологическое исследование* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 525–551.

[6] *DAI*, I, pp. 174–175.

[7] Dunlop, *History*, p. 203; Artamonov, *История*, p. 324.

[8] The event, whose dating is disputed, was supposed to have taken place *ca.* 780 (H. Schönebaum, "Zur Kabarenfrage," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, I [Berlin, 1957], p. 144; A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries* [Budapest, 1975], p. 63); 800 (A. Róna-Tas, "Хазары и мадьяры," in *Хазары/Khazars*, p. 118); 854/855 (Boba, *Nomads*, pp. 117 and 119); 860 (G. Györffy, *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéröl* [Budapest, 1959], pp. 50–51); 861 (C. Zuckerman, "On the date of the Khazars' conversion to Judaism and the chronology of the kings of the Rus Oleg and Igor," *Revue des études byzantines* 53 [1995], pp. 237–270); or between 862 and 881 (K. A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria* [Lanham–Boulder–New York–Toronto–Oxford, 2004], p. 206).

simultaneous appearance, although non-corroborated, was facilitated by the internal convulsions in the Khazar tribal confederacy. On the one hand, the movements of the nomads from central Asia west of the Urals became more active, and, on the other hand, the Kievan Principality was established and grew stronger in the Middle Dnieper basin, by joint efforts of Varangians and Slavs. Both those moments directly affected the extra-Carpathian Romanian area too.

In the steppes north of the Caspian Sea, Khazaria had to confront the Pechenegs, whom the Khazars succeeded in defeating with the help of the Uzes in the late ninth century. An anonymous Persian geography of the tenth century mentions that, besides the "Turkish Pechenegs" (*Bağanāk-i-turk*),[9] there also was a branch of "Khazarian Pechenegs" (*Bağanāk-i-Hazar*),[10] the name indicating their acceptance of the Khazar sovereignty. The co-operation between the Khazars and the Uzes proved ephemeral, and shortly after the elimination of the Pecheneg danger their relationship became inimical.[11] Oriental sources indicate that the battles against the Uzes weakened the strength of the Kaghanate and led to its fall.[12] It is very likely that the Pechenegs had a certain role in that respect. During the second half of the tenth century, when Ibn Hauqal was writing and when the Rus' struck heavy blows at the Kaghanate,[13] the Pechenegs settled "through violence" between the Khazars' territories and those of Byzantium, and they came to be perceived as allies of the Rus'.[14] It is possible that, by approaching Kiev, the Pechenegs tried to counteract the effects of the military co-operation between the Khazars and the Uzes.

The impact of the the Varangians (as representatives of the great Viking expansion) on eastern Europe has specific traits on different regions, depending upon the social and political development, as well

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[9] *Hudūd al-'Ālam. "The Regions of the World". A Persian Geography 372 a.H.–982 a.D.*, ed. V. Minorsky (London, 1937), p. 101; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 207.

[10] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 67, 83; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 214–215.

[11] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, eds. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille, II (Paris, 1863), p. 19.

[12] P. B. Golden, "The migrations of the Oğuz," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972), pp. 77–80 (reprint in idem, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* [Variorum Collected Studies Series] [Aldershot–Burlington, 2003], no. V); Novoseltsev, *Хазарское государство*, pp. 225–226.

[13] *PVL*, I, p. 47.

[14] Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre* (*Kitab surat al-ard*), I, eds. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Beirut–Paris, 1964), p. 15.

as the ethnic configurations in those areas.[15] At the time the "people of the North" coming from Norway and Denmark were raiding the coasts of the British Isles, of northern Germany, France, and Spain, and Leif Eriksson was reaching the shores of North-America, five centuries before Christopher Columbus, the Vikings of Sweden (Varangians) took the opposite direction. A combination of piratical raids and commercial activities was a permanent practice with the Varangians, both on the route connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea and the one connecting the Baltic with the Caspian Sea along the Volga, that is, on the two main routes across eastern Europe *ca.* 1000. Through the co-operation between the Arab and Scandinavian tradesmen, the most stable and efficient connection between East and West was established in the last quarter of the first millennium. The reverberations of those

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[15] On Varangians in Eastern Europe, see T. J. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient* (Uppsala, 1914); A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica* (Aarhus, 1953); H. Arbman, *The Vikings*, trans. A. Binns (New York, 1961), pp. 89–105; *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1969); *Varangian Problems* (Copenhagen–Munksgaard, 1970); *Исторические связи Скандинавии и России IX–XX вв.* (Leningrad, 1970); S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, ed. B. S. Benedikz (Cambridge, 1978); E. A. Rydzevskaia, *Древняя Русь и Скандинавия IX–XIV вв.* (Moscow, 1978); Pritsak, *Origin*, *passim*; P. H. Sawer, *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe AD 700–1100* (London–New York, 1982), pp. 113–130; G. Schramm, "Die Waräger: osteuropäische Schicksale einer nordgermanischen Gruppenbezeichnung," *Die Welt der Slaven* 28 (NF, 8) (1983), pp. 38–67; J. Herrmann, "Slawen und Wikinger in der Frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker," in *Wikinger und Slawen. Zur Frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker*, gen. ed. J. Herrmann (Berlin, 1982), pp. 9–148; G. Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (Oxford–New York, 1984), pp. 241–268; E. Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, trans. S. M. Margeson and K. Williams (London–New York–Victoria–Toronto–Auckland, 1992), pp. 277–292; F. Durand, *Les Vikings*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1993), pp. 45–56; K. Heller, *Die Normannen in Osteuropa* (Giessen, 1993); *The Viking Heritage, a Dialogue between Cultures/Наследие варягов, диалог культур*, ed. I. Jansson (Moscow–Stockholm, 1996); B. Wahlqvist, *Vikingarnas öar* (Malmö, 1996), p. 137 ff.; *Викинги и славяне. Ученые, политики, дипломаты о русско-скандинавских отношениях*, eds. A. Hedman and A. Kirpichnikov (St. Petersburg, 1998); R. Simek, *Die Wikinger* (Munich, 1998), pp. 71–79; I. Jansson, "Warfare, trade or colonisation? Some general remarks on the eastern expansion of the Scandinavians in the Viking period," in *The Rural Viking in Russia and Sweden*, ed. P. Hansson (Örebro, 1997), pp. 9–64; idem, "Situationen i Norden och Österuropa för 1000 år sedan—en arkeologs synpunkter på frågan om östkristna inflytanden under missionstiden," in *Från Bysans till Norden. Östliga kyrkoinfluenser under vikingatid och tidig medeltid*, ed. H. Janson (Malmö, 2005), pp. 37–95; B. Scholz, *Von der Chronistik zur modernen Geschichtswissenschaft. Die Wargerfrage in der russischen, deutschen und schwedischen Historiographie* (Wiesbaden, 2000); F. D. Raschellà, "Presenze scandinave nell'Europa orientale durante il medioevo," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 15 (n.s. 12) (2001), pp. 1–17; W. Duczko, *Viking Rus. Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden–Boston, 2004), pp. 10–114; F. D. Logan, *The Vikings in History*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2005), pp. 163–187; Ch. Hillerdal, "Vikings, Rus, Varangians. The 'Varangian problem' in view of ethnicity in archaeology," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 14 (2006), pp. 87–107.

commercial relations with the Islamic Orient—made more dynamic by the east-Scandinavian merchants and those of the caliphate, as well as by participants from other populations—may also be detected in the Carpathian-Dniestrian area. One proof of that development is represented by discoveries of Arabic coins in the territory under discussion—an aspect to which we shall return below.

The contacts the Varangians and the eastern Slavs established with the Byzantine Empire were extremely active. Necessities, originally economic and later of other kinds as well, led to the opening of the famous "route from the Varangians to the Greeks," which could only be covered by water. From the Baltic—also called the Varangians' Sea—one could reach the Dnieper, either through the Gulf of Riga and on the Dvina, or through the Gulf of Finland, then on the Neva, Lake Ladoga, Volkhov, Lake Ilmen' and the Lovat. The Varangians embarked on the Isle of Berezan at the estuary of the Dnieper, where the ships were equiped with sails and rudders, and sailed along the currents of the western Black Sea coast, to the estuary of the Dniester and the delta of the Danube.[16] Constantine Porphyrogenitus pointed out that between the Dniester and the Sulina branch the Varangians stopped at the river called *White* (τόν ποταμόν τόν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ἄσπρον).[17] Its identification is difficult because in southern Bessarabia there is no river that flows directly into the sea, but only in riverine and sea lakes. Because the imperial scholar used information coming from various sources, it is possible that the Dniester was called the *White River*, which would explain why the fortified city located at its mouth was given the name of Asprocastron (Akkerman, Belgorod, Cetatea Albă = the White Castle).

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[16] *PVL*, I, p. 11; *DAI*, I, pp. 56–63. See also E. Simões de Paula, *O comércio varegue e o Grão-Principado de Kiev* (São Paulo, 1942), p. 31–41; S. V. Bernshtein-Kogan, "Путь из Варяг в Греки," *Вопросы географии* 20 (1950), pp. 239–270; H. R. E. Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London, 1976), pp. 80–96; G. S. Lebedev, *Эпоха викингов в Северной Европе. Историко-археологические очерки* (Leningrad, 1985), pp. 227–235; idem, "Путь из Варяг в Греки как фактор урбанизации Древней Руси, Скандинавии и Византии," in *Славянский средневековый город*, ed. V. V. Sedov (*Труды VI Международного Конгресса славянской археологии*, 2) (Moscow, 1997), pp. 197–209; idem, "Путь из Варяг в Греки как объект археолого-навигационного исследования," *Slavia Antiqua* 38 (1997), pp. 151–167; V. Petrukhin, "Les villes (*gardar*) sur la 'Voie des Varègues aux Grecs'," in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, eds. M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian and C. Zuckerman (Paris, 2000), pp. 357–364; G. V. Glazyrina, T. N. Dzhakson, E. A. Mel'nikova, "Скандинавские источники," in *Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников*, ed. E. A. Mel'nikova, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 2003), pp. 475–476.

[17] *DAI*, I, pp. 62–63.

A proof of the Varangians' way to Constantinople is represented by the images of dragons and ships carved on the walls of the small churches dug in limestone at Basarabi (former Murfatlar, Constanța county), with clear analogies in Scandinavian art.[18] The recent identification of an incised representation of a heraldic sign of the Rurikid dynasty (on the wall of one of the little churches—No. B3) gives more credibility to the hypothesis according to which the Scandinavians who reached Dobrudja may have been in the service of Kievan prince Sviatoslav, during his ambitious campaign that started in 968.[19]

Along the way the Varangians could have come into contact with Romanians. A precise proof of such contacts—albeit a violent one—is provided by a memorial stone set at Sjonhem on the Isle of Gotland, by the couple of Rodvisl and Rodelf for their son Rodfos, killed by "Vlachs (*Blakumen*) during his trip abroad". The stone with runes datable to the mid-eleventh century does not provide any other information about the place where the Varangian Rodfos met the *Blakumen*, but it was probably situated somewhere east of the Carpathians.[20] The writing on the stone at Sjonhem is the oldest source in which the Romanians outside the Carpathian range are mentioned.

The divisions and the conflicts among the Slav tribes facilitated the penetration of the Scandinavian groups east of the continent, and they even gained power in some important centres. The old Russian chroni-

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[18] I. Barnea, "Предварительныие сведения о каменных памятниках Басараби (Обл. Доброджа)," *Dacia*, NS, 6 (1962), p. 311; idem, "Monumentele de artă creştină descoperite pe teritoriul Republicii Populare Române," *Studii teologice*, IInd Ser., 27 (1965), nos. 3–4, p. 171; R. Theodorescu, "Byzance, Balkans, Occident dans la civilisation roumaine aux X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles* 15 (1972), no. 4, p. 273; Davidson, *Viking Road*, pp. 244–246; P.-M. Iliescu, "Spår av vikingatid i Rumänien," in *Bysans och Norden. Acta för Nordiska forskarkursen i bysantinsk konstvenskap 1986*, ed. E. Piltz (Uppsala, 1989), pp. 196–200, figs. 7–10.

[19] A. Fetisov, I. Galkova, "The 'Rurikid sign' from the B3 Church at Basarabi-Murfatlar," *Apulum* 44 (2007), pp. 299–314.

[20] J. G. Liljegren, *Run-urkunder* (Stockholm, 1833), p. 180; S. B. F. Jansson and E. Wessén, *Gotlands runinskrifter*, I (Stockholm, 1962), pp. 263–268; T. Snaedal, I. Jansson, "Gotländska runinskrifter 900-talets slut-ca 1100," in *Gutar och vikingar*, ed. I. Jansson (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 429–432, fig. 4; S. B. F. Jansson, *Runes in Sweden*, trans. P. Foote (Gidlunds, 1987), p. 63. See also E. Lozovan, "Vikings et Valaques au Moyen Age," *Revue internationale d'onomastique* 15 (1963), no. 2, p. 111–114; V. Spinei, "Informații despre vlahi în izvoarele medievale nordice, I," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 1, pp. 58–60; M. G. Larsson, "Rusernas rike. Nordborna och Rysslands födelse," in idem, *Vikingar i Osterled* (Stockholm, 1999), pp. 71–72 and 169; F. Pintescu, "Presences de l'element viking dans l'espace de la romanité orientale en contexte méditerranéen," *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 8 (2002), pp. 260–264 and 268.

cle claims that in the mid-ninth century the Varangians forced several Slav and Finnic tribes to pay a tribute to them, and they imposed their domination on Novgorod, through Rurik, and on Kiev, through Askold and Dir. In 860 the latter attacked Constantinople with 200 ships, but the attack failed because of an unfortunate storm.[21] The Empire was confronted with a new naval power coming from a direction along which it had not been attacked before. Within a century the Varangians that ruled the Rus' principalities were assimilated by the Slav population, in a process similar to that suffered by the Scandinavians who settled in Normandy and southern Italy. By conquering the neighbouring Slav tribal unions and detaching them from the Khazar hegemony during the rule of Oleg (882–912), who had driven Askold and Dir out of Kiev, the authority and prestige of the Kievan state grew higher. In the early tenth century, in eastern Europe the balance of powers changed, with the Pechenegs and the Kievan Rus' emerging strongest, whereas the Khazar Kaghanate was weakening. Such phenomena had consequences for the Romanian society as well.

The complexity of the military-political situation in the Lower Danube area was produced not only by the appearance of the new states in eastern Europe, but primarily by the traditional factors in that part of the continent. Both the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Tsarate had had ambitions concerning their supremacy over the Lower Danube area. The disputes between Byzantium and the Bulgars over that area had started as soon as the latter settled in the north of the Balkan Peninsula. Although the Empire had gradually withdrawn from its western boundaries because of the penetration of the Slavs and the Bulgars in regions on the right bank of the Danube, the Byzantine rulers had not abandoned the idea of revenge and of recovered control over the Danube Delta. They aimed to materialize their naval supremacy

[21] *PVL*, I, p. 19; Ip.let.-2, col. 15 (where the attack is dated in 866). See also A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946); G. Vernadsky, "The problem of the early Russian campaigns in the Black Sea area," *The American Slavic and East European Review* 8 (1949), pp. 1–9; H. Ahrweiler, "Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX^{e} siècle," in eadem, *Byzance: les pays et les territoires* (Variorum Reprints) (London, 1976), no. VII, pp. 44–70; A. N. Sakharov, "The 'diplomatic recognition' of Ancient Rus (860 A.D.)," *Soviet Studies in History* 17 (1979), no. 4, pp. 36–98; Pritsak, *Origin.*, pp. 174–182; C. Zuckerman, "Deux étapes de la formation de l'ancien État russe," in *Les centres proto-urbains*, pp. 102–104; G. Schramm, *Altrusslands Anfang. Historische Schlüsse aus Namen, Wörtern und Texten zum 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2002), pp. 243–254.

in the Black Sea, even when the military circumstances did not favour a resumption of Byzantine domination over Scythia Minor.[22]

During Krum's rule (803–814) the balance in the Balkans was decisively deteriorating because of the Bulgar successes. The cup out of which the Bulgarian ruler drank after his victories was made from the skull of Emperor Nicephorus I, killed in battle against the Bulgars in 811. The death of the emperor did not put an end to the confrontation. Two years later, the inhabitants of Adrianople, threatened with starvation by a long siege, opened it's the city gates to Krum's armies, who promptly banished 10,000 or 12,000 of them to the lands north of the Danube. The human element was extremely valuable in the Middle Ages; in the Balkans, forced colonization was current practice, frequently employed and constantly improved by the Byzantine Empire itself. Victims of that system would become, among others, the Vlachs around Constantinople, who were expatriated, by imperial orders, to the shores of Asia Minor about 1285–1286.[23] In an anonymous chronicle on the rule of Leo V the Armenian (813–820) it is mentioned that the banished Adrianopolitans were taken to the "Bulgaria beyond the river Istros" (Βουλγαρία ἐκεῖδεν τοῦ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ),[24] words which—taken *ad litteram* by Symeon Magister[25]—indicate the Bulgar Khanate's desire of imposing its rule north of the river.

The precise location of the lands to which the Greeks from Adrianople were removed is not revealed by any sources. As a consequence, some believe the prisoners were transferred to the Bugeac,[26] others

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[22] N. Bănescu, *Bizanţul şi romanitatea de la Dunărea de Jos* (Bucharest, 1938); I. Barnea, "Dobrogea între anii 681–971," in *DID*, III, pp. 7–12; P. Diaconu, "La Dobroudja et Byzance à l'époque de la génèse du peuple roumain (VII^{e}–X^{e} siècles)," *Pontica* 14 (1981), pp. 217–220; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 81–110.

[23] Georgii Pachymeris *De Michaele et Andronico Paleologis libri tredecim*, ed. Im. Bekker, II (Bonn, 1835), p. 106; Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, III, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1999), pp. 121–122.

[24] Scriptor incertus, *Historia de Leone Bardae Armenii filio*, in Leonis Grammatici *Chronographia*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), pp. 345–346.

[25] Symeonis Magistri *Annales*, in Teophanes continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), pp. 615–616. On the forceful removal of the inhabitants of Adrianople by Krum, see also *Menologium Graecorum Basilii Porphyrogeniti imperatoris jussu editum*, in *PG*, CXVII (1894), col. 275–278; *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum novembris* [63] (Brussels, 1902), col. 418; G. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), pp. 71–78 and 117–119.

[26] V. N. Zlatarski, *История на българската държава презъ средните векове*, I, 1 (Sofia, 1918), pp. 339–340 and 449; A. Decei, "Românii din veacul al IX-lea pînă în al XIII-lea în lumina izvoarelor armeneşti," in idem, *Relaţii româno-orientale*,

that they moved to the Romanian Plain.[27] In fact, both locations are possible, and unfortunately the archaeological investigations have been inconclusive in this respect. Without rigorous control by the Bulgar garrisons, the deported people could have reached the Danube easily, at a place from where the Byzantine ships could have repatriated them, since the Bulgars did not possess a naval force. For a quarter of a century the Bulgar control over the north-Danubian regions proved efficient. But we doubt that the deported Greeks ever gave up the idea of moving back to their country, or that the Byzantine rulers were not interested in helping them. During that period, a Greek inscription on a stone column erected by khan Omurtag mentions the organizing of an expedition which, after crossing the southern part of Moldavia reached the Dnieper (τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Δάναπρην), where the *kopan* Okorses found his death. The aim of the Bulgarian expeditions is not revealed by the lapidary text, but it is supposed to have been an attack on the Hungarian hordes.[28] Another column dating from the time of the same khan bears an inscription mentioning an expedition on the Tisza (Tisa), where the Bulgarian leader, the *zera-tarkan* Onegavon, had the same fate as Okorses.[29] Those epigraphic sources are also proofs of the Bulgarian expansionist tendencies north of the Danube.

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ed. M. Popa (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 49–50; Gh. I. Brătianu, "'Bulgaria de dincolo de Dunăre' în izvoarele bizantine," in *Omagiu lui Ioan Lupaş la împlinirea vîrstei de 60 de ani* (Bucharest, 1943), p. 130; Barnea, "Dobrogea," in *DID*, III, pp. 13 and 29; P. Chirnoaga, *Istoria Daciei şi continuitatea daco-romană* (Madrid, 1971), p. 162; E. Mikhailov, "За руско-българската етническа граница до края на X век," *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia. Fac. de Phil. et d'Hist., L-III Hist.* 65 (1971), p. 197; V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Долни Дунав—гранична зона на византийския запад* (Sofia, 1976), p. 19; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), pp. 202–203. A similar opinion can be found in R. Browning, "Byzantines in Bulgaria—late 8th–early 9th centuries," in *Studies on the Slavo-Byzantine and West-European Middle Ages. In memoriam Ivan Dujčev* (Sofia, 1988), p. 35, who believed the bulk of the prisoners from Adrianople moved to a region "somewhere in southern Bessarabia or Moldavia".

[27] W. Miller, "The rise and fall of the first Bulgarian Empire," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, *The Eastern Roman Empire (717–1453)* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 232; P. Diaconu, "Istoria Dobrogei în unele lucrări străine recente (I)," *RIs* 29 (1976), no. 6, p. 936; D. Gh. Teodor, "Quelques aspects concernant les relations entre Roumains, Byzantins et Bulgares aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles n.è.," *AIIA* 24 (1987), no. 2, pp. 9–14.

[28] G. Fehér, *A bolgár-török műveltség emlékei és magyar őstörténeti vonatkozásaik/Les monuments de la culture protobulgare et leurs relations hongroises* (Budapest, 1931), p. 146; V. Beševliev, "Les inscriptions protobulgares (Suite)," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) (*Mélanges Rodolphe Guilland*), pp. 264–270; idem, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 281–285.

[29] Beševliev, "Les inscriptions," pp. 270–272; idem, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, pp. 285–287. See also Fehér, *A bolgár-török műveltség*, p. 146.

After Omurtag's death (831) the general political situation turned against the Bulgars, so that in 837 the population banished from Adrianople decided to move back to their native places by the help of the Greek fleet. A Bulgar "count" crossed the Danube to stop them but he was defeated, and another army with the same task did not succeed in crossing the river, probably because it was stopped by the Byzantine ships. The Bulgars asked Hungarian horsemen in the north of the Black Sea for help, but the latter were defeated too, so the deported people succeeded in getting aboard the ships.[30] From that success of the people of Adrianople in coming back to Thracia it results that the Bulgars no longer kept permanent troops in the Lower Danube Plain. Under the circumstances, the weakening of the Bulgarian position on the left bank of the river appears as natural, so their rule must have been only nominal.

North of the Danube the Bulgars had succeeded in incorporating some territories on the left of the Tisza for a longer period, those that had belonged to the Avars but were taken away from them after the Avaric Kaghanate had collapsed under the attacks of the Frankish armies.[31] In the opinion of several historians, Transylvania had also been under Bulgar control,[32] a point of view primarily based on information

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[30] Georgii Monachi *Vitae imperatorum recentiorum*, in Theophanes continuatus, pp. 817–819; Leo Grammaticus, pp. 231–233.

[31] K. I. Grot, *Моравия и мадьяры съ половины IX до начала X века* (Записки Историко-Филологическаго Факультета Императорскаго С.-Петербургскаго Университета, IX) (St. Petersburg, 1881), p. 82 ff.; B. Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*, I (Berlin, 1940), pp. 89–90; V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam, 1981), pp. 280–283; S. Brezeanu, "'La Bulgarie d'au-delà de l'Ister' à la lumière des sources écrites medievales," *Études balkaniques* (1984), 4, pp. 122–125 and 129–132; G. Kristó, "К вопросу о болгарском владычестве на Альфельде в IX в.," *Доклади*, 6, *Българските земи в древността. България през средновековието* (Sofia, 1987), pp. 265–272.

[32] A. D. Xenopol, *Une énigme historique. Les Roumains au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1885), pp. 56–58; idem, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, I, 4nd ed. V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (Bucharest, 1985), pp. 315–320; J. L. Pič and A. Amlacher, "Die Dacischen Slaven und Csergeder Bulgaren," *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-histor.-philolog. Classe* (1888), pp. 221–223; D. Onciul, "Teoria lui Roesler," in idem, *Scrieri istorice*, I, ed. A. Sacerdoţeanu (Bucharest, 1968), pp. 142 and 205–209; I. I. Nistor, "Autohtonia daco-romanilor în spaţiul carpato-dunărean," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 24 (1941–1942), pp. 257–258; Decei, "Românii din veacul al IX-lea," pp. 53–54; C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité* (Bucharest, 1945), pp. 212–213; A. Grecu [P. P. Panaitescu], "Bulgaria la nordul Dunării în veacurile al IX–X-lea," *Studii şi cercetări de istorie medie* 1 (1950), pp. 229–230; V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Ролята и административната организация на т. нар. 'Отвъддунавска България,'" *Studia Balcanica* 2 (1970), pp. 67–68; A. Madgearu, "Salt trade and warfare: the rise of the Romanian-Slavic military

concerning the German king Arnulf's demand to the Bulgars in 892 that they not permit any more selling of salt to Moravia, a country with which he was at war.[33] Because there were no salt mines in Bulgaria, a justified conclusion could be drawn that the salt sold to Moravia came from Transylvania. In order to hinder the selling of salt to Moravia, the Bulgars would not have had to watch the salt mines, but only the commercial routes across the Tisza valley, which they had temporarily under their control. In any case, when the Hungarians came to Transylvania there was no direct Bulgarian political rule there.[34]

For the time being, many specialists do not find very convincing the archaeological evidence[35] invoked in support of the idea of Bulgar control over Transylvania or its southern part.[36] The main reason is that since certain components of the material culture on both sides of the Danube are similar, influences from the Balkan Peninsula are the most that may be assumed. For the period immediately preceding (and even for the one following) the Hungarian settlement in the Tisza Plain, if there were any indications of state formations connected with or even dependent on Bulgaria,[37] those are to be found within the Carpathian

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organization in early medieval Transylvania," in *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. F. Curta (Ann Arbor, 2005), pp. 106–109.

[33] *Annales Fuldenses*, in *MGH,SS*, I, ed. G. H. Pertz (1826), p. 408.

[34] C. Szalontai, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Rolle der Bulgaren im 9. Jahrhundert in der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene und in Siebenbürgen," *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica* 6 (2000), pp. 263–286.

[35] I. M. Ţiplic, "Necropolele medievale timpurii din Transilvania (sfârşitul sec. IX—prima jumătate a sec. XII)," in *Relaţii interetnice în Transilvania. Secolele VI–XIII*, eds. Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Ţiplic, M. E. Ţiplic (Bucharest, 2005), pp. 134–137 and 145; A. Dragotă, *Aspecte de multiculturalitate spirituală. Rit şi ritual funerar în Transilvania şi Europa Centrală şi de Sud-Est (Secolele IX–XI)* (Alba Iulia, 2006), pp. 27–33; Z. K. Pinter, I. M. Ţiplic, A. Dragotă, "Scurtă istorie a Transilvaniei—perspective arheologice," in Z. K. Pinter, A. Dragotă, I. M. Ţiplic, *Piese de podoabă şi vestimentaţie la grupurile etnice din Transilvania (sec. VII–XII)* (Alba Iulia, 2006), pp. 42–48.

[36] M. Comşa, "Die bulgarische Herrschaft nördlich der Donau während des IX. und X. Jh. im Lichte der archäologischen Forschungen," *Dacia*, NS, 4 (1960), pp. 395–422; I. Barnea, "Bulgarii," in *Ist.Rom.*, I, pp. 763–764; M. Rusu, "Note asupra relaţiilor culturale dintre slavi şi populaţia romanică din Transilvania (sec. VI–X)," *Apulum* 9 (1971), p. 722; I. Fodor, "Die Bulgaren in den ungarischen Ländern während der Ansiedlungsperiode der Ungarn," *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 6 (1984), no. 2, p. 47 ff.; U. Fiedler, "Bulgars in the Lower Danube region. A survey of the archaeological evidence and of the state of current research," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta (Leiden-Boston, 2008), pp. 159–162.

[37] Anonymus, pp. 46–51, 70–71, 81–83, 89–91, and 103–105; Simon de Keza, p. 172; *CPict*, pp. 32, 148; *Chronicon Posoniense*, ed. A. Domanovszky, in *SRH*, II, p. 36; *Chronicon Monacense*, ed. A. Domanovszky, in *SRH*, II, p. 67. See also Decei, "Românii"

arch (*terra Ultransiluana*), the region where Vlachs/Romanians and Slavs (*Blasi et Sclavi*) were ruled by Gelou.[38]

The attestation of Gelou's principality reveals that, a long time before the medieval states of Moldavia and Wallachia were founded, the Romanian society had been in an advanced stage of political organization. The fortresses within the principality, with moat-and-wall defences and a complex system of stockades, affirm the Romanians' military qualities, which is recorded in the written sources as well.

The influence of Bulgaria on the territories on the left bank of the Danube, Wallachia and Moldavia, was different in intensity, duration and extension from that exercised in the Tisza Plain. That the Bulgars controlled southern Moldavia results from what Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has to say about the Pechenegs of his own time, namely that they possessed a part of Bulgaria.[39] In the mid-tenth century, that area could only have been north of the Danube. A *de plano* rejection of any possibility of Bulgar rule over the left bank of the Lower Danube[40] ignores the political developments of the age of Krum and Omurtag and contradicts the information of the written sources discussed above.

On the other hand, it is equally wrong to assume that ninth-century Bulgaria included all territories on the left bank of the Danube now inhabited by Romanians. Such a view is a result of an exaggerated evaluation of the Bulgar expansion beginning with Krum. According to such theories, the whole territory of Moldavia, as well as of Wallachia, outer-Carpathian Transylvania, Banat and Maramureş were supposedly parts of ninth-century Bulgaria, whose northern limits would thus have been the upper course of the Prut,[41] the lower[42] or the middle course

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(see above, n. 26), pp. 66–69; J. Steinhübel, "Velká Morava a Bulharsko o dobe Rastislava a Svätopluka," in *Svätopluk 894–1994*, eds. R. Marsina, A. Ruttkay (Nitra, 1997), pp. 207–211.

[38] Anonymus, pp. 65–69; *Die "Gesta Hungarorum" des anonymen Notars*, ed. G. Silagi, with the collab. of L. Veszprémy (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 74–79.

[39] *DAI*, pp. 54–55. See also Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Ролята," p. 65; P. S. Koledarov, "Историческата география на Северозападного Черноморие по данните на Константин Багренородни," *Исторически преглед* 33 (1977), no. 3, p. 55.

[40] Iorga, *Histoire*, II, p. 387–389; N. Bănescu, *Vechiul stat bulgar şi Ţările Române* (offprint from *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 29) (Bucharest, 1947).

[41] Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Ролята," p. 65.

[42] V. I. Kozlov, "Към въпроса за хронологията на паметниците от североизточната провинция на Първото българско царство (върху материал от разкопките на селищата в степта на междуречието Дунав-Днестър)," in *Българите в Северното Причерноморие*, V (Veliko Tărnovo, 1996), pp. 109–125; I. Mladjov, "Trans-Danubian

of the Dniester,[43] or even to the springs of the Dniester.[44] Ninth-century Bulgaria would thus have included a good part of what would later become the Rus' principality of Galicia (Halych).

Concerning most of the dikes erected in the outer-Carpathian areas, some historians maintained that they were built during the First Bulgarian Tsarate and were meant to mark its borders. Such a function has been assumed in cases such as those of the dike in southern Bessarabia running between Vadul lui Isac on the Prut and the Sasicul Mare Lake; the dike in central Bessarabia, between the Prut and the Dniester, connecting Leova and Tighina; the so-called "Brazda lui Novac," a dike crossing Wallachia longitudinally from Hinova to the river Cricov; as well as the dike in southern Wallachia, between the Olt and Lake Greaca.[45] Without denying that possibility, one must note that some of those earthworks have been dated to the Roman period, while others were superficially and inconclusively investigated, their dating being uncertain. At the same time, there are opinions holding that the above-mentioned north-Danubian areas were inhabited by a Slavo-Bulgarian population, and that the ethnic border separating the latter from the eastern Slavs must have been the course of the Dniester. The assertion is based on some ambiguous narrative sources, on the attribution of the Dridu culture exclusively to the Bulgars, and on the attestation, in the late Middle Ages, of some south-Slavic toponyms in the Carpathian-Danubian area;[46] but there is no argument in favour of the idea that those place-names were in use at the end of the first millennium.

About AD 900, the areas around the Danube mouths became the scene of some troublesome events, generated by multiple conflicts. On

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Bulgaria: reality and fiction," *Byzantine Studies*, N.S., 3 (1998), pp. 95–96 and maps 2–3; N. D. Russev, "Славяне, болгары и болгарское государство," in N. Tel'nov, V. Stepanov, N. Russev, R. Rabinovich, "*И… разошлись славяне по земле*". *Из истории Карпато-Днестровских земель VI–XIII вв.* (Kishinev, 2002), pp. 91–131.

[43] Mikhailov, "За руско-българската етническа граница" (see above, n. 26), pp. 191–192; P. S. Koledarov, in *A Historical Geography of the Balkan*, ed. F. W. Carter (London–New York–San Francisco, 1977), pp. 304–305; P. R. Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Seattle–London, 1998), pp. 10–11.

[44] D. Angelov, *Die Entstehung des bulgarischen Volkes* (Berlin, 1980), map 3; H.-J. Härtel, R. Schönfeld, *Bulgarien: vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1998), map on p. 34.

[45] R. Rashev, *Старобългарски укрепления на Долния Дунав (VII–XI в.)* (Varna, 1982), pp. 20–32; Fiedler, "Bulgars in the Lower Danube region", pp. 162–165.

[46] Mikhailov, "За руско-българската етническа граница" (see above, n. 26), p. 189 ff.

the one hand, there was a Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict, on the other hand, there were convulsions in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, caused by fighting between the Pechenegs and the Hungarians, a development which coincided in time with an aggressive move of the Kievan Rus' principality against the Slavic tribes in the Dniester region, the purpose of which must have been the control of the Black Sea trade.

During the last years of the ninth century, after a temporary diminution of the armed external conflicts under the rule of Boris I (Michael) (852–889), influenced by the extremely important act of Christianisation, Bulgaria experienced a new period of strength under tsar Symeon (893–927). His classical and theological education in Constantinople did not prevent him from leading a policy of war, especially directed against Byzantium. The hostilities started shortly after Symeon ascended to the throne, and they continued to the detriment of the Byzantines, who were simultaneously waging war against the Arabs. The Byzantine diplomacy appealed to the Hungarian hordes that inhabited areas north of the Black Sea.[47] A few light ships, under the command of Niketas Skleros, were sent to the Danube to contact the Hungarians and to buy their co-operation, guaranteed by the delivery of some hostages, according to custom.[48]

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[47] On the Byzantine-Bulgarian war and on the Hungarians' and Pechenegs' attacks, see Zlatarski, *История* (see above, n. 26), I, 2 (Sofia, 1927), p. 292 ff.; C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 177–188; P. Mutafchiev, *История на българския народ (681–1323)*, ed. V. Gjuzelev (Sofia, 1986), pp. 177–183; B. Hóman and Gy. Szekfü, *Magyar történet*, I (Budapest, 1935), pp. 115–119 (B. Hóman); G. Sergheraert (C. Gerard), *Syméon le Grand (893–927)* (Paris, 1960), p. 59 ff.; M. Voinov, "Промяната в българо-византийските отношения при цар Симеон," *Известия на Института за История* 18 (1967), pp. 147–202; G. Cankova-Petkova, "Der erste Krieg zwischen Bulgarien und Byzanz unter Simeon und die Wiederaufnahme der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Bulgarien und Konstantinopel," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 3 (1968) (*Polychordia. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth), pp. 80–113; eadem, "Първата война между България и Византия при цар Симеон и възстановяването на българската търговия с Цариград," *Известия на Института за История* 20 (1968), pp. 167–200; R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (London, 1975), pp. 57–60; J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 137–140; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, trans. Gy. Novák (Szeged, 1996), pp. 182–190; S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People* (Leiden–New York–Cologne, 1997), pp. 174–183; J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantium, Bulgaria and the peoples of Ukraine in the 890s," *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии* 7 (2000), pp. 342–356.

[48] Theophanes continuatus, *Chronographia*, in Theophanes continuatus (see above, n. 25), p. 358; Georgius Monachus (see above, n. 30), p. 853; Leo Grammaticus (see

The fact that the Byzantine messengers met the Hungarians at the Danube clearly proves that for that moment—corresponding to AD 895—one cannot even speak of a nominal Bulgarian domination of southern Moldavia. The region close to the Danube Delta was controlled by the Hungarian tribes, which were hardly pressed from the east by the Pechenegs. The presence of the Hungarians on the Lower Danube at the end of the ninth century seems to be also confirmed, among others, by the Old Church Slavonic Life of St. Methodius.[49]

In the mid-eleventh-century geography of the Persian Gardizi, who made use of older Oriental texts, it is mentioned that the Hungarian (*Madjgharyan/Maǧǧariyān/M.ǧ.rijān*) territory was flanked by two rivers, whose names were noted differently by various editors: *Itül/Etel/Atel/Atil* and *Duba/Duna*.[50] The same sources were partially known to the Arab al-Marvazi's treatise of geography, written about the year 1120, in which the rivers bordering the area occupied by the Hungarians were named *Runa/Rūxū* and *Atil*.[51] In the universal chronicle by Shükrüllakh, written in Persian about the middle of the sixteenth century, the names of the two rivers are *Wefa/W.fā* and *Etel/Ātūl*.[52]

Most of specialists have identified them as the Danube and the Don, respectively,[53] a conclusion drawn from the fact that in the Latin-Hungarian chronicles of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries the Don is

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above, n. 24), p. 267; Skylitzes, p. 176; Kedrenos, II, p. 255; Joannis Zonarae *Annales*, in *PG*, CXXXV (1887), col. 67–68.

[49] *Vita Methodii*, in *Pramene k dejinám Vel'kej Moravy*, ed. P. Ratkoš (Bratislava, 1968), pp. 244 and 465; Fr. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, 2nd ed. (Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1969), p. 392.

[50] P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi's two chapters on the Turks, AEMA* 2 (1982), p. 160; *Orient. Ber.*, p. 174 (Gardīzī); I. Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen über die Ungarn vor der Landnahme. Das ungarische Kapitel der Ǧaihānī-Tradition*, trans. T. Schäfer (Herne, 2006), p. 37. See also A. Decei, "Asupra unui pasagiu din geograful persan Gardizi (a. 1050)," in *Fraţilor Alexandru şi Ion I. Lăpedatu la împlinirea vîrstei de 60 de ani* (Bucharest, 1936), pp. 881–883; V. Minorsky, "Commentary," in *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 9), pp. 320–321; B. N. Zakhoder, *Каспийский свод сведений о Восточной Европе*, II, *Булгары, мадьяры, народа Севера, печенеги, русы, славяне* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 52–53.

[51] Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi, *On China, the Turks and India*, ed. V. Minorsky (London, l942), p. 35; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 252.

[52] J. de Hammer, *Sur les origines russes. Extraits des manuscrits orientaux* (St. Petersburg, 1827), p. 47; Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, p. 47 (Šükrallāh). See also ibidem, pp. 45 ('Aufī) and 49 (Muhammad Kātib; Haǧǧī Halīfa).

[53] Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (see above, n. 1), pp. 27–32; K. Czeglédy, "A XI. századi magyar történelem föbb kérdései," *Magyar nyelv* 41 (1945), nos. 1–5, pp. 36–37; T. Lewicki, "Мадьяры у средневековых арабских и персидских географов," in *VEDS*, pp. 56–58.

consistently called *Etul*.[54] However, all Arab and Persian medieval texts gave the name *Itil* or *Etil* to the Volga.[55] There is therefore no reasons to believe that Gardizi and al-Marvazi had in mind any other river. It is difficult to imagine that the territory under Hungarian control could have stretched all the way from the Volga to the Danube.

Since their first temporary presence north of the Lower Danube, in 837, under the circumstances already described, and until the late ninth century, there had been consistent motion to the west of the Hungarian population accompanied by the Kabars in the so-called Atelkuzu/Etelkuzu (Ἀτελκούζου/Ἔτελ καί Κουζου). The toponym represents, in the opinion of some specialists, a distortion of the old Hungarian term *Etel-küzü*, meaning "between the rivers" or "Mesopotamia".[56] According to another point of view, Etelkuzu could be a corruption of *Etelköz*, which meant "the Don country". As we have shown, by the term *Etul*, the Hungarians "from Scythia" meant the Don. Etelköz is supposedly similar to such place-names in present-day Hungary as Rábaköz, Bodrogköz, Sárköz, which derive from the names of the rivers Rába (Raab), Bodrog and Sár, respectively.[57] It is known that in the mid-tenth century Atelkuzu was inhabited by the Pechenegs, whose settlements, taken over from the Hungarians, were located in the basins of five rivers: Baruh, Kubu, Trullos, Brutos and Seretos (Βαρούχ,

[54] Simon de Keza, p. 146; *Chronicon Posoniense* (see above, n. 37), pp. 15, 16, 24; *CPict*, pp. 5, 118. See also *Chronicon* Henrici de Mügeln *germanice conscriptum*, ed. E. Travnik, in *SRH*, II, pp. 109, 120.

[55] Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, pp. 195–205.

[56] E. Sayous, *Les origines et l'époque païenne de l'histoire des Hongrois* (Paris, 1874), p. 14; *DAI*, II, p. 148; D. Sinor, "The outlines of Hungarian prehistory," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 4 (1958), no. 3, p. 526; I. Fodor, *Die grosse Wanderung der Ungarn von Ural nach Pannonien* (Budapest, 1982), p. 256; C. di Cavo, *L'arrivo degli Ungheresi in Europa e la conquista della patria* (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 83–84; M. Eggers, "Beiträge zur Stammesbildung und Landnahme der Ungarn, 1, Die ungarische Stammesbildung," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 23 (1997), p. 26; C. Zuckerman, "Les Hongrois au pays de Lebedia: une nouvelle puissance aux confins de Byzance et de la Khazarie ca 836–889," in *Byzantium at War (9th–12th C.)* (Athens, 1997), pp. 55–56. According to another point of view, *Atelkuzu/Etel kai Kuzu* would have meant "riverland". See G. Huxley, "Steppe-peoples in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34 (1984, p. 82.

[57] P. Váczy, "Etelköz—die frühere Heimat der Ungarn," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985), pp. 169–175. See also L. Benkö, "Le sedi degli Ungari nel secolo nono," in *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXXV), II (Spoleto, 1988), p. 295.

Κουβοῦ, Τροῦλλος, Βροῦτος, Σέρετος),[58] identified with the Dnieper, the South Bug, the Dniester, the Prut and the Siret.[59]

According to some recent opinions, the Hungarian tribes' movement to the west, as well as other populations' migrations, was largely caused by the alteration of the environment in the steppes in eastern Europe. Paleo-geographic investigations have established an alternation in the pluvial regime between the forest and the steppe regions of eastern Europe. During the rainy seasons in the forest areas, the level of the Caspian Sea would rise considerably, flooding the neighbouring areas and the Volga Delta, whereas the steppes suffered from drought. The period of climatic humidity in the east-European steppes, beginning with the fourth century, appears to have stimulated agricultural activities even among populations with predominantly pastoral preoccupations. It lasted until the late thirteenth century, interrupted for about one hundred years in the ninth-tenth centuries. Such perturbations caused floods in the Caspian areas, the waters covering large cultivated surfaces and, probably, even the capital of the Khazar Kaghanate, thus contributing to its decay and fall under the strikes of the Rus' and the Uzes. At the same time, the dry climate in the steppes caused great economic damage to the nomad and semi-nomad pastoralists, which accounts, at least partially, for the migratory tendencies of the Hungarians, Pechenegs and Uzes towards areas unaffected by drought.[60] In addition, numerous movements of the nomad cattle breeders of the Eurasian steppes, between the last centuries of the first millennium and

[58] *DAI*, I, pp. 174–175.

[59] Grot, *Моравия* (see above, n. 31), pp. 248–260; G. Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum cum Oriente gentibusque orientalis originis. Historia antiquissima*, I (Claudiopoli, 1893), pp. 186–189; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 33; G. Schramm, *Nordpontische Ströme* (Göttingen, 1973), pp. 19–20, 49–52, 93–102; I. Božilov, H. Dimitrov, "About the historical geography of the northern Black Sea coast," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 13 (1985), no. 4, p. 58; S. L. Tóth, "Megjeguzések a Levadia-Etelkőz problémához," in *A Kárpát-medence és a steppe*, ed. A. Márton (Budapest, 2001), pp. 127–136.

[60] L. N. Gumilev, "New date of the history of the Khazars," *ActaArchHung* 19 (1967), nos. 1–2, pp. 70–73 and 76–82; idem, "A kazárok utódai," *Történelmi szemle* 11 (1968), nos. 1–2, pp. 12–13; P. Veres, "Le rôle de facteurs écologiques et économiques dans la conquête du bassin des Carpathes par les Hongrois en 896," in *Les questions fondamentales du peuplement du bassin des Carpathes du VIII^e^ au X^e^ siècle*, ed. L. Gerevich (Budapest, 1972), pp. 213–230; idem, "Les antécédents de la conquête du pays par les Hongrois," in *Les anciens Hongrois et les ethnies voisines à l'Est*, ed. I. Erdélyi (Budapest, 1977), pp. 299–303.

the first half of the second one of our time, might have been caused by long periods of drought.[61]

After the agreement concluded with the Hungarians, the Byzantine fleet got them across the Danube, by removing the lines set by the Bulgars in order to resume anchoring on the right bank.[62] As the Bulgarians were engaged in battles with the imperial armies, they could not give an efficient response to the Hungarian attack, leading to great losses. Confronted with this danger, Symeon proved his prodigious diplomatic ability. On the one hand, he agreed to pay a ransom for the Bulgars taken prisoners by the Hungarians, in order to make the latter withdraw, on the other hand, he offered peace to emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912). Succeeding in both attempts, he got the necessary respite to fight each of his adversaries. He made an alliance with the Pechenegs against the Hungarians. Together, they invaded and destroyed the Hungarian settlements, as the best Hungarian troops were away on a distant expedition.[63]

This defeat and the Bulgar-Pecheneg threat made the Hungarians leave Atelkuzu and look for settlements in the Middle Danubian Plain, a crucial decision, probably premeditated for a long time, which meant their survival as a nation. The confrontations between the Hungarians and the Pechenegs should not merely be regarded as a consequence of Symeons' instigations, as some chronicles and modern historians suggest. The imminence of the conflict became apparent when the Khazars and the Oghuz/Uzes managed to defeat the Pechenegs, who were thus forced to leave the east-European steppes in order to find a new homeland for themselves.[64] At about the same time, the Hungarians were crossing the Danube to attack Bulgaria. Thus, the usual chain reaction of migrations took place: the Uzes drove the Pechenegs away, and the latter did the same to the Hungarians.

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[61] L. N. Gumilev, "Роль климатических колебаний в истории народов степной зоны Евразии," *История СССР* (1967), no. 1, pp. 53–66.

[62] *DAI*, I, pp. 250–253.

[63] *Annales Fuldenses* (see above, n. 33), pp. 412–413; Reginonis *Chronicon*, in *MGH,SS*, I (1826), pp. 599–600; *Annales Mettense*, in Gombos, I, pp. 156–157; *FHB*, XII (1965), pp. 45 (Sigeberti *Chronica*), 143 (Annalista Saxo); Theophanes continuatus, p. 387; Symeon Magister, p. 722; Georgius Monachus, p. 879; *DAI*, I, pp. 176–177, 250–253; Leo Grammaticus, p. 293; Skylitzes, p. 201; Kedrenos, II, pp. 282–284; Zonaras, col. 67–68.

[64] *DAI*, I, pp. 166–167 and 170–171.

Though the written sources are unanimous in considering that the western extremity of the areas controlled by the Hungarian tribal union during the period prior to 896 was represented by the Danube and the Siret basin, the archaeological data do not attest to their presence on the two rivers. Several metal items with analogies among Hungarian antiquities have been found in the Carpathian-Dniestrian area.[65] Those items include cordiform pendants—with a protuberance at the lower part—found in the Dridu-culture settlements of Dăneşti (Vaslui county) (Romania) (Fig. 8/2)[66] and Hansca (Ialoveni county) (Republic of Moldova).[67] They belong to a category of objects very common among the tenth- and eleventh-century finds in present-day Hungary. All the above-mentioned metal items were in use with other eastern-central European populations as well, so they cannot be said to be specifically Hungarian. However, they could reflect contacts between the local people and the Hungarians.

Also, besides other populations, the Hungarian and Kabar tribes seem to have played a certain part in the adoption by communities of the Dridu culture of clay kettles, a ceramic form which appears sporadically in Moldavia on settlement sites in Bârlăleşti, Epureni (Vaslui county), Spinoasa (Iaşi county) (Romania), Calfa (Anenii Noi county) (Republic of Moldova), etc.[68] Their presence, like that of the above-mentioned cordiform pendants, suggest an some form of exchange between the steppe populations and the natives, but it does not necessarily indicate the presence of the steppe populations on any of the above-mentioned sites. Furthermore, in the Carpathian-Dniestrian area, no signs of destruction of the Dridu-type settlements have been found that might be connected to possible Hungarian raids. On the contrary, the late ninth century was a period of prosperity of the Dridu communities in the Romanian Plain and the Bugeac.

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[65] S. Riabtseva, R. Rabinovich, "К вопросу о роли венгерского фактора в Карпато-Днестровских землях в IX–X вв.," *Revista arheologică*, SN, 3 (2007), nos. 1–2, pp. 205–223.

[66] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa and Em. Zaharia, "Sondajul arheologic de la Dăneşti," *MCA* 8 (1962), p. 56 and fig. 9/1.

[67] Riabtseva, Rabinovich, "К вопросу о роли венгерского фактора," p. 209, fig. 2/1.

[68] V. Spinei, "Consideraţii cu privire la populaţia locală din zona centrală şi meridională a Moldovei în secolele XI–XII," *CIs* 12–13 (1981–1982), pp. 197–198; idem, "Die Tonkessel aus dem Karpaten-Dnestr-Raum," in *Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, ed. C. Bálint (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, III) (Budapest, 1990), pp. 327–342.

Several graves found in Moldavia and Wallachia have been attributed to the Hungarians. Some of those, such as the ones in the Republic of Moldova, at Brăneşti (Orhei county), Hansca-"Căprăria" (Ialoveni county), in Romania, at Grozeşti, Holboca, Probota (Iaşi county), Moscu (Galaţi county), Movilița (Ialomița county), in Ukraine, at Fridensfeld (Mirnopole) (Sărata district) and Şabalat (Sadovoe) (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi district) (Odessa region), have been considered as probably Hungarian,[69] whereas the grave at Frumuşica (Floreşti county) (Republic of Moldova) has been considered as certainly Hungarian.[70] As I have already stated, the ethnic attribution proposed for those complexes cannot be accepted, since it is not based on adequate knowledge of the relevant archaeological material. The graves of Brăneşti and Hansca-"Căprăria" belong to native cemeteries, and the others are specific to either the Pechenegs or the Cumans. Actually, the ritual features and the inventory of those graves differ to an important extent from those of the Hungarian graves found in the Pannonian Plain.[71] By the items of its inventory, it is only the grave of Grozeşti (dated to the ninth-tenth century) that could belong, in principle, either to the Hungarians or to the Pechenegs. Unfortunately, the precise circumstances of the discovery were not written down, so the attribution remains uncertain.[72] In regions north of the Danube Delta no burial assemblages have so far been proved to have doubtless connections with the ninth-century migration of the Hungarians. Nevertheless, I will not a priori exclude the possibility that such assemblages may be found in the course of extended field investigations in the future.

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[69] I. Bóna, "Daciatól Erdőelvéig. A népvándorlás kora Erdélyben (271–896)," in *Erdély története*, co-ord. B. Köpeczi, I, eds. L. Makkai, A. Mócsy (Budapest, 1986), p. 198; Róna-Tas, *Hungarian and Europe* (see above, n. 4), pp. 118–119. See also Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe* (see above, n. 3), pp. 138–139, 142–143; P. Langó, "Archaeological research on the conquering Hungarians: A review," in *Research on the Prehistory of the Hungarians: A Review*, ed. B. G. Mende (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, XVIII) (Budapest, 2005), p. 299; L. Kovács, "Remarks on the archaeological remains of the 9th–10th century Hungarians," in ibidem, pp. 352–353.

[70] I. Fodor, "Zur Problematik der Ankunft der Ungarn im Karpatenbecken und ihrer Fortlaufenden Besiedlung," in *Interaktionen des mitteleuropäischen Slawen und andere Ethnika im 6.–10. Jahrhundert. Symposium Nové Vozokany 3.–7. Oktober, 1983* (Nitra, 1984), pp. 100–102; Bóna, "Daciatól Erdőelvéig," p. 198.

[71] V. Spinei, "Migrația ungurilor în spațiul carpato-dunărean şi contactele lor cu românii în secolele IX–X," *AM* 13 (1990), pp. 110–114.

[72] Idem, *Realități etnice şi politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români şi turanici* (Iaşi, 1985), p. 113 and figs. 29 and 48/6, 9–15.

According to the present stage of research, there is no evidence of a permanent presence of the Hungarians in the lands to the west from the Dniester River. This does not of course exclude the possibility that those lands were crossed by the Hungarian warriors, while on a plundering raid, such as that requested by the Byzantines against Bulgaria in 895. In fact, there are several clues indicating that during the last quarter of the ninth century, the Lower Danube area was not within the Hungarian sphere of interest. At that time, the Hungarians were mostly preoccupied with expeditions into central Europe, an opportunity that might have given them the idea of conquering a new country, according to some opinions, as their remaining in Atelkuzu had exposed them to the Pecheneg attacks, and the Balkans were closed to them by the still powerful Bulgarians. There is some information about the Hungarian and Kabar raids into central Europe, the former being mentioned in 862 in the eastern province of the Carolingian Empire,[73] then in 881 around Vienna,[74] in 892 and 894 in Moravia and Pannonia;[75] their allies—under the name of *Cowari*—participated in a simultaneous expedition in 881,[76] but with a itinerary different from that of the Hungarians in the same year. The expedition of 894 presented an anonymous analyst of the Fulda monastery the opportunity to launch a real diatribe against the invaders, to whom the

[73] *Annales Alamannici*, in *MGH,SS*, I (1826), p. 50; *Annales Weingartenses*, in ibidem, p. 66; *Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, in ibidem, p. 76; Hincmari Remensis *Annales (Annales Bertianini)*, in ibidem, p. 458.

[74] *Annales ex annalibus Iuvavensibus antiquis excerpti*, ed. H. Besslau, in *MGH,SS*, XXX, 2 (1926), p. 742.

[75] *Annales Fuldenses* (see above, n. 33), pp. 408, 410. On the late ninth-century Hungarian and Kabar raids into Central Europe, see Macartney, *Magyars* (see above, n. 47), *passim*; S. de Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stämmebundes in die europäische Geschichte (862–933)* (Mainz, 1968), pp. 10–23; S. Tóth, "Kabarok (kavarok) a 9. századi magyar törzsszövetségben," *Századok* 118 (1984), no. 1, pp. 105–113; L. E. Havlik, "Mähren und die Ungarn am Ende des 9. und am Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts," in *Baiern, Ungarn und Slawen im Donauraum*, eds W. Katzinger and G. Marckhgott (Linz, 1991), pp. 105–110; Ch. R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 235–244; I. Panic, *Początki Węgier. Polityczne aspekty formowania się państwa i społeczeństwa węgierskiego w końcu IX i w pierwszej połowie X wieku* (Cieszyn, 1995), pp. 44–65; Kristó, *Hungarian History*, pp. 175–182; M. G. Kellner, *Die Ungarneinfälle im Bild der Quellen bis 1150. Von der "Gens detestanda" zur "Gens ad fidem Christi conversa"* (Munich, 1997), p. 10–16; J. Giesler, *Der Ostalpenraum vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zu archäologischen und schriftlichen Zeugnissen*, 2, *Historische Interpretation* (Rahden/Westf., 1997), pp. 52–54; M. Eggers, "Baiern, Pannonien und die Magyaren," in *Baiern—Ungarn. Tausend Jahren*, eds. H. W. Wurster, M. Treml, and R. Loibl (Passau-Regensburg, 2001), pp. 65–70.

[76] *Annales ex annalibus Iuvavensibus*, p. 742.

most reprovable atrocities were assigned: "The Avars, who are called Hungarians, penetrated across the Danube at this time, and did many terrible things. They killed men and old women outright, and carried off the young women alone with them like cattle to satisfy their lusts, and reduced the whole of Pannonia to a desert."[77]

To the same effect is the information in the old Russian and Hungarian chronicles relating that on their way to Pannonia the Hungarian tribes passed by Kiev.[78] Equally relevant in this respect is the chronicle of Reginald of Prüm, which states that the decisive battle between the Pechenegs and the Hungarians—a battle that compelled the latter to leave the steppe lands north of the Black Sea—was fought near the mouth of the Don.[79] According to some, the name *Dentumoger* (Dentümogyer), which was given to the Hungarians' ancestors,[80] etymologically meant "Hungarians from the Don."[81] So, it is much more plausible that the main settlements of the Hungarians, before their crossing the northern Carpathians, lay in the Lower Dnieper basin and west of the Don, even if their active vanguard horsemen had reached the mouths of the Danube.

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[77] *Annales Fuldenses*, p. 410; *The Annals of Fulda*, trans. T. Reuter (Manchester–New York, 1972), p. 129.

[78] *PVL*, I, p. 21; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 17–18; *Троицкая летопись*, ed. M. D. Priselkov (Moscow–Leningrad, 1950), p. 61; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 270; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XV (St. Petersburg, 1863), col. 34; *Симеоновская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XVIII (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 9–10 (where the event is wrongly dated to 6405 [= 897] or 6406 [= 898]); Anonymus, pp. 42–44; Simon de Keza, p. 165; *CPict*, pp. 18, 133; *Chronicon Monacense* (see above, n. 37), p. 61; Henric de Mügeln (see above, n. 54), p. 127. See also G. Vernadsky, M. de Ferdinandy, *Studien zur ungarische Frühgeschichte, I. Lebedia/II. Álmos* (Munich, 1957), pp. 10–14 and 26–29; T. Senga, "Some problems of Magyar-East Slavic relations in the ninth century," *Uralica. Journal of the Uralic Society of Japan* 2 (1974), pp. 48–51; Gy. Kristó, I. H. Tóth, "As orosz évkönyvek néhány magyar vonatkozásáról," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Historica* 103 (1996), pp. 21–28.

[79] Reginonis *Chronicon* (see above, n. 63), p. 600.

[80] Anonymus, p. 39.

[81] Gy. Györffy, *Krónikáink és a magyar östörténet* (Budapest, 1948), pp. 55–58; O. Pritsak, "From the Sabirs to the Hungarians," in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in honour of Julius Németh*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest, 1976), p. 23 (reprint in idem, *Studies in Medieval European History* [Variorum Reprint] [London, 1981]); P. B. Golden, "The peoples of the Russian forest belt," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge, 1990), p. 243; I. Boba, "Commentationes ad Anonymi Belae regis Gesta Hungarorum," in *Varia Eurasiatica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas* (Szeged, 1991), pp. 14–17; I. Fodor, "The Hungarian conquest," in *The Ancient Hungarians. Exhibition Catalogue*, eds. I. Fodor and L. Révész, M. Wolf, I. M. Nepper (Budapest, 1996), p. 14.

Concerning the older supposition, occasionally still mentioned, according to which part of the ancient Hungarian inhabitants of Atelkuzu supposedly stayed in Moldavia after 896, being the ancestors of the Csangos,[82] it has no scientific support whatsoever. According to the most trustworthy investigations in the field of history and linguistics, the Csangos came across the eastern slopes of the eastern Carpathians from eastern Transylvania several centuries after the Hungarians moved from Atelkuzu to Pannonia.[83] Whereas Atelkuzu was situated east of the Siret basin and of the Danube, the Csangos who settled in Moldavia were grouped especially between the Carpathian and the Siret, where they influenced the toponymy and the hydronymy.[84]

The passage of the Hungarians towards the Pannonian Plain took place through the Verecke pass in the northern Carpathians, along one of the most important connecting roads between the east-European Plain and the Middle Danube basin, a road used by many other migrators, including the Mongols in 1241. That route had previously been known to the Hungarians. In their movement the Hungarians passed through the territories of the future Galician Principality,[85] thus avoiding Moldavia. The written sources and archaeological proofs do not indicate the passes in the eastern Carpathians or the Danube Iron Gates as means of penetration for the Hungarians and Kabars

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[82] For a refutation of this idea, see P. Râmneanţu, *Die Abstammung der Tschangos* (Sibiu, 1944), p. 11; F. Pozsony, *Ceangăii din Moldova* (Cluj[-Napoca], 2002), p. 9; A. Coşa, "Problema originii catolicilor din Moldova," *Carpica* 31 (2002), pp. 81–82.

[83] R. Rosetti, "Despre unguri şi episcopiile catolice din Moldova," *AARMSI*, Ser. II, 27 (1904–1905), pp. 282–287; L. Mikecs, "Ursprung und Schicksal der Tschango-Ungarn," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 23 (1943), pp. 247–280; Râmneanţu, *Die Abstammung*, *passim*; G. Bakó, "Contribuţii la problema originii ceangăilor," *SAI* 4 (1962), pp. 37–44; E. Wagner, "Ungarn (Csangonen) in der Moldau und in der Bukowina im Spiegel neuerer rumänischer Quelleneditionen," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 3 (74) (1980), no. 1, pp. 27–35; B. Gunda, "Ursprung der Moldau-Ungarn," in *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, I, eds. K. Benda, Th. v. Bogyay, H. Glassl, Z. K. Lengyel (Munich, 1987), pp. 267–285; R. Baker, "On the origin of the Moldavian Csángos," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 75 (1997), no. 4, pp. 658–680.

[84] Rosetti, "Despre unguri," pp. 247–254; G. Lüko, "Havaselve és Moldva népei a X–XII. században," *Ethnographia népélet* 46 (1935), nos. 1–4, pp. 96–101; Mikecs, "Ursprung und Schicksal," pp. 262–266; M. Arends and D. Bein, "Katholische Ungarn in der Moldau. Eine Minderheit im historischen Kontext einer ethnisch und konfessionell gemischten Region," *Saeculum* 54 (2003), no. 2, pp. 213–267.

[85] Anonymus, pp. 47–48; Simon de Keza, p. 165; Andreae Danduli *Chronica per extensum descripta, aa. 46–1280 d.C.*, ed. E. Pastorello, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, NE, XII, 1 (Bologna, 1938), p. 53.

towards Pannonia, as some scholars have tried to argue.[86] The most suitable pass between South Moldavia and Transylvania—the one of Oituz—was not at all fit for carts without special arrangements, even during the Middle Ages. Nothing is known about such arrangements in the late ninth century.

In contradiction to other sources is only the information in *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense* concerning the killing of Almos, Arpad's father, in *Erdelw*, and the temporary stay of his troops in that region, before entering Pannonia.[87] But this information is far from being reliable. In *Gesta Hungarorum*, written a century and a half before, Almos is no longer signalled as acting in Transylvania, but at the siege of the Ung fortress.[88] It is possible that the form *Erdelw/Érdö-elve* (= "beyond the forest"/"Transylvania") was not present in the source compiled by *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*, but rather *erdö* (= "forest"), a name which was used for the Ung woodland,[89] where the Hungarians went immediately after crossing the Verecke pass. On the other hand, the idea of Almos's contribution to the conquest of the new country does not seem entirely likely, being probably a fancy of the chroniclers at the Arpadians' royal court, who were tempted to idealize the past of the dynasty. It is important to note in this respect that no mention is made of Almos during the last years of the Hungarian presence in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. All Byzantine sources pertaining to that period indicate that Arpad and Cusan (Kurszan) were at that time leading the Hungarian tribal union.[90]

The efforts that have been made to sustain the idea of a crossing of the eastern Carpathians by the Hungarians reflect, in most cases, the tendency of trying to prove by any means that the occupation of

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[86] Hóman, *Geschichte* (see above, n. 31), p. 101; Vajay, *Der Eintritt* (see above, n. 75), p. 26; I. Dienes, *Die Ungarn um die Zeit der Landnahme* (Budapest, 1972), p. 8; L. Makkai, in *Die Geschichte Ungarns*, ed. E. Pamlényi (Budapest, 1971), p. 13; Th. v. Bogyay, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Ungarns*, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt, 1977), p. 20; Gy. Györffy, "Honfoglalás, megtelepedés és kalandozások," in *Magyar östörténeti tanulmányok*, eds. A. Bartha, K. Czeglédy, A. Róna-Tas (Budapest, 1977), p. 126; T. Senga, "La situation géographique de la Grande-Moravie et les Hongrois conquérants," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, NF, 30 (1982), no. 4, pp. 535 and 539; Bóna, "Daciatól Erdőelvéig" (see above, n. 69), p. 198 ff.; Gy. Kristó, *Magyarország története, 895–1301* (Budapest, 1998), pp. 48–53.

[87] *CPict*, pp. 19, 133–134. See also *Chronicon Posoniense* (see above, n. 37), p. 32.

[88] Anonymus, pp. 50–52.

[89] G. Popa-Lisseanu, "Introducere," in *CPict*, pp. XXXII and 134 with n. 1.

[90] Georgius Monachus (see above, n. 30), p. 853; Leo Grammaticus (see above, n. 24), p. 267; *DAI*, I, pp. 172–173.

Transylvania had taken place long time before it really happened. By admitting such an idea we would ignore, among others, the information in the *Gesta Hungarorum*, according to which the state formations led by Gelou, Glad and Menumorut were attacked by the Hungarians from the west, after their conquest of Pannonia.[91] On the other hand, according to all written and archaeological proofs, the penetration and the domination of Transylvania by the Hungarians was made step by step from west to east.[92] The Szeklers—who, according to some opinions that are gaining unanimous acceptance, must be seen as descendants of the Kabars[93]—had also reached the eastern parts of Transylvania coming from the west.[94]

The confrontation of the Hungarian tribal confederation with the populations of Pannonia and Transylvania gave rise to the first written mentions about the Romanians north of the Danube, in two different sources, for which the possibility of interference was impossible: *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, elaborated in the second decade of the twelfth century at the Pecherskaia Monastery near Kiev, and *Gesta Hungarorum*, written around the year 1200 by Magister P., the so-called Anonymous, who was the notary of King Bela [III] (1172–1192). Both works say that, when the Hungarians came in, they encountered Vlachs and Slavs.[95] The matter contained in the two chronicles was the object of

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[91] Anonymus, pp. 65–67, 89–91, 103–105.

[92] K. Horedt, *Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei în secolele IV–XIII* (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 109–131; Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 95–98; M. Rusu, "The autochthonous population and the Hungarians on the territory of Transylvania in the 9th–11th centuries," in *Relations*, pp. 207–213; V. Spinei, "Migraţia ungurilor" (see above, n. 71), pp. 120–121; Th. Nägler, "Transilvania între 900 şi 1300," in *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I (*până la 1541*), eds. I.-A. Pop, Th. Nägler (Cluj–Napoca, 2003), pp. 212–215.

[93] J. Németh, *La question de l'origine des Sicules* (offprint from *AECO* 6 [1940], nos. 1–4) (Budapest, 1941), pp. 11–13; G. Györffy, "Formation d'États au IX^{e} siècle suivant les "Gesta Hungarorum" du Notaire Anonyme," in *Nouvelles études historiques*, I (Budapest, 1965), p. 41; Th. v. Bogyay, "Über Herkunft, Gesellschaft und Recht der Székler," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 2 (1970), p. 22; Z. Kordé, "Kabars, Sicules et Petchenègues. Les Hongrois et les auxiliaires militaires (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècle)," in *Les Hongrois et l'Europe: conquête et intégration*, eds. S. Csernus and K. Korompay (Paris-Szeged, 1999), p. 235; Brook, *Jews of Khazaria* (see above, n. 8), pp. 212–213; N. Kálnoky, *Les constitutions et privilèges de la noble nation sicule. Acculturation et maintien d'un système coutumier dans la Transylvanie médiévale* (Budapest–Paris–Szeged, 2004), pp. 35–38.

[94] B. Hóman, "Der Ursprung der Siebenbürger Székler," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 2 (1922), no. 1, p. 9 ff.; Iorga, *Histoire*, III, pp. 125–128; Németh, "La question," *passim*; Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 109–114; A. Simon, *În jurul Carpaţilor. Formele şi realităţile genezei statale româneşti* (Cluj–Napoca, 2002), pp. 236–238.

[95] *PVL*, I, pp. 21 and 210; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 18; Anonymus, pp. 45, 65, 66, and 90. On Vlachs in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and the *Gesta Hungarorum*, see V. D. Koroliuk,

some fierce and not always objective historiographical disputes launched by the enemies of the Daco-Roman continuity on the left side of the Danube, controversies which we are not going to discuss here. The essence is that Robert Roesler[96] and his disciples say that the ethnonym *Vlachs* (*Blasi, Blaci, Влахи*) would not refer to the Romanians, but to the Franks or, possibly, to the Italians.[97] The main incrimination against Anonymous is that he transposed his contemporary historical realities to the previous periods, the first point of contention being his mention of the Romanians and the Cumans during the Hungarians' settlement in Pannonia. Because, as concerns the Cumans, it is quite evident that their first contacts with the Arpadian Kingdom were recorded only towards the end of the eleventh century, *mutatis mutandis* it was admitted that the Vlachs must have been signalled in the chronicle around the year 900 by mistake as well.

Волохи и славяне русской летописи (Kishinev, 1971); idem, "Славяне, влахи, рымляне и римские пастухи венгерскго 'Анонима'," in *IVESV*, pp. 139–158; D. Dvoichenko-Markov, "The Russian Primary Chronicle and the Vlachs of Eastern Europe," *Byzantion* 49 (1979), pp. 175–187; R. Windisch, "Die frühesten Erwähnungen der Rumänen und ihrer Vorfahren in den antiken, byzantinischen, mittelalterlichen und neueren Quellen," *BBR* 8 (12), NS (1980–1981), pp. 169–176; S. Brezeanu, "'Romani' şi 'Blachi' la Anonymus. Istorie şi ideologie politică," *RIs* 34 (1981), no. 7, pp. 1313–1340; idem, "'Romans' and 'Blachi' with 'Anonymous'. History and political ideology," *Transylvanian Review* 5 (1996), no. 2, pp. 15–43; V. Ciocîltan, "Observaţii referitoare la românii din cronica Notarului Anonim al regelui Bela," *RIs* 40 (1987), no. 5, pp. 445–453; D. Deletant, "Ethno-History or Mytho-History? The Case of Chronicler Anonymus," in idem, *Studies in Romanian History* (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 332–351; I.-A. Pop, *Românii şi maghiarii în secolele IX–XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania* (Cluj–Napoca, 1996), pp. 84–91 and 131–141; A. Madgearu, *Românii în opera Notarului Anonim* (Cluj–Napoca, 2001), pp. 53–72 and 117–149; M. Pillon, "L'exode des "Sermésiens" et les grandes migrations des Romains de Pannonie dans les Balkans durant le Haut Moyen Âge," *Études balkaniques* (2002), no. 3, pp. 112–114; T. Sălăgean, *Ţara lui Gelou. Contribuţii la istoria Transilvaniei de Nord în secolele IX–XI* (Cluj–Napoca, 2006), pp. 58–67.

[96] R. Roesler, *Romänische Studien. Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Romäniens* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 79–82. Gy. Kristó ("Rómaiak és vlachok Nyesztornál és Anonymusnál," *Századok* 112 [1978], pp. 623–661) has admitted that the Vlachs from Anonymus' and Simon de Keza's chronicles would be Romanians, but he viewed their mention as anachronistic.

[97] M. Gyóni, "Les Volochs des Annales primitives de Kiev," *Études slaves et roumaines* 2 (1949), no. 1, pp. 56–92; L. S. Domonkos, "The multiethnic character of the Hungarian Kingdom in the later Middle Ages," in *Transylvania. The Roots of Ethnic Conflict*, eds. J. F. Cadzow, A. Ludanyi, L. J. Elteto (Kent, Ohio, 1983), pp. 51–53; P. Váczy, *A magyar történelem korai századaiból*, ed. F. Glatz (Budapest, 1994), p. 94; L. Makkai, "Erdély a középkori Magyar Királyságbam (896–1526)," in *Erdély története* (see above, n. 69), I, pp. 301–304; I. Boba, "Vlachs in the history of Central Europe. A 'Problemstellung'," *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére*, ed. L. Koszta (Szeged, 1995), pp. 95–102.

The elaborate studies of the last decades on the text *Gesta Hungarorum* have revealed that most of the reports are not inventions, but they have a real support, even if here and there some anachronisms occurred. Among other things, the opinion according to which Anonymous often designated the Kabar-Khazars by the name of *Cumani* has been almost generally accepted.[98] Its double significance comes perhaps from the fact that the ethnonym *kun*, translated by Anonymous into Latin by the term *Cumani*, designated in the Hungarian language not only the Cumans, but the Turkic nomads in general, including the Kabars.[99] In other passages of his chronicle the substitution of the Pechenegs by the related Cumans is obvious. In the case of the Cumans there is no longer suspicion concerning the plausibility of the text belonging to the Anonymous notary of the king Bela. But nobody has thought of exculpating him of the "error" of having mentioned the Vlachs at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, and of recognizing that in reality he had not been wrong, a fact which dampens the prestige of the venerable scholar. Another Hungarian chronicler from the second half of the thirteenth century—Simon of Keza—stated that after the Szeklers had helped the Hungarians to conquer the Pannonian Plain, they received from them territories in the mountainous regions neighbouring those belonging to the Vlachs (*Blacki*), from whom they seem to have adopted their writing system.[100]

Generally, those who contest the Daco-Roman continuity claim that the Romanian populations west of the Balkan Peninsula infiltrated slowly and progressively to the north of the Danube, directly into the Arpadian Kingdom, or even by making a detour through outer-Carpathian regions, with the consent or even at the solicitation of state

[98] Györffy, *Krónikáink* (see above, n. 81), pp. 124–125; idem, "Время составления Анонимом 'Деяний венгров' и степень достоверности этого сочинения," in *Летописи и хроники. Сборник статей 1973 г.* (Moscow, 1974), p. 119; I. Erdély(i), "Les relations hungaro-khazares," *Studia et acta orientalia* 4 (1962), p. 40; H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 36–38; K. Mesterházy, "Honfoglalás kori kéramiánk keleti kapsolatai," *Folia archaeologica* 26 (1975), p. 114.

[99] C. A. Macartney, "The Lives of the St Gerard," in idem, *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History* (Variorum Collected Studies Series), eds. L. Czigány and L. Péter (Aldershot-Brookfield-Singapore-Sidney, 1999), p. 93; Németh, "La question," pp. 12–13; Györffy, *Krónikáink*, pp. 96, 125; idem, "A kun és komán népnév eredetének kérdéséhez," *Antiquitas Hungarica* 2 (1948), nos. 1–2, pp. 173–176 (reprint in idem, *A magyarság keleti elemei* [Budapest, 1990], pp. 200–219).

[100] Simon de Keza, pp. 162–163. See also *CPict*, pp. 16, 130.

authorities, approximately between the year 1200 (or during the eleventh century, at the earliest) and the fourteenth century.[101] Undoubtedly, if in the period when Anonymous and Simon of Keza were writing their works the Vlachs had continued to flow from the Balkans towards Transylvania, or if their movement had begun only a couple of decades before, the two chroniclers might have been informed about that important event, especially because their position in the court circles offered them the possibility of access to all kinds of informative contemporary sources. It would have been incredibly strange to see an omission of the Romanian's migration—if it had really taken place—just at the moment when it was meant to play an essential role on the opposite bank of the Danube, in the formation of a state and in founding a dynasty well-known all over Europe, that of the Asens.

The fact that a migration of such proportions left not even the smallest trace in the places where it supposedly had started, or in the ones where it ended, remains inexplicable.[102] On the other hand, the eleventh-century Byzantine author Kekaumenos knew of clashes between Vlachs in Serbia and the Byzantine authorities. According to him, following those clashes, the Vlachs withdrew southwards, to Epirus, Macedonia, and Hellas, and not to the region north of the Danube.[103] An anonymous author at the beginning of the fourteenth century, supposed to be a French Dominican,[104] was also informed about an emigration of Romanian (*blazi, blachi*) shepherds from Pannonia towards the Balkans, again from the north towards the south, as a consequence of the coming of the Hungarians. That does not mean that there were no possible crossings of Vlachs from the Balkans to the left side of the Danube, taking into account that population exchanges from one side of the river to the other were frequent throughout history. Certain linguistic affinities prove the existence of contacts between speakers of

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[101] For a presentation and refutation of such views, see A. Sacerdoțeanu, *Considerații asupra istoriei românilor în evul mediu* (Bucharest, 1936); I. Moga, *Păreri istorice ungureşti privitoare la românii din Transilvania medievală* (Sibiu, 1941); I. Hurdubeții, *Die Deutschen über die Herkunft der Rumänen* (Bucharest, 1977); N. Stoicescu, *Continuitatea românilor* (Bucharest, 1980); I. A. Pop, *Istoria Transilvaniei medievale de la etnogeneza românilor până la Mihai Viteazul* (Cluj–Napoca, 1997), pp. 73–152.

[102] I. Moga, *Les Roumains de Transylvanie au Moyen Âge* (Sibiu, 1944), pp. 16–17; Stoicescu, *Continuitatea*, pp. 186–187; idem, *O falsă problemă istorică—discontinuitatea poporului român pe teritoriul strămoşesc* (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 261–262.

[103] *Советы и рассказы Кекавмена/*Cecaumeni *Consilia et narrationes*, ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), pp. 268–271.

[104] Anonymi Geographi *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* (*IIR*, II) (1934), pp. 17 and 42.

Romance languages on both sides of the river.[105] The displacements of Romanian-speaking populations from the right to the left side of the Danube could not have been significant, and they did not mean, as the supporters of the "migration theory" claim, the implantation of the Romanic element in the Carpathian-Danubian region; at the most, it could only indicate the reinforcement of that element.

Being aware of how feeble the theory was, which identified with Franks the Vlachs of the period of the so-called "taking of the homeland" (*honfoglalás, Landnahme*) by Hungarians, some have relatively recently put forward a new, yet aberrant hypothesis concerning the Romanian ethnogenesis. As no one has yet responded to this hypothesis, I feel obliged to reply, even though what we have to deal with is a more than doubtful opinion. According to that opinion, the ethnic names *Blac/Blaq* and *Vlach* supposedly designated two distinct peoples, the former of Turkic, the latter of Latin origin. The *Blaci/Blasi* of Anonymus, the *Blacki* of Simon of Keza and Villehardouin, the *Blaci* of William of Rubruck, Roger Bacon and Johannes Schöner, or those of the Hungarian kings' charters of 1222 and 1224—all of them among the oldest mentions of Romanians in history—would thus be nothing more than references to an obscure Turkic tribe named Bulaq, from the tribal union of the Qarluqs, who initially lived in the Ural area and in Bashkiria. The tribe was attested in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and after that only at the end of the sixteenth century, before having been conquered by the Russians. The presumed presence of the Bulaq population in Transylavania and the Balkan Peninsula was explained as the result of a migration taking place during the seventh century, in the company of the Onogur-Bulgars, who under Asparukh (Isperikh) later moved to settle south of the Danube.[106]

The idea of a correspondence between the Blacs in the Carpathian-Balkan area and the Bulaq tribe in the Ural Mountains was probably suggested to G. Bodor and L. Rásonyi by a remark made by William of Rubruck (Willem van Rubroek), the messenger of King Louis IX

[105] D. Macrea, *Probleme de lingvisticã românã* (Bucharest, 1961), *passim*; G. Ivănescu, *Istoria limbii române* (Iaşi, 1980), pp. 30–46; N. Saramandu, *Romanitatea orientală* (Bucharest 2004), *passim*; V. Arvinte, "Formarea limbii şi poporului român în lumina cercetărilor recente," in idem, *Studii de istorie a limbii române* (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 21–22 and 24.

[106] G. Bodor, "Egy krónikás adat helyes értelmezése," *Magyar nyelv* 72 (1976), no. 3, pp. 268–271; L. Rásonyi, "Bulaqs and Oguzs in mediaeval Transylvania," *AOH* 33 (1979), no. 2, pp. 129–143; idem, *Hidak a Dunán. A régi török népek a Dunánál* (Budapest, 1981), pp. 48–80; idem, *Tuna köprüleri* (Ankara, 1984), pp. 28–58.

to the Mongolian great khan. The Franciscan messenger signalled a population called *Illac*, beyond *Pascatur* (= Bashkiria), whose real name he considered to be *Blac*, the same name as that of the inhabitants of Asan's country, that is in the Vlach in Asenid Bulgaria (Second Bulgarian Tsardom): *Et iuxta Pascatur sunt Illac, quod idem est quod Blac, sed B nesciunt Tartari sonare, a quibus venerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani. Utrosque enim vocant Illac, et hos et illos*.[107] William of Rubruck knew that the Bulgars of the Balkans were natives from *Bulgaria Magna*, that there was the so-called *Hungaria Magna* situated beyond *Etilia* (= the Volga), and that the languages of the Bashkirs and of the Hungarians were very much alike—a fact that actually clarifies the starting place of the Hungarians. The Franciscan diplomat appears to have been convinced, even if he did not make the point explicitly, that the Romanians originated in a way similar to that of their neighbours, that is through a migration from eastern Europe.[108] As a natural result, the historians that referred to the passages in Rubruck's travel narrations grasped the inadvertences they contain, and therefore suggested other identifications of the *Illac* population.[109]

Accepting the identification of the Turkic tribe Bulaq with the Vlachs mentioned by Anonymus, Simon of Keza, Villehardouin, and the other chronicles previously mentioned, would mean depriving the history of the Romanians not only of simple ethnonymical attestations, but also of a wealth of important events. The above mentioned remarks about the *Blaci, Blacki*, etc., cannot be detached from the other references to the Romanians, in which they are designated by names with slightly different spellings: *Βλάχοι, Vlachs, Volochs, Wlachen*, etc.; sometimes variations in that ethnonym occur even in reporting on the same events. Situations of that kind are to be found, for instance, in

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[107] Rubruck, p. 219. See also Roger Bacon, *The Opus majus*, ed. J. H. Bridges, I (Oxford, 1897), p. 367.

[108] Rubruck, pp. 218–219. The idea was accepted by some historians who were either not objective or less acquainted with the history of Eastern Europe. On this passage, see A. Sacerdoțeanu, "Guillaume de Rubrouck et les Roumains au milieu du XIII[e] siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France* (1929), no. 2, pp. 258–259.

[109] G. I. Brătianu, "Lak. O interpretare greșită a unui capitol din 'Cartea lui Marco Polo'," *CIs* 1 (1925), pp. 369–376; idem, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIII[e] siècle* (Paris, 1929), pp. 295–300; Sacerdoțeanu, "Guillaume de Rubrouck," pp. 262–271; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), pp. 147–151. For more details on this identification, see also V. Ciocîltan, "Wilhelm von Rubruks Angaben über Rumänen und Baschkiren im Lichte der orientalischen Quellen," *Südost-Forschungen* 42 (1983), pp. 113–122.

the presentation of the Romanians' clashes with the Hungarians who had penetrated into Transylvania, made by Anonymus and by the old Russian chronicle, as well as in the case of the descriptions of the wars between Asenid Bulgaria and the Latin Empire, found in Frankish and Byzantine chronicles.[110] Such facts obviously lead to the conclusion that the forms *Blaci* and *Blacki* indicated the same population as the other forms derived from the ethnonym *Vlachs*, as the Romanians were called by other peoples throughout the Middle Ages.

Concerning the identitification of *Blaci* as *Bulaq*, it is not the linguistic difficulties—confined to the elision of the *u* in the latter ethnonym—that are impossible to surpass, but those of a historical nature. There is not the a single narrative or archaeological find indicating that the Bulaq tribe might have migrated from their country towards the Carpathian-Balkan area. If, however, this was the case, it is impossible to explain how such an unimportant group was able to keep itself unassimilated for several centuries, while living among numerous and powerful tribes far from the places from which it had been displaced. It is well known that during the great migrations small communities were swallowed up quite fast by larger ones. It would also be surprising that the alleged Bulaq could have preserved their ethnical identity both in Transylvania and in the Balkans, even after Christianisation, while the Proto-Bulgars themselves, although in dominant political positions, were assimilated by the Slavs. At the same time, we doubt that the Blacs/Vlachs on both sides of the Danube, unlike the Hungarians, would have ever claimed their supposed Asian origin. Instead, according to the historical tradition recorded in the text of King Bela's Notary, the Vlachs in Pannonia were regarded as "the Romans' shepherds" (*Blachi ac pastores Romanorum*),[111] an idea that is to be found again, expressed identically, in an anonymous description of eastern Europe.[112] No matter the strength of imagination one could be endowed with, it is impossible to understand how could

[110] For details, see A. Cioranescu, *La tradition historique et l'origine des Roumaines* (Bucharest, 1942); D. Gazdaru, "Los latinos de Oriente en monumentos literarios e históricos de la Edad Media," *Romanica*, La Plata, 2 (1969), pp. 43–75; A. Armbruster, *Der Donau-Karpatenraum in den mittel- und westeuropäischen Quellen des 10.–16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne–Vienna, 1990), pp. 28–34.

[111] Anonymus, p. 45.

[112] Anonymi Geographi *Descriptio*, pp. 17, 42. See also G. Popa-Lisseanu, Continuitatea românilor în Dacia. Dovezi nouă (offprint from *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 23 [1940], no. 9) (Bucharest, 1941), pp. 68–74; A. Armbruster, *La romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une idée* (Bucharest, 1977), pp. 33–38.

a Turanic group from the Urals been labled "the Romans' shepherds," a designation clearly implying a recognition of a Latin origin. On the other hand, it is known that the tribal union of the Qarluqs, made up of nine tribes, including that of the *B.laq/Bulāq*, migrated towards the "Islamic territories,"[113] therefore south and not west, in a period prior to the beginning of the twelfth century.

The untenable views of György Bodor and László Rásonyi recall some similar opinions of the World War I period, according to which the Vlachs were descendents of Romanised Turko-Tartars[114] (!), an idea that was rightly laughed at.[115] In addition, these standpoints have traits in common with the strange supposition that the Vlachs were the same as some Slavic speakers on the Volga, known as Volkhvy, which would also place the origin of the Romanians in the eastern extremity of Europe, from where they were supposed to emigrate to the Carpathian-Danubian area at the dawn of the Middle Ages[116] (!). Certainly, that bold supposition could not possibly enjoy the approval of medievalists.[117]

Among the oldest attestations of the countries of the Vlachs on the left side of the Danube, there is a quotation of a passage from a book of geography attributed to the Armenian Moses Khorenats'i, a source first brought to the attention of Romanian historiography by Aurel Decei, who dated it to the ninth century. That passage refers to an "unknown country called Balak," situated in the neighbourhood of the "Sarmatians' country" and of *Zagura* (Zagora = Bulgaria), i.e. in the north of the Danube.[118] According to the latest investigations, that geographical outlook might have been formulated in the seventh century by Ananias of Shirak (Shirakats'i), with only later copies of the work having been preserved. These later copies show signs of subsequent interpolations,[119] including the aforementioned passage. It is obvious

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[113] Marvazi (see above, n. 51), p. 31; *Orient.Bev.*, p. 248.

[114] J. Peisker, "Die Abkunft der Rumänen," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 15 (1917), nos. 1–4, pp. 160–205.

[115] L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, I, *L'histoire* (Paris, 1923), p. 70 with n. 1; Al. Philippide, *Originea românilor*, I (Iaşi, 1923), p. 840.

[116] R. A. Rabinovich, "Искушение 'волошским орехом' или Балканские волохи и русские волхвы," *Stratum plus*, 5 (2000), 5, pp. 262–390.

[117] V. Spinei, *Universa Valachica. Românii în contextul politic internaţional de la începutul mileniului al II-lea* (Chişinău, 2006), pp. 48–49 (Addenda 1).

[118] Decei, "Românii" (see above, n. 26), pp. 24, 32, and 70–72.

[119] R. H. Hewsen, "On the date and authorship of the Ašxarhac'oyc'," *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS, 4 (1967), pp. 409–432; idem, "Introduction," in *Ashkharhatsoyts*

that this passage could have been written by neither Moses Khorenats'i nor Ananias Shirakats'i, who lived in the fifth and the seventh century, respectively. The interpolation is probably from the first centuries of the second millennium. Specifications in that respect will be possible after an exegesis of the numerous manuscripts of Armenian geography. The passage about the Balak country is not included in a remarkable recent publication of the treatise on geography attributed to Ananias Shirakatsi (that publication being based on more manuscripts and on some previous editions of that work). This fact confirms our supposition that the passage would represent an insertion dated after the seventh century. Regarding the presentation of the Carpathian-Danubians area in Armenian geographic writings, the latter specify that the Tyras (Dniester) separated Sarmatia from Dacia, and that "the large country of Dacia," was inhabited by Slavs, who had had 25 tribes.[120]

Another eleventh-century reference to the Vlachs' country appears to be a passage inserted into the ancient Turkic chronicle *Oghuzname* (*The Oghuz Khan's Tale*), which evokes events from the Oghuz ethnogenesis and migration under a mythical cover. *Oghuzname* is known in several versions, most of them being transcriptions written several centuries after the moment of the elaboration of the original oral version. Romanian historians have so far only looked at the most recent version of the chronicle, which is incorporated into the chronicle of Abu'l Ghâzi Behadur-Khan, written in the mid-seventeenth century in the chaghatay dialect. The *Oghuzname* narrates the battles of the Qipchaqs (= Cumans) against several peoples, including the Romanians (*Ulak*).[121] In the account written by Rashid al-Din at the beginning of the fourteenth century, there are quite important differences in the presentation of the events. The Persian chronicler gives details about the conflict of the Qipchaqs with the population *It-Baraq*,[122] an ethnonym that presents

(Ašxarhac'oyc'). The Seventh Century Geography attributed to Ananias of Shirak (Delmar, New York, 1994), pp. 7–24; S. T. Eréminian, "La reconstitution des cartes de l'atlas arménien du monde ou *Ašxarhac'oyc'*," *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS, 14 (1980), pp. 143–155.

[120] Ananias of Širak, *The Geography (Ašxarhac'oyc'). The Long and the Short Recensions*, ed. R. H. Hewsen (Wiesbaden, 1992), p. 48.

[121] M. A. Ekrem, "O menţiune inedită despre românii din secolul al IX-lea în *Oguzname*—cea mai veche cronică turcă," *SCIVA* 31 (1980), no. 2, pp. 287–294; idem, "Menţiuni despre români în izvoare turceşti preotomane şi otomane (secolele IX–XV)," *Analele Universităţii Creştine "Dimitrie Cantemir," Seria Istorie* 2 (1998), pp. 61–70.

[122] Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston, I (Harvard [Cambridge, MA], 1998), p. 30. See also W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Bälasagun*, I

only a vague resemblance with that of *Vlach*. We may also mention that a similar name, *Batchaka/Barqan/Baraka*, was attributed to a region. That information can be found in a fifteenth-century Uighur version of *Oghuzname*, in which the other details concerning the conflicts of the Qipchaqs are missing.[123]

Considering that sporadic penetrations of the Cumans in the outer-Carpathian space are recorded only beginning with the last decades of the eleventh century, and the more lasting contacts with the Romanians were established during the following century, the quoted account cannot possibly mention events situated chronologically before the second half of the eleventh century. Therefore the references to Romanians in *Oghuzname* and in the interpolations in the Armenian chronicle, however interesting they may be, do not refer to the ninth century, but to a subsequent period. The arguments invoked by the historians who see the ethnonym *Ulak* referring to a population from the Urals and the Volga area[124] rather than the Romanians, do not seem to be convincing.

There is also Oriental information about the Romanians in which specialists have not been very much interested. In that respect, we may mention the passages from the chronicles of Mutahhar al-Maqdisi and Ibn al-Nadim as outstanding representatives of the tenth-century Arab historiography.

In the former Arab chronicle one can find the following statement: "they say that in the Turks' neighbourhood there are the Khazars, Russians, Slavs, Waladj, Alans, Greeks and many other peoples that look like them."[125] The same chronicle specifies that—in comparison with the Slavs and the Russians—the Waladj and Alans were "not very numerous".[126] Without suggesting any identification with a specific east-European ethnic group and without providing other arguments,

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(St. Petersburg, 1891), p. XIX; K. Jahn, "Zu Rašid al-Din's 'Geschichte der Oguzen und Türken'," *Journal of Asian History* 1 (1967), no. 1, p. 51.

[123] R. Nour, *Oughouz-Namé. Épopée turque* (Alexandria, 1928), p. 54; W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, "Die Legende von Oguz Qagan," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.* 25 (1932), pp. 700–701; A. M. Shcherbak, *Огуз-наме. Мухаббат-наме. Памятники древнеуйгурской и староузбекской письменности* (Moscow, 1959), p. 54.

[124] Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire* (see above, n. 109), pp. 151–153; N. Beldiceanu, "Sunt valahii amintiți în Oguzname?," *BBR*, 12 (16) (1985), pp. 287–292.

[125] Motahhar ben Tâhir el-Maqdisî, *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, attribué a Abou-Zéïd Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhî, IV, ed. Cl. Huart (Paris, 1907), p. 62.

[126] Ibidem, p. 63.

Clément Huart, the editor and translator into French of Mutahhar al-Maqdisi assumed that *Waladj* referred to a population on the Volga.[127] Some specialists believe however that the above-mentioned ethnonym designated the Wallachians, that is the Romanians,[128] taking into account that Waladj are mentioned together with other peoples living in eastern and south-eastern Europe.

The author of a valuable *Index* of Arabian books (*Kītāb al-Fihrist*), Abu'l Faradj Muhammad b. Abi Ya'kub Ishak al-Warrak al-Baghdadi, known under the name of Ibn al-Nadim, stated that "the Turks, the Bulgar, the Blaghā', the Burghaz, the Khazar, the Llān (Alans-?), and the types with small eyes and extreme blondness have no script, except the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichaean, whereas the Khazar write Hebrew".[129] As B. Dodge (the editor and the translator of the scholar of Baghdad) intuited, the ethnonym Blaghā could refer to Wallachians/Romanians.[130] Considering the long distance of the Arab author from the Carpathian-Balkan territories, it is not surprising that their names were slightly distorted.

At the end of the ninth century and during the tenth century the narrative and archaeological sources attest to the presence of the Tivertsians and the Croatians in the middle and in the superior basin of the Dniester, respectively, a fact that supposes direct contacts between those populations and the Romanians. The Kievan chronicle, *The Primary Chronicle* (the so-called Nestor letopis') in its Laurentian version, points out that the Ulichians and the Tivertsians settled on the Dniester, spreading up to the Danube, and that previously they had inhabited the area between the Dniester and the Black Sea. At the same time, their large number is evoked, as well as the fact that they had possessed fortresses, whose traces were still visible at the moment when the chronicle was elaborated, i.e. at the beginning of the twelfth century.[131] In other manuscripts of the chronicle the indications on the settlement of the

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[127] Ibidem, pp. 62–63.

[128] V. M. Beilis, "Народы Восточной Европы в кратком описании Мутаххара ал-Макдиси (X в.)," in *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной и Центральной Европы*, II, ed. A. S. Tveritinova (Moscow, 1969), pp. 308–310; A. Decei, V. Ciocîltan, "La mention des Roumains (Walah) chez Al-Maqdisi," in *Romano-arabica*, I (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 49–54.

[129] Al-Nadim, *The Fihrist. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. B. Dodge, I (New York–London, 1970), pp. 36–37.

[130] Ibidem, p. 37 with n. 82.

[131] *PVL*, I, p. 14; *Лаврентіевская летопись*, in *PSRL*, I (St. Petersburg, 1846), p. 5.

two populations differ, in the respect that they are presented as situated on the South Bug and the Dnieper, from where they are said to have spread up to the Danube.[132] But according to the tradition recorded in other chronicles, the Ulichians and the Tivertsians initially lived on the Dnieper, subsequently shifting and settling between the South Bug and the Dniester,[133] a piece of information that Lubor Niederle considers to be more exact than the others.[134] In spite of the alteration of the original text of some chronicles by copyists, by collecting all the data they comprise and by taking into account the results of archaeological investigations of the last decades, we can conclude that the Ulichians and the Tivertsians had gradually moved west, to the South Bug and the Dniester.

The origin and settlement of these two tribes has been dated earlier by much of the literature, due especially to the laconism and ambiguity of the available written sources.[135] If there have been no restraints concerning the appurtenance of the Ulichians to the southern group of the eastern Slavs, the hypotheses related to the origin of the Tivertsians have gained a much more varied character[136] due, of course, to the unusual name the chronicle mentions for them: *тиверци, яже суть толковины.*[137] In regard to the meaning of the term *tolkoviny*, most scholars have interpreted the term as *translators/interpreters*. By starting from that point, the conclusion has been drawn that the Tivertsians were bilingual. Quite recently it has been reconsidered that the short passage reproduced above must have been altered because of the subsequent abbreviations and distortions, so that its reconstruction in translation—which we do not share—would be like this: *The Tivertsians who are called Scythians by some people*.[138]

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[132] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 9.

[133] *NPL*, p. 109. See also *PVL*, II, p. 226.

[134] Niederle, *Manuel*, I (see above, n. 115), p. 216.

[135] R. A. Rabinovich, "Уличи и тиверцы в оценках историографии," *Stratum plus* (2003–2004), no. 5, pp. 440–484.

[136] On these hypothesis, see A. V. Boldur, "The enigma of the Ulichy-Tivertsy people," *Balkan Studies* 9 (1968), no. 1, pp. 55–71; I. G. Hâncu, "К вопросу расселении тиверцев и уличей в Поднестровье," in *IVESV*, pp. 165–175; C. Goehrke, *Frühzeit des Ostslaventum* (Darmstadt, 1992), pp. 43–44 and 198–199; V. Ghimpu, "O istorie redescoperită a românilor din secolele IX–XII," in idem, *Biobibliografie la 50 de ani. Studium* (Chişinău, 2007), pp. 45–50.

[137] *PVL*, I, p. 23; *PSRL*, I, p. 12; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 21.

[138] J. Lépissier, "Les tolkoviny de la Chronique de Kiev," *Revue des études slaves* 42 (1963), nos. 1–4, pp. 107–108.

In addition to the generalized opinions, according to which the Tivertsians appear to have belonged to the southern branch of the eastern Slavs, or to have represented a hybrid ethnic group with a dominant Slavic component, other suppositions have also been put forth whose unusual character makes them unacceptable. Among other things, it has been considered that the Tivertsians were of Turkic[139] or of Thracian[140] origin. The name *tolkoviny* that suggests the Tivertsians' bilingualism might be due to the existence of mixed ethnic elements in the area occupied by them, those elements possibly containing an older Daco-Roman stock to which an east-Slavic component was added. For the time being it is difficult to specify whether that component had remained in the Dniester basin since the times of the Antes' migration,[141] or penetrated there during the ninth century. At any rate, the name of *translators/interpreters* was not given to the Tivertsians for their knowledge of Greek,[142] a language with which they could not have possibly been in contact. Instead, their qualities of translators must refer to their knowledge of Romanian, a language which would have been easy to learn from a neighbouring population.

In all probability one must associate the Tivertsians with the archaeological monuments dated between the ninth and the eleventh centuries and situated between the Dniester and the Răut rivers. These are fortified and open settlements, as well as cemeteries, some of them with barrows. Hillforts such as those at Alcedar (Şoldăneşti county), Echimăuți (Rezina county), Lucăşeuca (Orhei county), Rudi (Soroca county) and Țareuca (Rezina county) (Republic of Moldova) have earthen ramparts with palisades and deep moats. The archaeological evidence includes various iron tools and weapons, bronze and silver jewels, and Arab dirhams. The Slavic character of the communities established between the middle course of the Dniester and the Răut rivers is evident not only from the settlement finds with multiple analogies in other regions of eastern Europe, but also from the cremation graves in barrows, such as those discovered at Alcedar and Rudi, of a

[139] H. Paszkiewicz, *The Origin of Russia* (New York, 1969), pp. 55–57.
[140] Boldur, "The enigma" (see above, n. 136), *passim*; idem, *La Grande Thrace*, I (Madrid, 1980), pp. 53, 61, 139, 140, 195, and 201.
[141] V. V. Sedov, *Восточные славяне в VI–XIII вв.* (Moscow, 1982), p. 129.
[142] Ibidem.

type widely spread throughout Slavic eastern Europe during the last quarter of the first millennium.[143]

Towards the end of the ninth century the Kievan Principality continued its work of unifying the east-Slavic tribes. In a relatively short period of time its domination spread over the Drevlianians, the Severians, the Radimichi, and others. Among the tribes attacked by Oleg's armies there were also those of the Ulichians and Tivertsians, an event which the Kievan chronicle fixed as having taken place in 885, without specifying the result of the war.[144] In any case, in 907 and 944, when Oleg and Igor started their expeditions against Byzantium, the Tivertsians were among the tribes that accompanied them,[145] a piece of evidence indicating that between 885 and 907 they were included in the sphere of Kiev's political influence. Being on the side of the Rus' was not always the result of military defeat. Sometimes, such a political choice was a deliberate attempt to seek allies against the Pechenegs.

The same thing did not happen with the Ulichians, who were not among the participants in the above-mentioned campaigns. They had probably succeeded—although they lived much closer to Kiev—in maintaining their independence until 940, when a war that lasted three years put an end to their resistance, and resulted in the conquest of their capital Peresechen.[146] Already during the last century the residence of the Ulichians was identified as the village Peresecina, situated near Orhei (Orhei county).[147] At the same time, some maintained that Ulichians moved into the Bugeac, a name which in several Turkic languages means "corner," the meaning of the Slavic word *уголь* from which the

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[143] G. B. Fedorov, "Древнерусская культура Поднестровья (X–XII вв.)," in *Древняя культура Молдавии*, eds. V. S. Zelenciuc (gen.ed.), A. I. Meliukova, I. G. Hâncu (Kishinev, 1974), pp. 109–126; Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 74–105; B. O. Timoshchuk, *Пивнична Буковина—земля слов'янська* (Uzhgorod, 1969), pp. 55–64; N. P. Tel'nov, "Восточнославянские древности Днестровско-Прутского междуречья VIII–X вв.," *Stratum plus* (2001–2002), no. 5, pp. 173–193.

[144] *PVL*, I, p. 21; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 17.

[145] *PVL*, I, pp. 23, 33; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 21, 34.

[146] *NPL*, pp. 110, 436, 516. On the inadvertencies that appear in chronicles regarding the date of Peresechen's occupation, see Spinei, *Moldova*, p. 71 with n. 10.

[147] N. Nadezhdin, "О местоположеніи древняго города Пересечена, принадлежавшаго народу угличамъ," *ZOO* 1 (1844), pp. 235, 245 and 256; Niederle, *Manuel*, I, p. 217; V. V. Mavrodin, *Образование древнерусского государства* (Leningrad, 1945), p. 237; E. A. Rikman, "Особенности исторического развития населения Карпато-Дунайских и Карпато-Днестровских земель в X–XI вв.," in *История Молдавской ССР*, I, gen. ed. L. V. Cherepnin (Kishinev, 1965), pp. 67–68.

name of the Ulichians was supposed to derive.[148] However, according to subsequent investigations, the residence of the Ulichians had nothing to do with the above-mentioned village in central Bessarabia, but was rather situated on the Stugna, right-bank tributary of the Dnieper.[149] That settlement was also mentioned on the "list of the ancient and new Russian towns," made at the end of the fourteenth century.[150] The evidence from archaeological excavations does not support the idea that Peresecina was ever a tribal centre: although materials dated to the end of the first millennium have been found in that settlement near Orhei,[151] they have nothing to do with a tribal residence or any kind of fortified settlement.

Though it has been clearly established that the residence town of Ulichians was not in Bessarabia, an idea has arisen recently that the above-mentioned ninth-eleventh century vestiges between the Răut and the Dniester, as well as those between the South Bug and the Dniester, represent the Ulichians as well.[152] Along the same line, finds that represent the Balkan-Danubian (= Dridu) culture were considered to belong to Tivertsians.[153] Such conclusions have no credibility, taking into consideration the unity of the Dridu culture in all Carpathian-Danubian regions, and the fact that the Tivertsians could not possibly have spread over all of that space. In the present stage of investigation, the thesis according to which the Tivertsians lived between the Răut and the Dniester rivers and the left bank of the Middle Dniester, while the Ulichians occupied territories of the middle basin of the South Bug[154] is the most trustworthy.

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[148] Nadezhdin, "О местоположеніи древняго города Пересечена," pp. 248–253.

[149] B. A. Rybakov, "Уличи," *KS* 35 (1950), pp. 6–7; L. Mikhailina, *Слов'яни VIII–X ст. між Дніпром і Карпатами* (Kiev, 2007), pp. 176–178. Paszkiewicz, *Origin* (see above, n. 139), pp. 355–356, disputed that location.

[150] *NPL*, p. 475; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 240; *Новгородская четвертая летопись. Списокъ Н. К. Никольскаго*, in *PSRL*, IV, 1, 3 (Leningrad, 1929), p. 623; M. N. Tikhomirov, "Список русских городов дальних и ближних," in idem, *Русское летописание* (Moscow, 1979), p. 101.

[151] I. Hâncu, *Vetre strămoşeşti din Republica Moldova. Materiale arheologice informativ-didactice* (Chişinău, 2003), p. 312.

[152] Fedorov, "Древнерусская культура" (see above, n. 143), pp. 109–110.

[153] I. G. Hâncu, "К вопросу расселении тиверцев," in *IVESV*, pp. 168–175; idem, *Cine sînt strămoşii moldovenilor?* (Chişinău, 1990), p. 23–27; idem, "Triburile tiverţilor şi ulicilor în spaţiul carpato-nistrian," in *Spaţiul nord-est-carpatic în mileniul întunecat*, ed. V. Spinei (Iaşi, 1997), pp. 125–133.

[154] P. I. Havliuk, "Древньоруські городища на Південному Бузі," in *Слов'яно-руські старожитності* (Kiev, 1969), pp. 156–174; D. T. Berezovets, "Поселения

The withdrawal of some Ulichians—after the defeat of 940, as it has been supposed—to the west, up to the regions occupied by the Tivertsians between the Răut and the Dniester, does not appear to us to be sufficiently sustainable. Such a migration to lands on the left bank of the Dniester is not convincingly reflected in the archaeological finds that have thus far been investigated. On the other hand, during the mid-tenth century, the *Oultines* (Οὐλτίνοι) (= Ulichians), the *Dervlenines* (Δερβλενίνοι) (= Drevlianians) and the *Lenzenines* (Λενζενίνοι) (= Poles) were mentioned among the Slavic peoples tributary to the Rus's, with the specification that they bordered on the Pecheneg "theme" of Javdi-Ertim (δέμα Ἰαβδιερτὶμ).[155] Taking into account the Drevlianians' existence on the right of the Middle Dniester, between the Goryn basin and the river Ros, as well as the position of the other Pecheneg tribes, the settlement of the Ulichians west of the Dniester becomes even less credible.

In regard to the political status of the Tivertsians' territories in the tenth century, one can estimate that a full control of the Kievan Rus' was not possible there, because those boundaries included the Ulichians, who were not among the subjects of the Riurikid rulers. The fact that, after their defeat of 940, the Ulichians took refuge between the South Bug and the Dniester, shows that that area was not under Kievan domination. It is obvious that the Tivertsians' territory between the Dniester and the Răut rivers could not be efficiently controlled either.

Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, in northern Moldavia the Romanians and the Tivertsians had Croats (*хорваты*) as their neighbours, who lived on the upper courses of the Dniester and Prut rivers. The specification of the chronicle that the Croats accompanied Oleg in his expedition to the Bosporus in 907[156] is a sign that they had been under Kievan influence. The situation of the political relations appears to have changed in the subsequent decades, because the Croats were not among the allies of Kiev in 944. With the intention of imposing his authority on the Croats, prince Vladimir (Volodimer)

уличей на р. Тясмине," in *MIA*, 108 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1963), pp. 145–208; Sedov, *Восточные славяне* (see above, n. 141), pp. 131–132.

[155] *DAI*, I, pp. 168–169; Константин Багрянородный, *Об управлении империй*, eds. G. G. Litavrin, A. P. Novosel'tsev (Moscow, 1989), pp. 156–157; *Die Byzantiner und ihre Nachbarn. Die* De administrando imperio *genannte Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos für seinen Sohn Romanos*, trans. and eds. K. Belke and P. Soustal (Vienna, 1995), p. 186.

[156] *PVL*, I, p. 23.

decided to wage war against them in 992.[157] The archaeological finds assigned to the Croats over the upper basin of the Prut include cremation cemeteries, some of them with barrows, as well as open and fortified settlements.[158] The latter have close analogies with the fortified centres at Fundu Herţei and Dersca (Botoşani county, Romania), in both building system and finds.[159]

In the tenth century, while waging wars against Slavic and Finnic tribes, the Kievan Rus' also embarked upon several plundering raids on the Lower Volga, the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, the most famous ones being those against Byzantium. After the first attack, organized in 860/866 by Askold and Dir, the ones of Oleg in 907 and of Igor in 941 and 944 followed.[160] If Oleg's action and that of Igor in 941 were based only on naval forces, Igor's second expedition and Sviatoslav's later campaigns in the Balkans were more complex, because they went by both sea and land. The Kievan expeditions to the imperial city, just as the commercial ships, followed "the route from the Varangians to the Greeks" along the north and west coasts of the Black Sea, with landings on the Moldavian and Dobrudjan shores. Coinciding in time with the strengthening of the Pecheneg tribal confederacy in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, the success of both the warlike and the commercial expeditions of the Rus' depended upon relations with the new lords of the steppe. The region of the Dnieper rapids, which the Rus' could cross only by land, was the most vulnerable segment of the trade route between Scandinavia, Kiev and Constantinople, the point where that route could be strangulated in case relations with the Turkic nomads deteriorated.

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[157] Ibidem, p. 84.

[158] I. P. Rusanova, B. A. Timoshchuk, *Древнерусское Поднестровье* (Uzhgorod, 1981), pp. 34–36; Sedov, *Восточные славяне*, pp. 123–129; Mikhailina, *Слов'яни VIII–X ст.* (see above, n. 149), pp. 60–74.

[159] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, D. Gh. Teodor, and V. Spinei, "Les principaux résultats des fouilles archéologiques de Fundu Herţei (Roumanie, départ. de Botoşani)," *Archeologia Polski* 16 (1971), pp. 363–383; D. Gh. Teodor, "Les établissements fortifiés des régions est-carpatiques de la Roumanie aux VIII^{e}–XI^{e} siècles de notre ère," *Slovenská archeológia* 26 (1978), no. 1, pp. 69–77; M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, D. Gh. Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificaţii medievale timpurii la est de Carpaţi. Aşezarea de la Fundu Herţii (jud. Botoşani)* (Iaşi, 1987).

[160] *PVL*, I, pp. 19, 23–29, and 33–39; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 15, 21–31, and 33–35. See also G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches* (offprint from *Historische Studien*, 189) (Berlin, 1930); M. V. Levchenko, *Очерки по истории русско-византийских отношений* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 91–171; I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au X^{e} siècle (I) (II)," *Cahiers de Monde Russe et Soviètique* 2 (1961), no. 3, pp. 313–360; no. 4, pp. 447–475; V. T. Pashuto, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 57–89.

The shift of Pecheneg power to the steppe lands north of the Black Sea in the last years of the ninth century was a consequence of the destruction of the Pecheneg camps in the Volga region by the Uzes allied with the Khazars.[161] Through driving away the Hungarians in the area of Atelkuzu/Etelkuzu, the Pechenegs realised the possibility of a great enlargement of the territories they could control. A sudden conquest of the whole area where their enemies had lived is certainly difficult to imagine. In any case, in the first years of the tenth century the Pechenegs groups had already approached the Danube.

The Pechenegs also attacked the Transylvanian principality ruled by Gelou, which prevented Gelou from organizing the defence against the Hungarians: *dux […] Geleou […] non […] auderent stare contra audatiam Hungarorum, quia a Cumanis et Picenatis multas iniurias paterentur.*[162] Although this piece of information has not been given much attention in modern historical literature, it is must be considered as credible, because the Pechenegs' mobility and military capacity are well-known. Unlike Gelou, who was attacked at the same time from two sides, Glad must have asked the Pechenegs for help, in order to face the Hungarian attacks. According to the *Gesta Hungarorum*, Glad's army included Cumans, besides Bulgars and Romanians.[163] *Cumani* is a name, which the chronicler probably used in lieu of Pechenegs. During the subsequent centuries, the presence of the latter is also recorded in Banat, where it left traces in toponymy.[164] The Pecheneg contacts with Gelou's and Glad's principalities must have taken place before 907, the year of Arpad's death. To reach the principalities in intra-Carpathian Transylvania and Banat, the Pechenegs had moved through Romanian outer-Carpathian regions, and then through mountain passes.

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[161] *DAI*, I, pp. 166–168. See also Zimonyi, *Origins* (see above, n. 4), pp. 165–167; idem, "A besenyők nyugatra vándorlásának okai," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Historica* 106 (1998), pp. 133–143; S. A. Romashov, "The Pechenegs in Europe in the 9–10th centuries," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 52 (1999), no. 1, pp. 22–24; V. Zervan, "Úloha Pečenehov v kríze euroázijskej stepi v 9. storočí na základe informácii Konštantína Porfyrogenneta," *Byzantinoslovaca* 1 (2006), pp. 163–165.

[162] Anonymus, p. 66.

[163] Ibidem, p. 90.

[164] Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 29, 51, 57, and 82; Rusu, "The autochthonous population and the Hungarians" (see above, n. 92), p. 204; G. Bakó, "The relations of the principality of the Banat with the Hungarians and the Petchenegs in the tenth century," in *Relations*, pp. 246–247; S. Oţa, "Populaţii nomade de stepă din Banat (secolele XI–XIV), I. Pecenegii şi cumanii," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, eds. I. Cândea, V. Sîrbu, M. Neagu (Brăila, 2004), pp. 489–520.

A letter of Nicholas Mysticus, the patriarch of Constantinople, reveals that before the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 917 broke, the Bulgarian ruler Symeon had sent several messengers to the Pechenegs, in order to convince them to come on his side against the Byzantines. Matrimonial alliances were contracted for that purpose. From John Bogas, the *strategos* (general-governor) of Chersonesus, or directly from the Pecheneg envoys,[165] the Byzantine court learnt about those manoeuvres, and, by means of lavish gifts, it managed to discomfit Symeon's actions and to bring the nomads on the Byzantine. The fact that the Turanians were not mentioned as being close to the Danube (a situation that recalls that of the Hungarians about a quarter of a century before), but in Crimea, would be a sign that their main forces were rather far from the river.[166]

The Byzantine efforts of co-operation with the Pechenegs proved to be in vain, because the latter decided to withdraw and because of the disagreements that arose when the Byzantine fleet intended to cross the Danube. Deprived of that valuable help, the imperial armies were defeated by Symeon in the battle near the river Acheloos on the August 20, 917.[167] An interesting piece of information about that battle was given by a Greek hagiographic sources about a miracle of St George.[168] It was written perhaps in the tenth century by an unknown author, perhaps a monk named Markos.[169] That writing enumerates the Hungarians, Scythians, Moesians and Turks among the allies of the Bulgars.[170] The second ethnic names, Scythians, may very well refer to the Pechenegs, but if so, then the battle mentioned in the source was not that of 917, about whose development other Byzantine sources

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[165] Nicolai Constantinopolitani archiepiscopi *Epistolae*, in *PG*, CXI (1863), col. 71–74; Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, eds. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 60–63.

[166] Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, p. 15; I. A. Božilov "България и печенезите (896–1018 г.)," *Исторически преглед* 29 (1973), no. 2, p. 40; F. E. Wozniak, "Byzantium, the Pechenegs and the Rus': the limitations of a great power's influence on its clients in the 10th century European steppe," *AEMA* 4 (1984), pp. 305–306.

[167] Theophanes continuatus (see above, n. 48), pp. 389–390; Symeon Magister (see above, n. 25), pp. 722 and 724; Georgius Monachus (see above, n. 30), p. 879; Leo Grammaticus (see above, n. 24), pp. 295–296; Skylitzes, pp. 201–205; Kedrenos, II, pp. 283–288; Zonaras (see above, n. 48), col. 85–88; *PVL*, I, pp. 31–32.

[168] I. Božilov, "Les Petchénègues dans l'histoire des terres du Bas-Danube," *Études balkaniques* (1971), no. 3, pp. 172–173; idem, "България и печенезите," pp. 47–51.

[169] G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), p. 441.

[170] *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J. B. Aufhauser (Lipsiae, 1913), p. 20.

provide quite different data. The unsuccessful attempt to co-operate with the Pechenegs in 917 did not discourage the politicians of Constantinople, which was directly threatened by Symeon's armies. A few years later there were negotiations with various populations, "whether Turks (= Hungarians), or Alans, or Pechenegs, or Russians, or other Scythian nations," in order to turn them against the Bulgars, if needed. The alliances with those populations were maintained by subsidies.[171]

In the following years new motions of the Pechenegs towards the west were recorded. They now had a good opportunity to cross through the plain of southern Moldavia. Thus, for the year 932 (actually 934) an oriental source mentions the Pechenegs joining Hungarians and Bulgarians in an raid against Byzantium,[172] which may have been planned by the Bulgarian ruler. That is the oldest certain narrative source about a crossing of the Danube by the Pechenegs, an expedition that corresponds with their first raid against Byzantium.

In 944 southern Moldavia was troubled by Igor's troops that passed through there in order to meet their naval forces at the mouths of the Danube, from where they were to continue their advance to Constantinople separately. The Kievan prince was accompanied by forces from the Slavic tribes and from the Varangians, to which the Pecheneg groups were added. The gold and other gifts sent to the Rus' and to the Pechenegs by the emperor, as well as the promise of periodical stipends, convinced Igor to give up continuing his expedition. Before returning he urged the Pechenegs to attack Bulgaria.[173] We do not know if the nomads followed the prince's advice. Instead, we have testimonies that, before the middle of the tenth century, they launched more raids into Bulgaria and White Croatia,[174] thus crossing Bugeac and the Romanian Plain many times.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959), who recorded that information in his famous teaching book dedicated to his son (the future emperor Romanus II), gives very valuable data both for the knowledge of ethnical and political realities, and for the historical geography of his time, taken from various sources. Since Herodotus and Strabo no other sources had provided such precise information about the steppe

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[171] Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, pp. 160–161 and 514–515.

[172] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, II (see above, n. 11), pp. 58–64; Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (see above, n. 1), pp. 61–63.

[173] *PVL*, I, p. 34; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 34–35; *Let.Voskr.*, pp. 278–279.

[174] *DAI*, I, pp. 52–53, 152–153.

lands north of the Black Sea. The book advised the future ruler what to do in case of conflicts with other peoples,[175] and it revealed the refinement and the "Machiavellism" of the Byzantine diplomacy, which continued and improved Roman methods. The enemies' attacks had to be stopped not only by force, but also by subsidies or by setting other peoples against them, according to the doctrine *divide et impera*. The work of the emperor is important because it discloses the great hegemonic ambitions and the amplitude of Byzantium's political actions at a moment when its military forces had weakened, when the confrontation with the Islamic world was unresolved, and when the rise of the other empire of Europe, the Holy Roman Empire, could be anticipated. One of the concerns of Constantinople was to ensure the protection of Chersonesus, a territory in Crimea with an important strategic position, from where its influence spread all over the Black Sea area. The role of mediator that the Empire assumed in that area enabled the Byzantine emperors to obtain allies, to hire mercenaries and to establish profitable commercial relationships.

The conclusion of the compromise peace with Kievan Rus' in 944 and of the treaty of 945 was at least partly a consequence of the Empire's fears of a prolonged alliance of the Rus', the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians against Byzantium. It is perhaps in connection with that situation that the date of the mission led by the prelate Gabriel to the Hungarians, in order to win them over against the Pechenegs, must be established. The persisting memory of the catastrophe in Atelkuzu prevented the Hungarian rulers from responding to the Byzantine instigations.[176]

The most revealing information concerning the space controlled by the Pechenegs north of the Lower Danube is the one provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Although the data about that people came from different sources—which he could not, or did not try to corroborate—, they do coincide in most of their essential aspects. As already mentioned above, the Pechenegs had taken from the Hungarians the region called Atelkuzu/Etelkuzu (Ἀτελκούζου or Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζοῦ), whose western part was crossed by the rivers *Trullos* (= Dniester),

[175] *DAI*, II, pp. IX–X and 1–9 (R. J. H. Jenkins); A. Toynbee, *Constantin Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973); G. G. Litavrin, "Введение," in Константин Багрянородный, *Об управлении империй* (see above, n. 155), pp. 10–30.

[176] *DAI*, I, pp. 56–57.

Brutos and *Seretos*.[177] In a chapter of his work that did not have the same source of documentation, the emperor mentions that the rivers *Danastris, Sarat* and *Burat* (Δάναστρις, Σαράτ, Βουράτ) flowed through Patzinakia (Πατζινακία), which makes it possible to see those three names as referring to what is known as the Dniester, the Siret and the Prut. At the same time it was specified that Patzinakia stretched from the bank opposite Distra (modern Silistra) to Sarkel on the Don.[178] From other excerpts we can find that the zone controlled by the Pechenegs was situated only half a day's walk from Bulgaria, from which it was separated by the Danube.[179]

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account of Patzinakia is confirmed by other tenth-century sources. Thus, the Jewish traveller Abraham Iakobsen (Ibrahim ibn Yakub), whose travel notes were kept in the Arab transcription of al-Bakri, knew that "Constantinople was situated south of Bulgaria; north of it were the Pechenegs."[180] According to a more recent translation the author appears to have referred not to the Pechenegs, but to their country, Patzinakia (*Bádžánákija*),[181] which does not change the content of the matter in its essence. The Pechenegs were also presented as inhabiting territories beyond the north frontiers of the Byzantine Empire by the geographer Ibn Hauqal, who took into account the situation during the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969).[182] An entry in the so-called Suidas lexicon drawn up at some point during the second half of the tenth century, claims that *Dacians* were now called Pechenegs.[183] This can only mean that the Pechenegs were ruling over the lands of ancient Dacia, which were inhabited at that time by Romanians.[184] In the early twelfth century,

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[177] Ibidem, pp. 172–177.

[178] Ibidem, pp. 182–185.

[179] Ibidem, pp. 62–63, 168–169, and 182–183. For the western limits of the Pecheneg lands during the first half of the tenth century, see Romashov, "Pechenegs in Europe" (see above, n. 161), pp. 21–35.

[180] Abraham Jakobsens *Bericht über die Slavenlande vom Jahre 973*, in Widukinds *Sächsische Geschichte*, trans. R. Schottin, 2nd ed. W. Wattenbach (Leipzig, 1891), p. 143.

[181] *Západoslovanské krajinu u* Ibrahim ibn Iakúba, in *Pramene k dejinám Vel'kej Moravy* (see above, n. 49), p. 340.

[182] Ibn Hauqal (see above, n. 14), I, p. 194.

[183] *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, II (Lipsiae, 1931), p. 2. This appreciation is also found in two notes on a manuscript of *De administrando imperio*, kept in Paris. See G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, *Sprachreste der Türkenvölker in der byzantinischen Quellen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), p. 116.

[184] V. Spinei, "La signification des ethnonymes des *Daces* et des *Gètes* dans le sources byzantines des X^{e}–XV^{e} siècles," in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, II, eds. E. Popescu, O. Iliescu and T. Teoteoi (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 120–121.

another lexicon compiled by John Zonaras reproduce the note in the Suidas and claimed that the Pechenegs "had been called Dacians in earlier times".[185]

The so-called *Josippon*—a Hebrew historical work written in southern Italy in the mid-tenth century, perhaps in 953[186]—mentions the fact that "the Hungarians, the Bulgars and the Pechenegs dwelt on the great river called Danube".[187] The anonymous author referred, of course, to the Pechenegs established on the left bank of the river, in the southern Moldavia and Wallachia. Bishop Liudprand of Cremona may have had the same group in mind when writing about the northern peoples. He had become accustomed to the political reality ever since his first diplomatic mission to Byzantium in 949–950. The Lombard prelate recorded in one of his works, which contained various memoirs, that to the north from Constantinople were many warlike peoples, such as Hungarians, Pechenegs, Khazars, Rus' (whom he called Normans) and Bulgars (*Constantinopolitana urbs, quae prius Bizantium, nova nunc dicitur Roma, inter ferocissimas gentes est constituta. Habet quippe ab aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios, quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos apellamus, atque Bulgarios nimium sibi vicinos*).[188] That Patzkinakia (*Πατζινακία*) was adjacent to the Byzantine Empire is also mentioned in a military treatise composed in Constantinople in the early eleventh century.[189]

The news about the rapacious raids of the Pechenegs spread to central Europe as well. Consequently, they were promptly blamed for the martyrdoms of St Adalbert, bishop of Prague, and of St Bruno, bishop of Augsburg (known as Bruno of Querfurt), in the late tenth

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[185] Ioannis Zonarae *Lexicon*, ed. I. A. Tittman, I (Lipsiae, 1808), p. 464.

[186] M. Sc(hloessinger), "Joseph ben Gorion (Josephus Gorionides)," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII (New York–London, 1904), pp. 259–260; C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 60; D. Fl(usser), "Josippon," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 10 (Jerusalem, 1971), col. 296–298.

[187] *Сказания еврейскихъ писателей о хазарахъ и хазарскомъ царстве*, ed. A. Ia. Garkavi (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 39; Josephus Gorionides, eds. M. L. v. Ameringen, G. I. Polak (Amsterdam, 1868), p. 744; V. Ia. Petrukhin, *Начало этнокультурной истории Руси IX–XI веков* (Smolensk, 1995), pp. 37–38.

[188] Liudprandi *Antapodosis*, in *MGH,SS*, III, ed. G. H. Pertz (1839), p. 277; Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, VIII), eds. A. Bauer and R. Rau (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 258–259; Liudprand of Cremona, *The Embassy of Constantinople and Other Writings*, trans. F. A. Wright, ed. J. J. Norwich (London–Rutland, Vermont, 1993), p. 12 (*Antapodosis. Tit-for-Tat*).

[189] *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. G. T. Dennis (Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 292–293.

and early eleventh century, respectively.[190] In reality, both men died while on mission to the Prussians.[191]

The data above show that the Pechenegs had extended their political domination westward, up to the Bărăgan. Records on the repeated incursions into the Balkans beginning with 934 prove that the what Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus had to say about them had in fact happened at least ten years before he committed the information to writing. The continuation of Dridu-culture settlements after the middle of the tenth century does not preclude the nomads' presence in the outer-Carpathian space. Even if the Turkic tribes' migration was accompanied by great ravages and depopulation, it could not have possibly lead to a total displacement of local sedentary communities. Actually, in the outer-Carpathian regions, settlements of the Dridu type coexist with Pecheneg burial assemblages dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Also, in some of the native settlements various nomadic objects were found, a fact that suggests some kind of relationships with the migratory peoples.[192]

Until the first half of the eleventh century, when the Uzes drove the Pechenegs away from the left bank of the Dnieper, the latter controlled the whole area north of the Black Sea, a quite large territory. Therefore, they may not have needed the strip of steppe stretching from the Bugeac to the Bărăgan, which was good for grazing, but which, unlike the steppe lands to the east from the Dniester River, was populated by agricultural communities. Archaeology shows clear differences between the left and the right banks of the Lower Dniester during the whole period between the ninth and the eleventh century. There are multiple settlements on the right bank (Fig. 2), every one of which was inhabited by people involved in agriculture, while the opposite bank has only a small number of settlements, linking this area to that between the Dnieper and the Don rivers, the core region of the Saltovo-Maiaki culture. The use of the plains north of the Lower Danube as grazing fields must therefore have posed difficult problems

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[190] Ademari Cabannensis *Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain (*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaeualis*, CXXIX, Ademari Cabannensis *Opera omnia*, I) (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 152–153.

[191] Brunonis *Vita S. Adalberti*, in *MGH,SS*, IV, ed. G. H. Pertz (1841), pp. 596–612; *Miracula Sancti Adalberti martiris*, in ibidem, pp. 513–616; Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, [I,] ed. I. Dabrowski (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 215–218.

[192] V. Spinei, "Relations of the local population of Moldavia with the nomad Turanian tribes in the 10th–13th centuries," in *Relations*, pp. 265–276.

to the nomads. On one hand, they had to remove the sedentary, local population, and on the other hand they had to turn the agricultural fields into pasture lands. However, given the low population density in the region north of the Lower Danube, the presence of the local, Romanian population was no obstacle in the way of the Turkic horsemen bent on raiding the Balkans or the regions beyond the Carpathian Mountains. In other words, the Pechenegs had neither the need, nor the means of exterminating or removing the natives from the plain region, all the more as the latter could be forced into paying tribute. It is obvious that under such circumstances, a Bulgar rule in that region could have only been nominal.

In the second half of the tenth century, the Pechenegs' constant offensive against the Tivertsians probably began, and continued into the eleventh century, when the violent destruction of the fortifications between the Dniester and the Răut took place. After these events it was supposed that part of the Tivertsians took refuge towards the north, in the Croats' regions, where the nomad tribes' incursions would take place later.[193] Nowhere in the old Russian chronicles is any help given to the Tivertsians by the Kievan Rus' recorded, which is another reason for rejecting the supposition that the lands between the Răut and the Dniester belonged to the above-mentioned principality. Since the Tivertsian fortified settlements were centres of resistance against the Pechenegs, it is possible that they would have become more of a target of the nomads' attacks than mere civilian settlements would have been. The hillfort of Dridu type excavated in Calfa probably suffered a fate similar to that of the Tivertsian defensive constructions.[194]

The last decades of the tenth century correspond to a sudden change in the political life of the Byzantine state, magnified by an increase in its prestige, economic stability, revival of trade and of urban life, reforms in the administrative structure, the strengthening of the terrestrial army and navy, cultural regeneration—all changes that followed the representatives of the Macedonian dynasty taking power. After a long period of both failures and successes, of reasonable or irrational

[193] G. B. Fedorov, "Генезис и развитие феодализма у древнерусского населения Днестровско-Прутского междуречья в IX–XII вв. (по археологическим данным)," in *Юго-Восточная Европа в епоху феодализма*, eds. V. D. Koroliuk and P. V. Sovetov (Kishinev, 1973), pp. 49–50; Sedov, *Восточные славяне* (see above, n. 141), p. 128.

[194] G. F. Chebotarenko, *Калфа—городище VIII–X вв. на Днестре* (Kishinev, 1973), pp. 87–88.

attitudes, the political forces of the Empire adopted incisive positions towards the enemies who had taken important territories from them in the previous centuries.

The offensive capacity of Byzantium could be shown in all its amplitude due to the exceptional aptitudes of certain army commanders, who later also acceded to the throne, through their own merits. Such commanders included Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969) and John I Tzimiskes (969–976). Byzantium concentrated its forces especially in the East, where they stopped the Arab expansion and restored the imperial administration in vast and rich regions, and then in the northern Balkans.[195] Just like the Arab emirates, the Bulgaria went through a period of decline during the unusually long reign of Peter (927–969), Symeon's successor. The Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict—which broke out again in 967, because the Bulgars allowed the Hungarians to cross their territories in order to plunder the Empire, and because Nicephorus Phokas decided to pay no more annual subsidies—assumed greater proportions due to the Rus', who became involved in the strife. As he paid special attention to the war in Syria, the emperor thought he would be able to put an end to the dissensions in the Balkans. His intention was to resort to an older precept of the Byzantine diplomacy, that of instigating other peoples against the enemies. For this purpose he asked for the help of the Kievan prince Sviatoslav.

The Byzantine plans for the Rus' involvement in the Balkans proved to be a great political mistake, because—after Sviatoslav's landing south of the Danube, in the summer of 968, and after his victories against the Bulgars—he no longer acted in the service of the Empire, but only for his own interests and ambitions. His offensive in Bulgaria had to be interrupted, because the Pechenegs besieged Kiev, their attack possibly being the result of the Byzantine diplomatic intervention. After driving the Turanians back to the steppes, Sviatoslav returned to Bulgaria the following year. The famous confession of the prince—recorded in the old Russian chronicle—about the reasons that led him back to

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[195] A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, I, trans. P. Brodin and A. Bourguina, (Paris, 1932), p. 397 ff.; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1963), pp. 176–274; D. Angelov, *История на Византия*, II, *867–1204*, 3rd ed. (Sofia, 1978), pp. 79–87; D. A. Zakythinos, *Byzantinische Geschichte, 324–1071* (Vienna–Cologne–Graz, 1979), pp. 132–157; W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 498–512; J. Koder, *Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος. Εισαγωγή στην Ιστορική Γεωγραφία της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου στη Βυζαντινή Εποχή* (Thessalonike, 2005), pp. 123–131.

the Lower Danube, is extremely relevant in regard to the prosperity of the above-mentioned regions, and it contains elements that, aside from some anachronisms, cannot be suspected of inadvertency.[196] The fulfilment of his projects of expansion appeared to be facilitated by several convergent factors: the Rus' coalition with a part of the Bulgars, the anti-Byzantine incursions of the Hungarians and the Pechenegs, the disorders that had burst in the Empire after Nicephorus II Phokas' assassination, and the extension of Byzantine military activities in the East and in Italy.

After repelling a Rus' attack south of the Balkan Mountains, the Byzantine forces led by the new emperor, John I Tzimiskes, started to pursue the enemy, and they conquered fortress after fortress. Scholars have considered it to be one of the most brilliant campaigns in the military history of the Empire. Besieged at Dristra (Dorostolon) for three months both by the Byzantine land army and by the imperial navy, the Kievan prince was forced to sign a treaty that stipulated his obligation to give up the lands on the right bank of the Danube, which now came under Byzantine control, after three centuries since the disappearance of the Roman administration from that area. On his way back to his own country, along the "route from the Varangians to the Greeks," Sviatoslav was ambushed and killed by the Pechenegs at the rapids of the Dnieper in 972. The Pechenegs' attitude of duplicity towards the Rus', and their pendulation from neutrality and alliance to hostile positions, depended on the ability of the parties involved in the conflict to gain their benevolence.[197]

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[196] *PVL*, I, p. 48. See also *Nik.let.*, I, p. 34.

[197] On the Byzantine-Bulgarian-Rus' war from 967–972, see Leonis Diaconi Calo-ënsis *Historiae*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), pp. 63, 77–81, 103–111, 123–124, and 128–159; Skylitzes, pp. 277, 287–291, and 294–310; Kedrenos, II, pp. 372, 383–388, and 392–413; Zonaras, col. 127–128 and 135–144; Yahya-ibn-Sa'id d'Antioche, *Histoire*, eds. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, in *Patrologia orientalis*, XVIII (Paris, 1924), pp. 813, 826, and 833; XXIII (Paris, 1932), p. 350; Étienne Asolik de Tarôn, *Histoire universelle*, ed. Fr. Macler, II (Paris, 1917), pp. 44–45; *FHDR*, IV, pp. 80–81 (Constantin Manasses); *PVL*, I, pp. 47–53. See also G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine a la fin du dixième siècle*, I (Paris, 1896), pp. 37–58, 76–77, and 87–184; Levchenko, *Очерки* (see above, n. 160), pp. 238–290; A. D. Stokes, "The Balkan campaigns of Svyatoslav Igorevich," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 40 (1962), pp. 466–496; J. Luciw, *Sviatoslav the Conqueror: Creator of a Great Kyivian Rus' Empire* (State College, PA, 1986), pp. 104–135; A. N. Sakharov, *Дипломатия Святослава*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1991), pp. 141–178; W. K. Hanak, "The infamous Svjatoslav. Master of duplicity in war and peace?," in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, eds. T. S. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 138–151; S. McGrath, "The battles of Dorostolon (971). Rhetoric and reality," in ibidem, pp. 152–164; R. Busetto,

The result of John Tzimiskes' campaign in the summer of 971 was also of a great importance for the outer-Carpathian area, which became a direct neighbour of the Byzantine Empire. Thus the Romanians on the left bank of the Danube could establish close commercial, confessional and political contacts with the Balkan centres. According to Greek sources, already during the siege of Dristra, emissaries of some fortresses north of the Danube came to the emperor to ask for his protection. The emperor agreed and sent garrisons to occupy the fortifications.[198] On the left bank of the river, in the vicinity of Dristra, the only strongholds so far identified by means of archaeological excavations are the three fortresses at Slon (Prahova county, Romania). Located at the entrance through one of the most important mountain passes across the southern Carpathians, Tabla Buţii, the three forts are made of stone and brick, with several building phases.[199] It is difficult to decide whether these were fortresses where Byzantine garrisons were stationed. Some believe that the forts were built by Bulgars before the war between John Tzimiskes and Sviatoslav[200] while others see the stronghold at Slon as the seat of a proto-Romanian dynasty of rulers.[201] In addition, it has been proposed that the earliest fortress of Slon might have been built for the Bulgars by their Adrianopolitans prisoners of war, who had been moved into this area by Krum.[202] Within the precincts of the fortress, some runic

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"Giovanni Tzimisce e Svjatoslav di Kiev. Le operazioni militari bizantine nei Balcani (969–971)," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 33 (1996), no. 2, pp. 9–32; P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 47–55; M. V. Bibikov, "Византийские источники," in *Древняя Русь в свете* (see above, n. 16), pp. 122–127; M. A. Nikiforov, "К вопросу о характере русско-византийских отношений при императоре Никифоре II Фоке," *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии* 10 (2003), pp. 441–451; V. Mărculeţ, *Stăpânirea bizantină la Dunărea de Jos în secolele X–XII. Aspecte din istoria Themei Mesopotamia Apusului, a Strategatului de Dristra-Dorostolon şi a Themei Paristrion-Paradunavon* (Mediaş, 2005), pp. 18–47; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 237–240.

[198] Skylitzes, p. 301; Kedrenos, II, p. 401.

[199] M. Comşa, "Die Forschungen von Slon und ihre Bedeutung für das Studium der Entwicklung der Feudalbeziehungen südlich der Karpaten," in *Siedlung, Burg und Stadt. Studien zu ihren Anfängen*, eds. K.-H. Otto and J. Herrmann (Berlin, 1969), pp. 232–238.

[200] D. Dimitrov, *Прабългарите по Северното и Западното Черноморие* (Varna, 1987), pp. 224–225; A. A. Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificaţii şi cetăţi din Transilvania şi teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII–XIV)* (Cluj–Napoca, 2005), p. 89.

[201] M. Comşa, "Un knézat roumain des X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles à Slon-Prahova," *Dacia*, NS, 22 (1978), pp. 303–317; I. Bica, *Thema Paristrion (Paradounavon) în istoriografia bizantină şi română* (Piteşti, 2003), pp. 45–46.

[202] O. Damian, "Considérations sur la citadelle en brique de Slon-Prahova," *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 9 (2003), p. 491.

inscriptions have been found,[203] which have analogies on sites south of the Danube. That may indicate a Bulgar presence in the region.

Once the war was over, John I Tzimiskes began the administrative and military reorganization of the newly conquered territories. Besides a *thema* named Paristrion or Paradunavon and covering the eastern parts of Bulgaria, a *strategia* of Western Mesopotamia (Μεσοποταμία τῆς Δύσεως) was set up in the vicinity of the Danube Delta. According to some historians, at least part of the latter's territory lay north of the mouths of the Danube, in the Bugeac,[204] a hypothesis which has been meanwhile rejected. In any case, though there is semantic coincidence between Mesopotamia and Atelkuzu, it is impossible for anyone to admit their geographical identity. Western Mesopotamia was probably situated in northern Dobrudja.[205]

Because of the civil wars that broke out in the Empire after John I Tzimiskes' death in 976, parts of his conquests were lost. The so-called rebellion of the Comitopouloi erupted in Bulgaria, led by the brothers David, Moses, Aaron and Samuel—sons of a *comes*. Because the other three died in the course of the struggle, the leadership of the Tsardom was taken by the enterprising Samuel, who, during some

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[203] Comşa, "Die bulgarische Herrschaft" (see above, n. 36), pp. 401–403; eadem, "Inscripţii "runice" din secolele IX–X descoperite la Slon-Prahova (Notă preliminară)," in *Cercetări arheologice* 11 (1998–2000), no. 2, pp. 615–622.

[204] N. A. Oikonomidès, "Recherches sur l'histoire du Bas-Danube aux X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles: la Mésopotamie de l'Occident," *RESEE* 3 (1965), nos. 1–2, pp. 57–59; idem, "À propos de la première occupation byzantine de la Bulgarie (971–ca. 986)," in *Ευψυχια. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, II (Paris, 1998), pp. 584–585; I. A. Božilov, "Към въпроса за византийското господство на Долиня Дунав в края на X век," *Studia Balcanica* 2 (1970), pp. 81–85; idem, "Към историческата география на северозападното Черноморие: Месопотамία—Μεσοποταμία τῆς Δύσεως," *Известия на Народния Музей—Варна* 12 (27) (1976), pp. 19–32; P. Diaconu, "Cîmpia Dunării şi Bizanţul în sec. X (note preliminarii)," *Istros* 5 (1987), pp. 218–219.

[205] Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Долни Дунав* (see above, n. 26), pp. 38–44; eadem, "L'administration byzantine au Bas Danube (fin du X^{e}–XI^{e} s.)," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), no. 1 (*Byzantium and its Neighbours from the Mid 9th till the 12th Centuries*, ed. Vl. Vavřinek), p. 96; H.-J. Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 221–222; A. Madgearu, "The restauration of the Byzantine rule on the Danube," *RESEE* 27–28 (1999–2000), pp. 5–7 and 16; idem, *Organizarea militară bizantină la Dunăre în secolele X–XII* (Târgovişte, 2007), pp. 31–33; Gh. Zbuchea, "Revenirea Imperiului bizantin la Dunărea de Jos," in *Istoria românilor*, III, *Genezele românilor*, gen.eds. Şt. Pascu, R. Theodorescu (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 276 and 282. See also I. Jordanov, "Болгариа и Византиа на Нижнем Дунае в конце X века (по данным сфрагистики)," *Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia*, 4 (1989), pp. 79–86; Gh. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, *Istoria Dobrogei în perioada 969–1204. Contribuţii arheologice şi numismatice* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 90–93.

decades, succeeded in restoring and consolidating the Tsardom, whose power nucleus shifted towards the central regions of the Balkans. The account of the rebellion of the Comitopouloi related in the chronicle of John Skylitzes, written in the late eleventh century, includes one of the earliest attestations of the Vlachs south of the Danube. Even if the information about the Vlachs did not belong to John Skylitzes himself, it remaines credible, since the interpolation appears to have used sources contemporary with the events.[206]

Eleventh Century

After defeating the inner rebellions and after appeasing the conflicts with the Arab emirs in favour of the Empire, Basil II (976–1025) became more and more insistent in regard to Balkan problems. In 1001 the armies led by the patrician Theodorokanos and by the protospatharus Xiphias regained the main fortresses in the eastern part of Bulgaria. In the following years, the anti-Bulgarian campaigns continued until the decisive victory at Kimba Longos (Κιμβα Λόγγος) in 1014, the conquests of Ochrid, the Tsardom's capital, and then the last Bulgarian possessions in 1018.[207] When the ecclesiastical organization of the con-

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[206] Skylitzes, p. 329; Kedrenos, II, p. 435; Gregory Abû'l-Faraj, *The Chronography, 1225–1286*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), p. 203. See also E. Stănescu, "Byzantinovlachica, I: Les Vlaques à la fin du X^{e} siècle-début du XI^{e} siècle et la restauration de la domination byzantine dans la Péninsule Balkanique," *RESEE* 6 (1968), no. 3, p. 424 ff.; W. Seibt, "Untersuchungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der 'bulgarischen' Kometopulen," *Handes Amsorya. Zeitschrift für Armänische Philologie* 89 (1975), nos. 1–3, pp. 89–91; R. C. Lăzărescu, "Din nou despre vlahii din cronica lui Skylitzes," *BBR* 7 (11) (1979), pp. 357–368.

[207] For Emperor Basil II's wars with the Bulgarians, see Skylitzes, pp. 328–332 and 341–360; Kedrenos, II, pp. 434–436 and 457–476; *FHB*, XI (1965), p. 76 (*Chronicon Bruxellense*); Michaelis Glycae *Annales*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), pp. 574–578; Matthieu d'Édesse, *Chronique*, ed. [E.] Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), p. 35; Yahya-ibn-Sa'ïd d'Antioche, *Histoire*, in *Patrologia orientalis*, XXIII (see above, n. 197), pp. 418–419, 430–431, 446–447, and 461–462. See also G. Finlay, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, II (Oxford, 1877), pp. 369–391; Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine* (see above, n. 197), II (Paris, 1900), p. 333 ff.; *История Българии*, I (Moscow, 1954), pp. 94–97; G. Györffy, "Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Ochrids durch Basileios II.," in *Actes du XII^{e} Congrès International d'études byzantines, Ochride 10–16 septembre 1961*, II (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 149–154; Zakythinos, *Byzantinische Geschichte* (see above, n. 195), pp. 224–230; Treadgold, *History* (see above, n. 195), pp. 516–533; J. Shepard, "Byzantium expanding, 944–1025," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, III, *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 595–601; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (see above, n. 197), pp. 62–77; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 241–247.

quered territories took place in 1020, among the suffragan dioceses of the archbishop from Ochrid there was the one set up especially for the Vlachs of the former Bulgarian state, which was also maintained under Alexius I (1081–1118).[208] It is very likely that its influence extended over the north-Danubian Romanian territories as well.

The Byzantine presence in the northern Balkans during the reign of the powerful Emperor Basil II, later nicknamed Bulgaroktonos ("Bulgarian-Slayer"), a period of spectacular increase of the Empire in both size and power, brought peace to the whole Lower Danube area, which was not to be disturbed any more by riotous Turanian hordes. No invasion of Pechenegs is recorded during the long reign of Basil II. A short time before the Bulgarians' final capitulation, in 1018, they could obtain the Pechenegs' promise to attack the Byzantines.[209] The planned invasion never took place, as it was thwarted by the diplomacy of Constantinople. The extension of the period of peace with the nomads is probably due to the renewal of the peace treaty concluded in 971 between the Byzantines and Pechenegs,[210] in the last stage of the war against Sviatoslav.

During the reign of Basil II a big success of Byzantine proselytism occurred, with important consequences for the history of eastern Europe: the conversion of the Rus' under Prince Vladimir, an event which, according to chronicles, took place in 988.[211] During the following decades and centuries, Christianity spread from Kievan Rus' to the other eastern Slav tribes. Taking into account that in the area between the rivers Răut and Dniester, as well as on the Upper Prut, inhumations began to replace cremations in barrows, it is very likely that Christianity was also adopted by Tivertsians and Croats.[212] Shortly after the conversion of the Rus', the Hungarian conversion also took

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[208] H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche, I," *BZ* 1 (1892), p. 257; *FHB*, XI, eds. G. Cankova-Petkova, Iv. Dujčev, L. Jončev, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, P. Tivčev (Sofia, 1965), p. 47 (*Грамоты на Василий II/Sigillia Basilii*); *FHB*, XIV, eds. G. Cankova-Petkova, Str. Lišev, P. Tivčev, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova (Sofia, 1968), p. 105 (*Епархийски списъци от средата на XI до средата на XII в./Notitiae episcopatuum*); *FHDR*, IV, pp. 24–25 (*Ştiri referitoare la organizarea bisericească a vlahilor balcanici*); *Macedonia. Documents and Material*, eds. V. Bozhinov, L. Panayotov (Sofia, 1979), p. 31.

[209] Skylitzes, p. 356; Kedrenos, II, pp. 465–466.

[210] Skylitzes, p. 309; Kedrenos, II, p. 412; Zonaras, col. 143–144.

[211] *PVL*, I, pp. 80–82; *Nik.let.*, I, p. 54.

[212] Timoshchuk, *Пивнична Буковина* (see above, n. 143), pp. 120–121; Fedorov, "Древнерусская культура" (see above, n. 143), p. 125.

place, *ca.* 1000, followed by the war King Stephen I waged against the Transylvanian prince Gyula, his uncle, who had refused to accept Christianity.[213] As a result of all those developments, most peoples around the Romanians became Christian, with the only exception of the nomads in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. The southern and eastern Slavs adopted the Byzantine, the Hungarians the Roman rite. In this way, the confessional isolation of the Romanians disappeared. Because Old Church Slavonic had been recognized as a sacred language much like Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, it was adopted as liturgical and state language by most powers in the Carpatho-Danubian area. Consequently, Old Church Slavonic was also adopted by the church and the chancery of the Romanian principalities to emerge in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. That language remained in use among Romanians for century, a phenomenon still insufficiently studied and understood.

Whenever they had to face the prestige of the Empire, whose forces were displayed along the Danube line, marked by newly built or rebuilt stone fortresses,[214] the Pechenegs showed much caution, preferring to realise their expansive capacity in other directions. The confrontations with Kievan Rus' were especially frequent, combined with interferences in the quarrels between different Rus' principalities, or between different feudal parties. The Polish king Boleslav the Brave (Chrobry) secured an alliance with the Pechenegs' (*Pezineigi, Pedenci, Petinei, Pecinegi*) during his conflicts with the Rus', in 1013 and 1018.[215]

Both the Pechenegs and the Romanians were engaged in the disputes for the Kievan throne, beginning with 1015, when Vladimir died. The most interesting references concerning this event can be found in an Icelandic source, *Eymundar páttr/saga*, preserved in a transcription dated to the end of the fourteenth century.[216] By cross-referencing the data

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[213] Simon de Keza, p. 172; *CPict*, pp. 32, 148; *Chronicon Posoniense* (see above, n. 37), p. 36; *Chronicon Monacense* (see above, n. 37), pp. 66–67; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, in *MGH, SS*, III (1839), p. 92; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, in *MGH,SS*, XX (1868), p. 790.

[214] E. Condurachi, I. Barnea, P. Diaconu, "Nouvelles recherches sur le Limes byzantin du Bas-Danube aux X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 179–193; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 26–32; Madgearu, *Organizarea militară bizantină* (see above, n. 205), pp. 87–100.

[215] Thietmari *Chronicon*, ed. V. Cl. Ioh. M. Lappenberg in *MGH,SS*, III (1839), pp. 833, 870–871; Thietmari *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, I, ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1864), pp. 292 and 317.

[216] On the historical importance of the information contained in the *Eymundar saga*, see S. H. Cross, "Yaroslav the Wise in Norse tradition," *Speculum* 4 (1929), pp.

of the Russian *Primary Chronicle* with those of the above-mentioned saga, one can check the trustworthiness of the information recorded in the latter source. The information must have been obtained by the Icelandic author(s) of the saga from Scandinavian mercenaries in the service of Rus' princes. According to *Eymundar páttr/saga*, during the struggle for power, Burizleifr, identified as Sviatopolk, appears to have taken refuge in Tyrkland, were he gathered a great army made up of "Turks, Wallachians and a good many other nasty people" (*Tyrkir ok Blökumenn, ok mörg önnur ill þjód*).[217] Despite such assistance for his war against Jarizleifr (= Iaroslav the Wise), it was the latter who eventually won. The Turks in the Icelandic saga must be identified as Pechenegs, among whom, according to the Russian chronicle, Sviatopolk found shelter. The battle in which Pechengs helped the Kievan pretender took place at Alta, in 1019.[218]

As for *Blökumenn*, it was the name that designated the Romanians living in east-Carpathian regions. Sviatopolk could have come into contact with them either in 1015, when he chased his brother Sviatoslav up to the Carpathians, near the border with Hungary, or in 1018, when he himself had to flee to the Pechenegs.[219] Since the Kievan prince did not extend his domination over regions inhabited by Romanians, the participation of the latter in the disputes for the Kievan throne must have been motivated, just as in the case of the Pechenegs, by rewards. The name *Blökumenn* given to Romanians in *Eymundar páttr/saga* is almost identical with that attested in the eleventh-century runic inscription of Sjonhem, *Blakumen*. Both terms recall the *Blökumennaland* (which

186–191; N. T. Belaiew, "Eymundar Saga and Icelandic research in Russia," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 11 (1928–1936), pp. 93–99; B. A. Rybakov, "Киевская Русь," in *История СССР с древнейших времен до наших дней*, Первая серия, I, eds. S. A. Pletneva, B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1966), pp. 516–519; Davidson, *Viking Road* (see above, n. 16), pp. 158–162; A. B. Golovko, in *Киев и западные земли Руси в IX–XIII вв.* (Minsk, 1982), pp. 31–32; R. Cook, "Russian history, Icelandic story, and Byzantine strategy in Eymundar páttr Hringssonar," *Viator* 17 (1986), pp. 65–89; Larsson, "Rusernas rike" (see above, n. 20), pp. 141–165; G. V. Glazyrina, T. N. Dzhakson, E. A. Mel'nikova, "Скандинавские источники," in *Древняя Русь в свете* (see above, n. 16), pp. 513–523; P. Żmudzki, "Najemnicy na Rusi i w krajach sąsiednich w X–XII w.," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 111 (2004), no. 4, pp. 15–28.

[217] *Eymundar Saga*, in *Antiquités russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves*, II, ed. C. C. Rafn (Copenhagen, 1852), p. 193; *Сага об Эймунде*, in Rydzevskaia, *Древняя Русь* (see above, n. 14), p. 97; *Vikings in Russia. Yngvar's Saga and Eymund's Saga*, trans. H. Pallson and P. Edwards (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 79.

[218] *PVL*, I, p. 97; *Nik.let.*, I, p. 176.

[219] *PVL*, I, pp. 94, 97; *Nik.let.*, I, pp. 74–76.

designated the land of the Balkan Vlachs) mentioned in *St Olaf's Saga*[220] and *Heimskringla* ("The Circle of the World")[221] written by the great Icelandic chronicler and skald Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241), as well as in *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana* written in the early 1300s[222] Whereas Snorri Sturluson spoke about a "land" of the Romanians in the Balkans, the anonymous saga about Egil and Asmund mentioned a "land" situated in an indefinite area of eastern Europe. It is obvious that all the Scandinavian ethnonyms mentioned above refer to one and the same people, identified by most scholars as Romanians.[223] Throughout the years other opinions have also been expressed, according to which the name of *Blökumenn/Blakumen* designated the Cumans,[224] or the White[225] or Black[226] Cumans. But the contexts in which *Blökumenn* and *Blakumen* are mentioned make any reference to Cumans untenable. For example, the *Blökumenn* of the *Eymundar páttr/saga* appear in the context of events taking place in 1018 or 1019, several decades before the earliest appearance of the Cumans in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea.

The supposition that *Blakumen* and *Blökumannaland* are etymologically derived from some old German terms (*blök/blak* = "black", *Kumana, Kumen* = "Cumans" and *Land* = "country")[227] is even less credible. As is known, in medieval German the Cumans were designated as *Valwen*, so

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[220] *Saga Ólafs konúngs hins helga*, 2, in *Fornmanna sögur*, V (Kaupmannahofn, 1830), p. 137; *Antiquités russes*, I (Copenhagen, 1850), p. 468; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins Helga. Den store saga om Olav den Hellige*, eds. O. A. Johnsen and J. Helgason, I (Oslo, 1941), p. 633.

[221] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla. Nóregs konunga sögur*, ed. F. Jónsson (Oslo, 1966), p. 371; idem, *Heimskringla*, eds. B. S. Kristjánsdóttir, B. Halldórsson, J. Torfason, Ö. Thorsson, II (Reykjavik, 1991), p. 814.

[222] *Sagan uf Eigli einhenda ok Asmundi berserkjabana*, in *Fornaldar sögur Nordlanda*, III (Kaupmannahofn, 1830), p. 377; *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, in *Drei lygisogur*, ed. Å. Lagerholm (Halle/Saale, 1927), p. 29.

[223] Spinei, "Informaţii, I," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 1 (see above, n. 20), pp. 72–73; "Informaţii, II," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 2, pp. 267–272; idem, *Universa Valachica* (see above, n. 117), pp. 227–235 (Addenda 4).

[224] A. Sobolevskii, "О поисках следов варягов-викингов," *Slavia* 8 (1930), no. 4, p. 764; Pritsak, *Origin*, I (see above, n. 4), pp. 373–374.

[225] *Эймундова сага*, trans. O. I. Senkovskii, in *Древнесеверныя саги и песни скальдовъ въ переводах русскихъ писателей*, ed. I. Glazunov (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 46.

[226] Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum* (see above, n. 59), p. 254; K. Horedt, "Blökumanaland şi Blakumen," *AM* 6 (1969), pp. 179–185; C. Cihodaru, "Observaţii cu privire la procesul de formare şi de consolidare a statului feudal Moldova în sec. XI–XIV," *AIIA* 16 (1979), p. 183.

[227] Horedt, "Blökumanaland," pp. 183–184; idem, "Interpretări arheologice (V)," *SCIVA* 25 (1974), no. 4, pp. 558–560.

for the Black Cumans a name such as **Blakvalwen* would have been normal. Had the Varangians adopted the east-Slavic terminology—which would have been quite natural—or Byzantine or Latin names, then the name of the Black Cumans would have appeared as somewhat related to, or derived from *черные половцы*, *μαυρο Κομανοι* or *cumani nigri*, respectively. Nothing like that is attested in the available sources. A mixed form, made up of a German adjective and a proper name from Greek or Latin is highly improbable. Thus one has to reject the idea that *Blökumenn* or *Blakumen* referred to any other people but the Vlachs.

At the beginning of the second quarter of the eleventh century the Pechenegs' invasions in the Balkan Peninsula assumed greater frequency and amplitude. Such attacks against Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia took place in 1025/1027, 1032/1033, 1034, 1035 and 1036.[228] In 1036, when three incursions against the Empire are recorded, the Pechenegs could also organize a great expedition against Kiev. Iaroslav the Wise returned to his capital with help from the Varangians and from the people of Novgorod; he defeated his enemies, so that they did not dare to attack Rus' anymore,[229] as they were also hindered by their clashes with theUzes, as well as by their own intertribal disagreements. Records on their attacks against the Arpadian Hungary are fewer. That nomads were not familiar with the mountain passes may explain why the Pechenegs rarely crossed the Carpathians. At least one such raid into Transylvania took place during the reign of Stephen I (997–1038),[230] and must have gone through one or many of the passes across the eastern Carpathians. According to Heinrich of Mügeln, the Pecheneg raid took place in 1028.[231]

The intensity and regularity of those raids indicate the considerable increase in the Pecheneg offensive capacity north of the Lower Danube, made possible by the nomads' movement towards the Bugeac and the Bărăgan plains. The shift of the Pecheneg power from the left to the right bank of the Dnieper was a consequence of the pressure exerted by the Uzes, who, in their turn, had to move west from the steppes

[228] Skylitzes, pp. 373, 385, 397, and 399; Kedrenos, II, pp. 483–484, 499, 512, and 514–515. See also Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 39–49; Gh. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, "Les invasions de Petchénègues au Bas Danube," in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, IV, eds. E. Popescu and T. Teoteoi (Iaşi, 2001), pp. 87–112.

[229] *PVL*, I, pp. 101–102.

[230] *Legendae S. Stephani regis*, ed. E. Bartonick, in *SRH*, II, pp. 389, 397, and 424.

[231] Henric de Mügeln (see above, n. 54), pp. 109–111.

along the Volga, since they were pressed by the Cumans. In the period immediately preceding the mass migration of the Pechenegs into the Byzantine Empire, during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055), the narrative sources mention several attacks of the Uzes against the Pechenegs. Those were repelled due especially to the efforts of Kegen, a skilful, yet minor chieftain. Unlike Kegen, Tyrach, the paramount chief of the Pechenegs, showed less courage, as he avoided a direct confrontation on the occasion of one of his enemies' incursions, when he took refuge among the lakes and marshes of the Danube Delta.[232]

After the climax of the last years of the reign of Basil II, Byzantium encountered a period of political decline. The throne was taken in turn by a number of emperors who were representatives of the civilian aristocracy; they lacked both energy and the qualities necessary for strategy or diplomacy. That fact was immediately felt at the Lower Danube, where the Pechenegs' devastating attacks came one after the other for a decade. At last, a treaty put an end to the Turanian invasions[233] and restored peace in the northern Balkans. But on the left bank of the Danube the Pechenegs' migration certainly caused great disturbances, so that an important part of the local population had to move from the plain to the hilly regions protected by woods. Against the background of the latent crisis that affected Byzantium after Basil II's death, the last attempt of the Rus' to attack Constantinople took place in 1043. The expedition had the same route between Kiev and the Bosporus, off the Danube mouths. The Rus' again had no chance of victory, because a storm sank part of their ships and made the task of the Byzantines easier.[234]

In the second quarter of the eleventh century, when the Uzes threat became inevitable, two Pecheneg groups, led by Kegen, refused to obey Tyrach's supreme authority; but in the clashes with Tyrach's superior

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[232] Skylitzes, p. 455; Kedrenos, II, p. 582.

[233] Skylitzes, p. 457; Kedrenos, II, p. 584. See also C. A. Macartney, "The Petchenegs," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 8 (1929–1930), p. 346; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, p. 52.

[234] Psellos, II, pp. 8–12; Michaelis Attaliotae *Historia*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), pp. 20–21; Skylitzes, pp. 430–433; Kedrenos, II, pp. 551–555; Glycas (see above, n. 207), p. 595; Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei *Chronicon Syriacum*, eds. P. I. Bruns and G. G. Kirsch (Lipsiae, 1789), pp. 244–245; Gregory Abû'l-Faraj, *The Chronography, 1225–1286*, I, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), p. 203; *PVL*, I, pp. 103–104; *Nik.let.*, I, pp. 82–83.

forces made up of eleven tribes, Kegen's people were defeated and took refuge first in the Danube everglades, and then on an island near Dorostolon,[235] situated, very probably, in the Ialomița marshes (*Balta Ialomiței*) of the Danube.[236] As a consequence of the negotiations with Constantinople, the tribes led by Kegen were allowed to settle on the Danube frontier, the conditions being their conversion to Christianity, and service as allies of the Empire. Their integration in the Byzantine military system is proved, among other things, by two seals that have been published recently: one of them discovered at Durostorum (modern Silistra),[237] and another whose place of discovery is not known.[238] On their reverse there is the name of Ioannes Kegen, with his title as "*magistros* and *archon* of Patzinakia," which indicates the bestowing of some military prerogatives in a territory conceded to the Turanians. The name of Ioannes was given to Kegen when, obliged by the imperial authorities, he agreed to be christened together with his companions. Between the Pechenegs on the opposite banks of the Danube the clashes continued. By invoking the treaties concluded with Byzantium long before, Tyrach asked the emperor to stop Kegen's incursions to the left bank of the Danube. The Greek chronicles mention that, because his demand was not observed, Tyrach decided to invade the Empire. They also mention that the whole of the Pecheneg people moved over to Byzantium.[239] However, both statements must be treated with caution.

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[235] Skylitzes, p. 456; Kedrenos, II, p. 583.

[236] C. Brătescu, "Pecenegii. Pagini de istorie medievală (sec. XI) traduse din Georgios Kedrenos," *AD* 5–6 (1924–1925), p. 146 with n. 1; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, p. 57 with n. 161.

[237] I. Jordanov, "Sceau d'archonte de Patcinakía du XI[e] siècle", *Études balkaniques* 28 (1992), no. 2, pp. 79–82; *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 1, *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names*, ed. I. Jordanov (Sofia, 2003), pp. 138–142; T. Krumova, "Pecheneg chieftains in the Byzantine administration in the theme of Paristrion in the eleventh century," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 11 (2005), pp. 210–211.

[238] W. Seibt, M. L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 131–132; I. Jordanov, "Печати на Йоан Кеген, магистър и архонт на Печенегия (1050–1051)," *Нумизматика и сфрагистика* 5 (1998), no. 1, pp. 96–101.

[239] Skylitzes, pp. 455–459; Kedrenos, II, pp. 581–587; Attaliates, p. 30; Zonaras (see above, n. 48), col. 223–226. See also V. G. Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги (1048–1094)," in idem, *Труды*, I (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 9–25; I. Dujčev, *Проучвания върху българското средновековие* (Sofia, 1945), pp. 30–39; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 56–65; J. Shepard, "John Mauropous, Leo Tornicius and an alleged Russian army: the chronology of the Pecheneg crisis of 1048–1049," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 24 (1975), pp. 61–89; J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *Travaux et mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 265–303; A. P. Každan, "Once more about the "alleged" Russo-Byzantine treaty (ca. 1047) and the Pecheneg

On the one hand, the crossing of the bulk of the population led by Tyrach over the frozen Danube was a decision taken as a result of the impossibility of stopping the Uzes. Relevant in that respect is a passage in Michael Psellos' chronicle (taken up by Anna Comnena), which describes the war of Isaac I Comnenus with the Pechenegs. Before narrating the battles proper, Michael Psellos reports that the whole people of the *Missians* had crossed the frozen Danube and had moved into the Empire because of the attacks of the *Getae*.[240] Using the ancient names of *Missians* and *Getae*, the Byzantine authors actually referred to the Pechenegs and the Uzes. Because the specifications regarding the settlement of all *Missians* (= Pechenegs) within the borders of Byzantium, and those referring to the crossing of the Danube on the ice are also found with the chroniclers who describe the Pecheneg exodus of 1046/1047, it is possible that both Michael Psellos and Anna Comnena referred to that event, even if in their text the episode under discussion appears to refer to Isaac I's reign. The identification of the *Getae* with the Romanians of Wallachia[241] is improbable; the latter did not have, by that time, the military capacity necessary to drive away the Pechenegs from the Lower Danube region. Nevertheless, that region did not provide security for Tyrach's Pechenegs, which is demonstrated by the fact that they would not return there after having been defeated by the the Byzantine armies, and instead preferred to submit to the Empire.

Not all the Pecheneg forces accompanied Tyrach to the Balkans. Some groups of Pechenegs eluded Tyrach's authority and decided to stay in the steppes; their presence there is mentioned in documentary sources from the second half of the eleventh and the twelfth century. The Pechenegs could not maintain their autonomy and were obliged to enter other Turkic tribal unions, or to offer their services to the Rus' princes, who allowed them to settle at the borders of their states

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crossing of the Danube," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977), pp. 65–77; N. Bănescu, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, II [*Imperiul Bizantin clasic*] (*610–1081*), ed. T. Teoteoi (Bucharest, 2003), pp. 606–610; O. Schmitt, "Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan von 1046 bis 1072," in *Pontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes (Manfred Oppermann zum 65. Geburtstag von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern)*, eds. S. Conrad, R. Einicke, A. E. Furtwängler, H. Löhr, A. Slawisch (Langenweissbach, 2006), pp. 473–483.

[240] Psellos, II, p. 125; Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, I, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937), pp. 127–128.

[241] I. Barnea, "Stăpînirea bizantină asupra Dobrogei între anii 971–1185: Thema Paristrion (Paradunavon)," in *DID*, III, p. 132.

in the vicinity of the steppes.[242] Some Pecheneg groups continued to live side by side with the Oghuz/Uzes, after the latter, in alliance with the Khazars, had driven away the bulk of their forces from the Volga basin.[243] The Pechenegs that did not leave the Volga territories were mentioned in 922 by the Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan.[244] It is not very clear if the "barbarians"—supposed to be Pechenegs[245]—who set about incursions into Hungary in 1053,[246] belonged to the group of Turanians established in the Balkan Peninsula, or to the enclaves on the Lower Danube.

As for the Pechenegs who migrated into the Balkans, for four decades they represented a source of great troubles for the European provinces of Byzantium. By profiting from the general crisis of the Empire, from the incursions of the Seljuq Turks into Asia Minor, and from the effects of internal uprisings, the Pechenegs often refused to submit to the provincial governors and found support in local communities discontented with the Byzantine taxes, or they allied themselves with other nomadic groups who crossed the Danube for plunder.[247] As a consequence of such a situation the Empire lost control over vast regions of Paristrion, for longer or shorter periods. Most of the praises addressed by Michael Psellos to Constantine IX Monomachus for the latter's contribution to

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[242] *Ip.let.-2*, *passim*. See also D. Rassovsky, "Печенеги, торки и берендеи на Руси и въ Угрии," *SK* 6 (1933), pp. 12 and 50–63; S. A. Pletneva, *Древности черных клобуков* (*ASAI*, E 1–19) (Moscow, 1973), pp. 24–25.

[243] *DAI*, I, pp. 166–169. See also Marvazi (see above, n. 51), p. 30; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 245 (al-Marwazī).

[244] Ibn Fadlan's *Reisebericht*, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 24 (1939), no. 3, p. 33; R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, "Notes on the Risala of Ibn-Fadlan," *Byzantina Metabyzantina* 1 (1949), no. 2, p. 20; M. Canard, "La relation du voyage d'Ibn Fadlân chez les Bulgares de la Volga," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger, 16 (1958), p. 83.

[245] J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 37.

[246] *Vita Theodorici abbatis Andaginensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach, in *MGH,SS*, XII (1856), p. 44.

[247] Ioannis Euchaitorum metropolitae *Quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, J. Bollig descripsit, P. de Lagarde edidit (Gottingae, 1882), pp. 144–146 and 179–193; Cecaumeni *Consilia* (see above, n. 103), pp. 150–153, and 162–167; Nicephori Bryennii *Commentarii*, ed. A. Meinecke (Bonn, 1836), pp. 57, 100, and 157; Skylitzes, pp. 460–461 and 465–476; Kedrenos, II, pp. 588–589 and 594–607. See also Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги," pp. 16–24; Dujčev, *Проучвания* (see above, n. 239), pp. 35–39; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 73–78; Barnea, "Stăpînirea bizantină," pp. 127–131; Zakythinos, *Byzantinische Geschichte* (see above, n. 195), pp. 263–265; E. Malamut, "L'image byzantine des Petchénègues," *BZ* 88 (1995), no. 1, p. 124 ff.; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (see above, n. 197), pp. 89–98; Schmitt, "Die Petschenegen" (see above, n. 239), pp. 483–487.

the Christianization and settlement of the Pechenegs[248] were unfounded. Naturally, in the second half of the eleventh century the influence of Byzantium over the outer-Carpathian Romanian lands decreased at the same time as the strengthening of the nomadic Turkic tribes' strategic positions.

The aggressive presence of the Pechenegs between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains brought about difficult problems for Byzantine authorities, so that their description—in a *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos, written in December 1083 for the monastery of Bachkovo, near Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv)—does not appear as excessively exaggerated: "most terrible and most arrogant enemies, who set themselves not only against the Roman Empire, but also every race of Christians, whose defeat and complete destruction is altogether one of the most difficult things to set down in writing".[249]

The usual discord-breeding Byzantine policy could not be applied efficiently in the Carpathian-Balkan regions between the reigns of Basil II and Alexius I Comnenus. On the contrary, the neighbours of the Empire often united their forces when planning incursions across the Danube. Isaac I Comnenus (1057–1059) was forced to react to such a joint raid, planned by the Hungarians and the Pechenegs of Paristrion. First the emperor energetically repelled the Hungarians, and then he went against the Pechenegs; some of the latter submitted to him, others continued the fight in the Danube everglades until they were defeated.[250] The Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa (Urha) (Matt'ēos Urhajec'i) reports that Isaac I himself crossed the Danube in pursuit,[251] information which suggest that the Pechenegs with whom the Byzantine armies had clashed were from the region to the north of the Danube. However, the imperial expedition to the north of the Danube River is not mentioned in any Byzantine source. The restora-

[248] Michaelis Pselli *Scripta minora*, I, *Orationes et dissertations*, eds. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl (Milan, 1936), pp. 18 and 340.

[249] *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complate Translation of the Surviving Founder's* Typika *and Testaments*, 2, eds. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, with the assistance of G. Constable (Washington, D.C., 2000), p. 526.

[250] Psellos, II, pp. 124–126; *FHDR*, IV, pp. 34–39 (Psellos, *Scrisori*); Attaliates (see above, n. 234), pp. 66–67; *Excerpta ex breviario historico* Ioannis Scylitzae Curopalatae, in Kedrenos, II, pp. 645–646; Anne Comnène, I, pp. 127–129; Zonaras (see above, n. 48), col. 245–248; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, III, ed. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1905), p. 165.

[251] Matthieu d'Édesse (see above, n. 207), pp. 105–106; *Armenia and the Crusades. Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of* Matthew of Edessa, ed. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham–New York–London, 1993), p. 90.

tion of order in Paristrion by authorities from Constantinople was short, because of the new nomadic waves that crossed the Danube.

Meanwhile the crisis within the Christian church took an irreversible turn, due to the general political conditions and to the intransigent positions of Patriarch Michael Cerularius and Pope Leo IX, which led to the great schism of 1054. In the outer-Carpathian region, which was under the confessional influence of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, the effects of this event were to be felt much later, during the political and confessional offensive of the Arpadian Kingdom. After the settlement of the tribes led by Kegen and Tyrach in the Balkan Peninsula, nothing could stop the Uzes' advance up to the Lower Danube Plain. In the tenth century, the Oghuz (Ghuzz, Uzes) lived in the space bordered by the Aral Lake, the Syr-Daria, the Caspian Sea, the Volga, and the Upper Irtysh. Because of inter-tribal conflicts,[252] they split into two groups: one going to the south-west, led by Seljuq (after whom they were designated as Seljuk Turks); the other heading westwards.[253] In less than half a century the latter group covered the hundreds of kilometres between the Lower Volga and the Danube; they were driven away by the Cumans, and in their turn chased the Pechenegs. One of the 22 branches that, according to Oriental sources, made up the tribal union of the Oghuz were the *Bajanak/Baj'nak/Bäčänäk* (= the

[252] On conflicts between different Turkic Ghuzz (= Oghuz) tribes, see Ibn Hauqal (see above, n. 14), I, p. 379.

[253] V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, III (Leiden, 1962), pp. 91–108; O. Pritsak, "The decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 2 (1952), pp. 279–292 (reprint in idem, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* [Variorum Reprints], London, 1981); C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids. Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 205–226; idem, "The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000–1217)," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), p. 1 ff.; D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 287–290; C. Cahen, "Ghuzz," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, NE, II, eds. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht (Leiden–London, 1965), pp. 1106–1110; idem, *The Formation of Turkey. The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. P. M. Holt (Harlow, 2001), p. 7 ff.; D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilization de l'Islam clasique* (Paris, 1968), pp. 107–113; Golden, "The migrations of the Oğuz" (see above, n. 12), pp. 45–84; S. G. Agadzhanov, *Очерки истории огузов и туркмен Средней Азии IX–XIII вв.* (Ashkhabad, 1969), pp. 122–210; idem, *Государство сельджукидов и Средняя Азия в XI–XII вв.* (Moscow, 1991); idem (S. G. Agadžanov), *Die Oguzen Mittelasiens im 9. bis 10. Jahrhundert*, trans. R. Schletzer (*Turkmenenforschung*, 7) (Hamburg, *sine anno*), pp. 7–28; A. Sevin and C. E. Bosworth, "The Seljuqs and the Khwarazm shahs," in *History of Civilisations of Central Asia*, IV, 1, *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris, 1998), pp. 145–175.

Pechenegs).[254] They were naturally not all of the Pechenegs, but just a small group who had been defeated and and forced to accept the Oghuz/Uzes supremacy.

The first clash between the Uzes and the Rus' took place near Voin, in the region of Pereiaslavl, in 1055, and five years later the Kievan prince Iziaslav, together with his brothers, who had the power in Chernigov and Pereiaslavl, and with Vseslav Briachislavich of Polotsk, organized a great expedition against the Uzes. According to Russian sources, the *Torki* (Uzes), overcome by the great number of their enemies, left their settlements and never returned.[255] The Cuman attacks also contributed decisively to the departure of the Uzes from the steppes north of the Black Sea. In 1064–1065 the Uzes migrated from the Lower Danube region into the Empire. The efforts of the Byzantine military commanders to stave off the nomad flood were useless, so that the invaders advanced up to Illyricum and Greece. The severity of winter, epidemics and starvation caused more damage than the imperial armies, so that in the following year the scattered groups of the Uzes were easily destroyed by provincial troops and by the Pechenegs of Paristrion. One part of the Uzes submitted to Byzantium and they were colonized in Macedonia; others returned to the region north of the Danube and sought refuge in the domains of the Rus' princes, who accepted them as mercenaries,[256] much as the Byzantines had done.

Not all the Uzes in the region of the Black and Caspian seas chose to migrate to the Byzantine Empire. Some of their groups stayed behind in the basin of the Lower Volga. They were mentioned around the town of Saskin by an Arab traveller from Spain. His specification that they were divided into 40 tribes led by independent emirs[257] seems to be

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[254] Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk)*, ed. R. Dankoff, in collab. with J. Kelley, I (Harvard [Cambridge, MA], 1982), pp. 101–102 and 362. See also M. Th. Houtsma, "Die Ghuzenstämme," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 2 (1888), p. 224; Barthold, *Four Studies*, III, p. 110.

[255] *PVL*, I, p. 109.

[256] Attaliates, pp. 83–87; Skylitzes, *Excerpta* (see above, n. 250), in Kedrenos, II, pp. 654–657; Glycas (see above, n. 207), p. 605; Zonaras, col. 251–254; Matthieu d'Édesse, pp. 126–127; Matthew of Edessa, p. 105. See also Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги" (see above, n. 239), pp. 26–30; C. Necşulescu, "Năvălirea uzilor prin Ţările Române în Imperiul bizantin," *RIR* 9 (1939), p. 185–206; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, "Les Torks-Ogouzes en Russie de Moyen-Âge," in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: 21–25 Eylül 1981, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II (Ankara, 1988), pp. 596–599.

[257] Abu Hamid el Granadino, *Relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, ed. C. E. Dubler (Madrid, 1953), p. 50.

unlikely for a period in which the Cumans had firmly established their supremacy in the area. Even more numerous groups of Uzes (*торки*) were hired by Rus' princes; the chronicles mentioned them in that role between the last decades of the eleventh century and the first part of the thirteenth century. They appear especially in the basin of the river Ros, a right-hand tributary of the Dnieper River.[258]

The first Uzes detachments reached the Bugeac and the Romanian Plain probably a short time after the displacement of Tyrach's tribes to the south of the Danube, about 1050. The bulk of the Uzes population moved into north-Danubian plain regions only after the Cuman's pressure became very strong and the Rus' princes' coalition drove them away from the Dnieper basin in 1060. Their stay on the left bank of the Lower Danube was short, because they forced the crossing of the river in 1064. Taking into account the houses excavated in Dinogetia-Garvăn (Tulcea county, Romania), all of which were apparently destroyed by fire, as well as some of the coin hoards found in Dobrudja, which could be dated to the mid-1060s, it is quite possible that the Uzes came to the Balkans through the Bugeac.[259]

In spite of the concentration of the Uzes hordes on the left bank of the Danube, which occurred less than two decades after the migration of the Pechenegs to the Balkans, there are no signs of a total destruction of the native population of the plain region (Fig. 2). In this respect the testimony of the Byzantine chronicles is self-evident; according to them the Uzes used, for crossing the Danube, not only leather bags, but also ships and boats.[260] The information given by many sources of that time indicates that the nomadic horsemen usually crossed the large water courses by means of leather bags, which they made by themselves from animal skin.[261] They quite rarely made wooden crafts,[262] so it is

[258] *Ip.let.*, *passim.*

[259] Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 79–80; Spinei, *Moldova*, p. 129.

[260] Attaliates, p. 83; Skylitzes, *Excerpta*, in Kedrenos, II, p. 654.

[261] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 244), p. 31; *Tour du monde ou voyages du rabbin* Péthachia *de Ratisbonne dans le douzième siècle*, ed. E. Carmoly (Paris, 1831), p. 8; Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), p. 124; Georgii Acropolitae *Annales*, in *PG*, CXL (1887), col. 1061–1062; Nicephori Gregorae *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1829), pp. 36–37; Plano Carpini, pp. 80–81; Anonymus, p. 41; Simon de Keza, p. 149; *CPict.*, pp. 7, 120; *Chronicon Posoniense* (see above, n. 37), p. 19; *Chronicon Monacense* (see above, n. 37), p. 58.

[262] D. Sinor, "On water-transport in Central Eurasia," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 33 (1961), pp. 156–179 (reprint in idem, *Inner Asia and its Contacts with Medieval Europe* [Variorum Reprints], London, 1977).

natural for one to conclude that the boats and the ships the Uzes used in crossing the Danube were supplied by the Romanian communities of the Danube everglades. Several bands of Uzes who had taken refuge in the Romanian Plain and the Bugeac after the failure of the invasion of 1064–1065, could have returned to live side by side with those Pechenegs who had chosen to stay behind.

In the older historical literature, the hypothesis that the Hutzuls, a Ukrainian population on the eastern side of the northern Carpathians, represented a remainder of the Uzes, enjoyed a certain popularity. That assumption was based mainly on an alleged relationship between the two ethnonyms, Hutzuls and Uzes, hich has never been adequately demonstrated.[263] In addition, one cannot explain how a Turkic group of the steppes could have chosen to settle in a mountainous area, a possibility supported neither by archaeology, nor by written sources.

Shortly after the Uzes migration to the Balkans, the Cumans—another Turkic tribe of the steppe tribe—approached the Danube Delta. Their vanguard entered the Bugeac at some point between 1065 and 1078. Evidence of the first Cuman expedition to the Balkans, undertaken together with the Pechenegs, was recorded in 1078.[264] The medieval texts do not tell us whether the incursion of 1078 against Adrianople involved the Pechenegs from the north or the south of the Danube. In any case, the Cuman forces participating in the raid were not strong enough, since they needed the collaboration of the Pechenegs. During the same year the Cumans engaged in the wars against the Rus'.[265] In the middle of the eleventh century the Cumans reached the Dnieper, by driving the Uzes away to the west. In 1055 the Cumans (Polovtsy) advanced towards Pereiaslavl, but Prince Vsevolod reached an agreement with them in order to avoid a military confrontation.[266] The first battle between the Rus' and the Cumans took place in 1061, when the Cumans under their chief Sokal obtained a major victory, the first of a long and bitter war that would last 175 years.[267] The Cuman positions

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[263] I. I. Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei* (Cernăuți, 1934), pp. 65–68; H. Kunstmann, "Woher die Huzulen ihren Namen haben," *Die Welt der Slaven* 31 (NF, 10) (1986), pp. 317–323.

[264] Attaliates (see above, n. 234), pp. 300–301; Skylitzes, *Excerpta* (see above, n. 250), in Kedrenos, II, p. 741.

[265] *PVL*, I, p. 132.

[266] Ibidem, p. 109.

[267] Ibidem*; Die Nestorchronik. Die altrussische Chronik, zugeschrieben dem Mönch des Kiever Höhlenklosters Nestor, in der Redaktion des Abtes Sil'vestr aus dem Jahre 1116, rekonstruiert nach*

in the steppes north of the Black Sea were strengthened even more after the victory they obtained in 1068 against a coalition of forces led by the Kievan prince Iziaslav I Iaroslavich,[268] who had defeated the Uzes (Torki) eight years earlier. The Cumans now controlled the entire territory between the Aral Lake and the Lower Danube.[269]

It appears that, even if we admit that some Cuman enclaves had been established in the Bugeac and the Bărăgan by the end of the eleventh century, a significant Cuman presence in those territories was recorded only later on. In referring to the migration of the Turkic peoples Michael the Syrian, who wrote his chronicle of the world in the late 1100s, maintained that their northern groups, made up of Cumans (*Qumanayê*), had settled at the frontiers of the Greek Empire and had "joined the Christian people" who lived there.[270] The Christians living together with the Cumans at the northern border of Byzantium were probably Romanians. According to a variant of the oldest Turkic chronicle, *Oghuzname*, inserted in the *Turkish Genealogy* by Abu'l-Ghazi Behadur Khan (1603–1663), the Cumans—personified in the eponymous hero Qipchaq—fought against the countries of the Rus', the Romanians (*Ulak*), the Magyars and the Bashkirs, who had refused to submit to their authority. With troops from Oghuz Khan, Qipchaq was ordered to conquer the region of *Ten* (= Don) and *Itil* (= Volga), which he promptly did.[271] The unknown author of the chronicle thus claimed that all four countries were controlled by the Cumans, which may be true for the Romanian lands, but certainly not for Rus' or Hungary.

During the second half of the eleventh century, hordes of Pechenegs continued to inhabit the left bank of the Danube. In 1068, led by Osul, they launched a great attack against Transylvania and Hungary through

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den Handschriften Lavrent'evskaja, Radzivilovskaja, Akademičeskaja, Troickaja, Ipat'evskaja und Chlebnikovskaja, ed. and trans. L. Müller (Munich, 2001), p. 200.

[268] *PVL*, I, p. 112; *Nik.let.*, I, p. 94. See also M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov: 1054–1146* (Toronto, 1994), pp. 66–68.

[269] N. Aristov, *О земле половецкой* (Kiev, 1877); D. Rassovsky, "Половцы, III, Пределы 'Поля Половецкаго'," *SK* 10 (1938), pp. 155–178; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 145–150; S. A. Pletneva, "Половецкая земля," in *Древнерусские княжества X–XIII вв.*, eds. L. G. Beskrovnyi (gen. ed.), V. A. Kuchkin, V. T. Pashuto (Moscow, 1975), pp. 260–300.

[270] Michel le Syrien (see above, n. 250), p. 155.

[271] Абуль-Гази, *История*, ed. G. Sablukov, in *Библиотека восточных историков*, co-ord. I. Berezin, III, 1 (Kazan, 1854), p. 19; Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khan, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, II, ed. P. I. Desmaisons (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 19. See also M. A. Ekrem, "Menţiuni despre români în izvoare turceşti preotomane şi otomane (secolele IX–XV)," *Anale de istorie* 28 (1982), no. 4, pp. 73–75.

the mountain passes across the Carpathian range. After they had crossed the Mezeş Gate and robbed the province of Nyr, they advanced to the fortress of Biharea. On their way back, they were ambushed and defeated by King Salomon (1063–1074) and his sons near the Dăbâca stronghold. Whereas Simon of Keza and the *Annales Posonienses* ascribe the attack to the Pechenegs (*Bessi*),[272] the Latin-Hungarian chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ascribe it to Cumans (*Cuni*).[273] The latter may not be just an adaptation of a piece of information taken from older sources, since at the time of the raid the Cuman vanguard was already in the vicinity of the Carpathian Mountains. One thing seems to be certain, namely that the marauders of 1068 were not Uzes.[274] A west-Russian chronograph misdated the raid to 1059, but blamed it on Cumans and Romanians (*Валахи*). The unknown author of the Russian chronography then explained that Cumans were also called *Половцы* and *Кум*.[275] Historians now agree that the marauders of 1068 were Pechenegs and that those medieval authors who wrote of Cumans made a mistake, given that the ethnic name *Cuni* did not have a very clear meaning in the Latin-Hungarian chronicles.[276]

The movements of the Turkic populations from the steppe lands north of the Black Sea were too fast for the Byzantines to monitor, much less control them. Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes was defeated in 1071 by the Seljuq Turks in the great battle of Mantzikert (Malazgyrt), which resulted in important territorial losses in Asia Minor. The concomitant abandonment of the last Byzantine possessions in southern Italy and the

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[272] Simon de Keza, p. 182 (where the invasion is dated in the time of Ladislas I); *Annales Posonienses*, ed. E. Madzsar, in *SRH*, I, p. 126.

[273] *Chronici Hungarici composito saeculi XIV*, ed. A. Domanovszky, in *SRH*, I, pp. 366–368; *CPict*, pp. 55–57, 175–177; *Chronicon Monacense* (see above, n. 37), p. 75; *Chronicon Posoniense* (see above, n. 37), p. 38; Henric de Mügeln (see above, n. 54), pp. 176–177 (where the invaders are identified with the Tatars !); *Chronicon Budense*, ed. I. Podhradczky (Budae, 1838), pp. 127–129; *Chronicon Dubnicense*, in *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*, III, ed. M. Florianus (Quinque-Ecclesiis, 1884), pp. 75–76; Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I, *Textus*, eds. E. Galántai and J. Kristó (Budapest, 1985), pp. 98–99.

[274] B. Kossányi, "Az úzok és komának történetéhez a XI–XII. században," *Századok* 57–58 (1923–1924), pp. 532–533.

[275] *Русскій хронографъ*, 2, *Хронографъ Западно-Русской редакціи*, in *PSRL*, XXII, 2 (Petrograd, 1914), p. 211.

[276] Györffy, "A kun és komán népnév" (see above, n. 99), pp. 168–170; idem, "Besenyők és magyarok," in idem, *A magyarság keleti elemei* (see above, n. 99), pp. 118–119; Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 84–86; Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* (see above, n. 98), p. 97.

loss of Belgrade to the Hungarians contributed much to the decrease of state resources and implicitly of its defensive power.

Taking advantage of the receding Byzantine power in the area, the multi-ethnic population of Paristrion joined the Pecheneg hordes previously established or recently arrived from the left bank of the Danube. They were all trying to get rid of the Byzantine administration of the *theme* and to become autonomous. The dissident groups of Dristra, Vicina and the other cities of the Lower Danube were led by three chieftains named Tatos (or Chalis), Sesthlav, and Satza.[277] Fierce disputes have erupted among historians of the modern age concerning the ethnicity of the three chieftains, as well as that of the population they commanded and of the nomadic tribes who had settled north of the Danube River.[278] The debate was fueled by much misunderstanding originating from the ambiguity of the corresponding account in Anna Comnena's biography of Emperor Alexius I (1081–1118). There seems to be some agreement that Vlachs (Romanians) said to have lived near the Danube had a significant contribution to the movement.[279] Michael the Syrian's chronicle appears to confirm this conclusion. He mentioned the Vlachs (*Balakayê*), together with Franks, Cumans and Serbs, among those peoples who caused the greatest difficulties to Emperor Alexius.[280]

The Pechenegs north of the Danube had also contributed to the strengthening of the Byzantine camp in Paristrion. They came to the

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[277] Anne Comnène, II, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), pp. 81–82.

[278] N. Bănescu, "Ein ethnographisches Problem am Unterlauf der Donau aus dem XI. Jahrhundert," *Byzantion* 6 (1931), pp. 297–307; idem, "Dobrogea bizantină," *Analele Dobrogei* 19 (1938), no. 2, pp. 57–58; C. Necşulescu, "Ipoteza formaţiunilor politice române la Dunăre în sec. XI," *RIR* 7 (1937), nos. 1–2, pp. 122–151; M. Gyóni, "Zur Frage der rumänischen Staatsbildungen im XI. Jahrhundert in Paristrion (Archaisierende Volksnamen und ethnische Wirklichkeit in der "Alexias" von Anna Komnene)," *AECO* 9–10 (1943–1944), pp. 83–188; E. Lozovan, "Byzance et la romanité scythique," *Revue des études roumaines* 5–6 (1960), p. 233–237; A. Tonchev, "Сведения за българската история в "Алексиада" на Ана Комнина," *Исторически преглед* 26 (1970), no. 5, pp. 128–130; I. Barnea, "Stăpînirea bizantină," pp. 139–146; N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, "Mixobarbarii paristrieni şi ipoteticele cristalizări de stat româneşti de la Dunărea de Jos," in idem, *Bizanţul şi românii* (Bucharest, 2003), pp. 59–77; V. Mărculeţ, *Imperiul Bizantin la Dunărea de Jos în secolele X–XII. Spaţiul carpato-balcanic şi politica vest-pontică a Imperiului Bizantin* (Târgu Mureş, 2005), pp. 152–159; Madgearu, *Organizarea militară bizantină* (see above, n. 205), pp. 63–68.

[279] Anne Comnène, II, p. 193.

[280] Michel le Syrien, p. 204. See also V. Spinei, "Realităţi etnico-politice de la Dunărea de Jos în secolele XI–XII în cronica lui Mihail Sirianul (I)," *RIs* 36 (1983), no. 10, p. 1001.

Balkans in 1086, as the Cumans kept devastating their settlements. Anna Comnena seems to suggest that north of the Lower Danube, in the Romanian Plain and in the Bugeac, there were still Pecheneg groups, which the Cumans wanted to subdue, in order to control the Danube line at will. Taking advantage of the political and military crisis in the Empire, the Cumans joined the Pechenegs led by Tzeglu and the Hungarians led by the former king Salomon, and they all plundered the Balkan provinces. After Tzelgu's defeat, the Cumans came back to the left bank of the Danube, but soon returned to the Balkans, in response to a call for support from Tatos, the lord of Dristra. The disagreement between the Cumans and the Pechenegs regarding plunder shares produced a decisive breach between the two Turkic peoples, a breach which Alexius I skilfully exploited in the spring of 1091. At Lebunion, with the Cuman support, he managed to obtain a decisive victory over the Pechenegs.[281] The battle of Lebunion effectively put an end to the Pecheneg problem in the Balkans and led to the re-establishment of Byzantine authority on the Danube. The victory against the Pechenegs, obtained almost at the same time as that against the Turkic emirs of Asia Minor, signalled a new (and final) rise of Byzantium to the status of European political power, a position the Empire maintained throughout the entire period of the Comnenian dynasty.

The Pecheneg disaster at Lebunion seems to have also been a warning to the Cumans in the Balkans, who consequently withdrew quickly to the lands beyond the Danube.[282] A few weeks after the destruction of the Pechenegs, however, a Cuman invasion hit the Balkans at the same time as the Byzantine rule was seriously challenged in Dalmatia.[283] Since no clashes are mentioned between Emperor Alexius and the Cumans

[281] Anne Comnène, II, pp. 87–97, 139–144; Matthieu d'Édesse (see above, n. 207), pp. 199–200; Matthew of Edessa (see above, n. 251), p. 155; Zonaras, col. 303–304; Ioannis Zonarae *Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, III, *Libri XIII–XVIII*, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), pp. 740–741. See also Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги" (see above, n. 239), pp. 48–98; K. Dieter, "Zur Glaubwürdigkeit der Anna Komnena, 1. Der Petschenegenkrieg 1084–1091," *BZ* 3 (1894) pp. 386–390; F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900), pp. 105–134; A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, II, trans. P. Brodin and A. Bourguina (Paris, 1932), pp. 11–16; G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena. A Study* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 434–438; Malamut, "L'image byzantine" (see above, n. 247), pp. 141–142; eadem, *Alexis Ier Comnène* (Paris, 2007), pp. 84–88; Bica, *Thema Paristrion* (see above, n. 201), pp. 115–117; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 300–302.

[282] Anne Comnène, II, p. 145.

[283] Ibidem, p. 147.

of 1091, it is possible that the marauders preferred to returned to their abodes north of the Danube before encountering the Byzantine army. It is worth mentioning that the Cuman armies that helped Byzantium against the Pechenegs were led by the chieftains Tugorkan and Boniak,[284] famous for their repeated and extremely energetic expeditions against Kievan Rus', as still mentioned even in the Ukrainian folklore.[285] They especially had much military success in the basin of the Dnieper, where the centre of the Cuman tribal union was located at the end of the eleventh century. Their involvement in the military developments in the Balkans suggests that the Cuman hordes living near the Danube Delta were not sufficiently strong to organize raids on their own.

Shortly after their return from the campaign into the Byzantine lands, in 1091 or 1092, the Cumans led by Kopulch launched another raid into Transylvania and Hungary, most likely crossing the Carpathian Mountains from southern Moldavia. From the central Transylvania, the Cumans then moved to Bihor and then as far as the Tisza, the Timiş and the Danube rivers. They split into three groups, each now loaded with captured goods and prisoners. The marauders were attacked and defeated by King Ladislas (László) the Saint (1077–1095), who then accused the Rus' of having instigated the Cumans and subsequently organized an expedition of reprisals into Galicia.[286] After many years of war incursions into the Byzantine Empire and Hungary, during which the Cumans crossed southern Moldavia several times, the targets of their main attacks shifted again to the Rus' regions of the Middle Dnieper. The incusions against Rus' resumed in 1092, when the nomads also attacked Poland, most likely as a consequence of a particularly harsh drought in the steppe lands.[287]

Though fully involved in fighting in southern Rus', the Cumans answered in 1094 or 1095 to a request for military assistance from an alleged son of Romanus IV Diogenes, and invaded the Balkans. The fact that the pretender contacted the Turanians in Chersonesus[288] and

[284] Ibidem, p. 136 (where they are called Togorták and Maniák).

[285] Vasilievskii, "Византия и печенеги," pp. 76–77; Pletneva, "Половецкая земля" (see above, n. 269), pp. 272–274.

[286] *Chronici Hungarici* (see above, n. 273), pp. 412–414; *CPict*, pp. 75–76, 197–198; *Chronicon Monacense*, p. 78; Johannes de Thurocz, I, pp. 116–117. See also P. Golubovskii, *Половцы въ Венгріи* (Kiev, 1889), pp. 3–4.

[287] *PVL*, I, p. 141.

[288] Anne Comnène, II, p. 191.

that one of their commanders was Togorták (Tugorkan)[289] strongly suggests that the Cumans who invaded the Balkans belonged to a group controlling the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. The invasion went well and the Cumans (Polovtsy) do not seem to have had any problem conquering Paristrion, as least in part because of Emperor Alexius lack of popularity during the first years of his reign. That much results from the fact that the local Vlachs led the Cumans through the passes of the Balkan Mountains, while stome strongholds even opened their gates for them.[290] That the Balkan Vlachs were hostile to the imperial authorities was also noted, as we have seen, by Michael the Syrian, and may explain subsequent developments throughout the twelfth century, up to their uprising led by the Asenid brothers. The Vlach hostility towards the Byzantines was also noted by Kekaumenos[291] and of Benjamin of Tudela.[292]

The Cumans advanced up to Anchialos and Adrianople, but they could not manage to conquer them.[293] The capture of the pretender to the throne produced confusion in his camp, so the imperial troops defeated the Cumans and drove them away.[294] They would not dare to trespass the frontiers of Byzantium again for two decades. Nevertheless, the threat of Cuman invasions did not disappear. Following the passage of the crusaders throught the Empire, the Danube line was kept under control by the Byzantines. Anna Comnena relates that, in order to temper "the barbarians" who were fussing at the borders, the emperor offered them prestige titles and gifts. Since, in a previous sentence, that author had referred to the unrest of Cumans and Hungarians,[295] it is

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[289] Ibidem, p. 198.

[290] Ibidem, p. 194. The dating of this expedition to 1094, which was advanced, among others by Diaconu (*Coumans*, pp. 48–50), was rejected by P. Gautier, "La synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique," *Revue des études byzantines* 29 (1971), pp. 280–284, and Gh. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, "Din nou despre atacul cumanilor din anul 1095 şi încetarea locuirii de la Păcuiul lui Soare," in *Simposion de numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima Unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Chişinău, 28–30 mai 2000*, gen. ed. E. Nicolae (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 109–120.

[291] Cecaumeni *Consilia* (see above, n. 103), pp. 254–265 and 270–271.

[292] Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary*, ed. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 11; idem (Benjamin de Tudela), *Itinerario*, ed. L. Riber, *Boletin de la Real Academia Española* 35 (1956), pp. 406–407; idem (Benjamin von Tudela), *Buch der Reisen (Sefär ha-massa'ot)*, I, *Text*, trans. R. P. Schmitz (Frankfurt am Main–Bern–New York–Paris, 1988), p. 10.

[293] *Vita Meletii/Житие Мелетиу*, in *FHB*, XXII (*Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*, X), eds. M. Voinov, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, L. Ionchev (Sofia, 1980), pp. 97–98; Anne Comnène, II, pp. 195–201.

[294] Anne Comnène, II, pp. 202–204.

[295] Ibidem, III, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), pp. 160–161.

very probable that they were "the barbarians" in question. This could also explain, at least in part, the good relations the nomads subsequently maintained with the Empire. In order to ensure the security at the Danube frontier, the Byzantine emperor recruited Cuman mercenaries. Cuman, as well as Pecheneg auxiliary troops were attested near the Danube on the occasion of the crusaders' passing through the western region of the 1096 and 1097.[296] Some Western sources also mention the Uzes (*Usi*,[297] *Husi*)[298] among those auxiliary troops.

Twelfth Century

The Cumans appear also in a number of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century political developments in the lands his headquarters in north of the Lower Danube. In 1097 a nomadic army, led by Boniak and Altunopa, is recorded as helping the princes in south-western Rus'

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[296] *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, III (Paris, 1866), pp. 19 (Petri Tudebodi seu Tudebovis *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*), 178 (Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus, *Historia Peregrinorum)*, 236 (Raimundi de Aguilers *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*); IV (Paris, 1879), pp. 279, 417, 579 and 651 (Alberti Aquensis *Historia Hierosolymitana*); Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, eds. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977), p. 44; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le "Liber,"* eds. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 38; Willermo Tyrensi archiepiscopo, *Historia rerum in partibus Transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad annum Domini MCLXXXIV*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, ed. I. Bongarsius (Hanoviae, 1611), p. 663. Some chronicles mention only "Turcopoli" and Pechenegs among those who harassed the crusaders. See *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, in *Gesta Dei*, I, p. 2; *Historia Iherosolimitana* Baldrico episcopo Dolensi, in *Gesta Dei*, I, p. 91; *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), pp. 142 and 162; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum/The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. R. Hill (London–Edinburgh–Paris–Melbourne–Toronto–New York, 1962), pp. 6 and 9; Orderici Vitalis *Historiae ecclesiasticae libri XIII*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, *Patrologiae latinae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, CLXXXVIII (Paris, 1890), col. 661; Gombos, II, p. 1450 (Leo Marsicanus et continuator eius Petrus Diaconus); Robertus Monachus, *Historia Hierosolimitana*, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, I, ed. S. de Sandoli (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 204; Metellus von Tegernsee, *Expeditio Ierosolimitana*, ed. P. C. Jacobsen (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 11 and 13. Others blamed Alans, Bulgarians, and Pechenegs for attacks on the crusaders. See *Historia Hieroso[li]mitana* auctoris incerti, in *Gesta Dei*, I, p. 1159.

On the chronology of the crusaders' movements through the Byzantine territories in the Balkans, see H. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la première Croisade (1094–1100)," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 6 (1898), pp. 241–284; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon, I (Paris, 1969), pp. 186–201; P. Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London–New York, 2006), pp. 20–22.

[297] Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 1977, p. 44.

[298] Raymond d'Aquilers, *Le "Liber,"* p. 38.

against the Hungarian king Coloman (1095–1116), the call for help coming from great prince Sviatopolk II (1093–1113). The Cuman attack caused the total destruction of the Hungarian army, whose remnants retreated through passes of the northern Carpathians.[299] A few years later, in 1106, a Cuman incursion into Volhynia was repelled by Sviatopolk II, with the Turanians subsequently seeking refuge at the Danube frontier.[300] This particular detail noted in the Russian chronicles shows that the nomadic group that had launched the raid lived in the vicinity of the river. The Cumans who invaded the Empire in 1114 came from the neighboring territories, namely from the western region of the Romanian Plain. At least this is the conclusion to which leads Anna Comnena's remark that Emperor Alexius first moved against in the region of Vidin. As the nomads' forces were reduced, they did not dare engage in fights with the Byzantine armies; instead they immediately crossed the Danube to its left bank, where they were pursued for three days and three nights. The military developments of 1114 suggest that a tight Byzantine control over the Danube region. Before crossing the river, the Byzantines had been warned about the intentions of the Cumans, so that Alexius had enough time to establish Philippopolis (present-day Plovdiv), and to place troops at different strategic points in the northern Balkans.[301]

During the second part of Alexius I's reign, the Empire resurfaced as the main political force in the region close to the steppe lands north of the Lower Danube and the Black Sea, even though the Byzantine possessions in the Balkans and in Crimea were now threatened by the Rus' princes, Hungary, and the Cumans. In response to this new political configuration, Emperor Alexius offered in 1104 a matrimonial alliance to Prince Volodar of Premysl, who was at the time an ally of the Cumans, but an enemy of both Hungary and Kiev. In response, the Kievan prince established dynastic ties with Hungary.[302] The end result of such diplomatic moves was that the Empire now strove to remain on good terms with the Cumans, while hostile to Kievan Rus' princes.

Russian sources mention a temporary conquest, in 1116, of a few towns on the Danube by the armies of prince Vladimir II Monomakh

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[299] *PVL*, I, p. 179; *CPict*, pp. 79–80 and 201–202.

[300] *NPL*, pp. 19 and 203; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 20; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летописью*, in *PSRL*, XV (1863), col. 189.

[301] Anne Comnène, III, pp. 177–178 and 182–183.

[302] *PVL*, I, p. 185.

(1113–1125), but also his failure to conquer Dristra.[303] Some have rightly raised doubts about the trustworthiness of that information, not only because of a possible confusion with other events (Cumans' expedition of 1094/1095), but also because neither Anna Comnena, nor any other Byzantine source mentioned a Byzantine-Rus' military confrontation on the Lower Danube.[304] Nevertheless, when taking into account other pieces of information from the chronicles, it seems safe to conclude that Vladimir II Monomakh was genuinely interested in the Danube area.[305] Considering the 1097 testimony of prince Vasilko Rostislavich,[306] it seems that Sviatoslav's old dream to extend his rule south of the Danube had not been completely forgotten.

In any case, Kievan dreams of expansion into regions at the mouths of the Danube were thwarted by the nomads who controlled the steppe lands north of that river and of the Black Sea. Nevertheless, there is now archaeological evidence from the Byzantine towns in Dobrudja of twelfth- and thirteenth-century goods produced in Rus'.[307] This evidence suggests a commercial expansion of Rus' to the Lower Danube, which is a much more likely possibility than a military occupation.

The peace established in the Lower Danube area by the Comnenian rulers was disturbed again in 1122–1123, when a "Scythian" army of nomads from the steppes north of the Black Sea invaded the Balkans.[308]

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[303] *PVL*, I, p. 201; *Ip.let.*, pp. 7–8; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 24; *Hust.let.*, p. 291. See also *Nik.let.*, I, p. 150 (where the events are dated to 6625 = 1117).

[304] Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier*, pp. 152 and 267–268; M. Mathieu, "Les faux Diogènes," *Byzantion* 22 (1952), pp. 145–146; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 59–61; A. I. Gonţa, *Relaţiile românilor cu slavii de răsărit pînă la 1812* (Chişinău, 1993), pp. 61–63.

[305] G. G. Litavrin, "Русь и Византия в XII веке," *Вопросы истории* (1972), no. 7, pp. 43–44; A. A. Gorskii, "Русско-византийске отношения при Владимире Мономахе и русское летописание," *Исторические записки* 115 (1987), pp. 308–328.

[306] *PVL*, I, p. 176.

[307] I. Barnea, "Byzance, Kiev et l'Orient sur le Bas-Danube du X^{e} au XII^{e} siècle," in *Nouvelles études d'histoire* (Bucharest, 1955), pp. 173–177; Gh. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, "Noi descoperiri arheologice la Isaccea," *SCIVA* 38 (1987), no. 3, pp. 285–292; V. B. Perkhavko, *Связи Древней Руси со славянскими странами* (История, 4) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 32–34; idem, "Russia's trade with Byzantium's Danubian provinces in the eleventh-twelfth centuries," in *Acts XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Selected Papers: Main and Communications, Moscow, 1991*, II, eds. I. Ševčenko and G. G. Litavrin, corresponding ed. W. K. Hanak (Shepherdstown, WV, 1996), pp. 13–18.

[308] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), pp. 7–8; Choniates (see above, n. 261), pp. 19–23; *Rhetoris anonymi Oratio ad Ioannem Comnenum imperatorem*, in *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum*, 2, ed. W. Regel (Petropoli, 1917), p. 334; Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis *Opuscula*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), p. 44 (VII. *Ad Isaacium Angelum imperator.post Scythas fugatos allocutio Philippopoli*); *FHDR*, IV, pp. 62–63 (*Typica*), 70–71 (Theodoros Prodromos); Michel le

Niketas Choniates normally used the name "Scythians" in reference to the Pechenegs,[309] but Michael the Syrian maintains that the invaders were Cumans.[310] There may have been some connection between the above-mentioned incursion into the Empire and Vladimir Monomakh's action of driving the Berendei away from Rus', followed by the Torki (= Uzes) and the Pechenegs (*Прозна Володимеръ Береньдичи изъ Руси, а Торци и Печенези сами бежаша*) in 1121.[311] Since the Cumans had driven the Uzes and the Pechenegs away from the lands along the Don,[312] it is difficult to believe that those tribes also sought refuge in Desht-i Qipchaq (= the Cumans' Steppe).

The Berendei first moved to Hungary, and then, in 1139, returned to Rus'.[313] As for the Pechenegs and the Uzes, they probably turned towards the Balkan Peninsula, crossing the Danube together with their families on their carts. It is not impossible that Cuman groups on the Lower Danube joined them. In any case, from Byzantine sources one can infer that several tribes with their own chieftains took part in the expedition of 1122–1123. The Pechenegs must have had the leading role in the campaign, because after the victory of Emperor John II Comnenus over the invaders, a celebration was instituted in Constantinople of the so-called "festival of the Pechenegs" (Πατζινάκων τελετή).[314] After this last outbreak, the Pechenegs never created any problems for Byzantium, and were only rarely mentioned in sources pertaining to the Balkans. In fact, they only reappear in reports of the Second and

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Syrien (see above, n. 250), pp. 206–207. See also M. V. Bibikov, "Источниковедческие проблемы изучения истории кочевников в Нижнем Подунавье в XII веке," *RRH* 19 (1980), no. 1, pp. 47–52; idem, "Сведение Ипатьевской летописи о печенегах и торках в свете данных византийских источников XII в.," in *Летописи и хроники 1980 г.* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 55–68; A. G. K. Savvides, "Η τελευταὶα Πατζινακιτή ἐπιδομή στό Βυζάντιο (1122/23)", *Παρνασσός* 27 (1985), no. 3, pp. 493–503.

[309] Choniates, pp. 20–23.

[310] Michel le Syrien, p. 206. On this problem, see also I. Ferenţ, *Cumanii şi episcopiile lor* (Blaj, [1931]), pp. 36–37; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 66–71; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (see above, n. 197), p. 106.

[311] *Ip.let.*, p. 8. See also *Let.Voskr.*, p. 25; *Hust.let.*, p. 292; *Холмогорская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 33, ed. K. N. Serbin (Leningrad, 1977), p. 42. In *Продолженіе Лаврентіевской летописи*, in *PSRL*, I, p. 128, mention is made only of Torki and Berendei running away from Rus' in 6628 (= 1120).

[312] *Ip.let.*, p. 8.

[313] Ibidem, pp. 14–15.

[314] Choniates, p. 23. See also Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis *Opuscula*, p. 44.

Third Crusades. In 1147[315] and, again, in 1189,[316] the crusaders crossing the Balkans are said to have been harassed by Pechenegs and Cumans, who were either in Byzantine service or allies of the Asenids.[317] In the south Russian steppes, the Pechenegs disappear from the historical record after 1169.[318]

For twenty-five years, no invasion of Turanian horsemen has troubled the Balkan provinces of Byzantium, an indication that John II Comnenus (1118–1143) had been just as concerned as his father and predecessor, Alexius I, with the protection of the northern frontier of the Empire. It is difficult to decide whether the Cumans were kept at bay by the military garrisons of Paristrion or the gold paid to them as gifts. In any case, Moldavia ceased to be the launching pad for raids into the Balkan provinces of the Empire. Maintaing peace with the Cumans seems to have been a high priority for the Byzantines, given that the imperial armies were already engaged in struggles against the Seljuq Turks, the Normans of southern Italy, the Hungarians, and other enemies. Twice during the wars with Hungary, in 1128 and 1156, the imperial fleet sailed along the Danube for joint actions with the land forces.[319]

At the same time, the campaigns, which Vladimir II Monomakh led against the nomads in the steppes created great problems for the Cumans,[320] and effectively prevented them from raiding other territories. It is possible that Vladimir II's offensive convinced the horde led by Atrak (Otrok), Sharukan's son, to accept the invitation of King Davit II Ağmashenebeli (the Builder) (1089–1125) to settle in northern Georgia,

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[315] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 52–53; idem (Eudes de Deuil), *La Croisade de Louis VII, roi de France*, ed. H. Waquert (Paris, 1949), pp. 40–41.

[316] *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H. E. Mayer, in *MGH,SS*, 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 21.

[317] K. Schünemann, "Ungarische Hilfsvölker in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 4 (1924), no. 1, pp. 104–105; Spinei, *Great Migrations*, I, pp. 209–213; II, pp. 388–390 and 405–406.

[318] *Ip.let.*, p. 96.

[319] Choniates (see above, n. 261), p. 24; Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome*, p. 133.

[320] *Ip.let.*, p. 4–8; *Nik.let.*, I, pp. 138–141 and 151. See also S. A. Pletneva, "Донские половцы," in *"Слово о полку Игореве" и его время*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1985), pp. 257–262; eadem, *Половцы* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 53–68; I. B. Mikhailova, "Древняя Русь и Степь," in *Россия и степной мир Евразии*, ed. Iu. V. Krivosheev (St. Petersburg, 2006), pp. 103–107.

and to become his mercenaries.[321] It was only after the Kievan great prince's death that the nomadic Turks became aggressive again, and they began to interfere in the conflicts between different Rus' princes. A Cuman invasion of Poland is also mentioned in 1135.[322]

Under Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) the Byzantine presence was felt outside the Empire's frontiers. The emperor's unreasonable ambitions, which centred upon his idea of dominating the seas, implied an exhausting involvement of the imperial armies on various battlefields. Though the still rich Byzantium and its dynamic ruler could not avoid some failures, there were favourable results in the Balkans. After Manuel's ascent to the throne his relationships with the Cumans deteriorated; the latter crossed the Danube in 1148 and took to plunder. The Turanians did not have enough forces to fight directly against Manuel's armies, so they went back across the river, and were pursued up to *Tenu Ormon*,[323] which must have been somewhere in the Lower Danube plain. Numerous hypotheses have been proposed for its exact location.[324] The similarity between *Tenu Ormon* and the Romanian place name *Teleorman*, a Turkic loan meaning "crazy forest," has been taken as a decisive argument. However, a new interpretation of the account of those events in the chronicle of John Kinnamos, proposes the reading of *τὸ ὄρος* (= mountain, height), the noun associated with the place

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[321] *Life of David, King of Kings*, in *The Georgian Chronicle. The Period of Giorgi Lasha*, ed. S. Qaukhchishvili, trans. K. Vivian (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 19–20, 26, and 28; *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX siècle*, trans. [M.-F.] Brosset, I, *Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.-C.* (St. Petersburg, 1849), pp. 362–363 and 368–370 (Wakhtang). See also P. B. Golden, "The Turkic people and Caucasia," in *Transcaucasia. Nationalism and Social Change. Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, ed. R. G. Suny (Ann Arbor, 1983), p. 59; idem, "Cumanica I: the Qipčaqs in Georgia," *AEMA* 4 (1984), pp. 57–64; idem, "Nomads in the sedentary world: the case of pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia," in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*, eds. A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink (Richmond, Surrey, 2001), pp. 46–51; A. N. Karsanov, "Об одном известии Ипатьевской летописи" in *Аланы: история и культура*, III (Vladikavkaz, 1995), pp. 399–400.

[322] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), pp. 832 (*Rocznik Traski*) and 875 (*Rocznik Sedziwoja*). See also D. Rassovsky, "Половцы, IV, Военная исторія половцевъ," *SK* 11 (1940), p. 120.

[323] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome* (see above, n. 308), pp. 93–94. See also Choniates, pp. 103–104.

[324] For a survey of the relevant literature, see Barnea, "Stăpînirea bizantină" (see above, n. 241), pp. 158–160. For the battles of 1148, see P. Ş. Năsturel, "Valaques, Coumans et Byzantins sous le règne de Manuel Comnène," *Byzantina* 1 (1969), pp. 169–176; M. V. Bibikov, "Византийские хроники и локализация половецко-византийской войны 1148 г.," in *Летописи и хроники 1976 г.* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 17–22; P. Diaconu, "À propos de l'invasion cumane de 1148," in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, I, eds. E. Stănescu and N. Ş. Tanaşoca (Bucharest, 1979), pp. 19–27.

name *Tenu Ormon* (*ἐπι ὅρος τένου ὅρμον*) as *ὁ ὅρος* (= edge, territory),[325] which makes much more sense. In his account of the fighting between the Byzantines and the Cumans, John Kinnamos mentions a "barbarian" chieftain, named Lazarus,[326] an obviously Christian name. Lazarus may have been a Romanian ruler allied with the nomads.[327]

The involvement of the Byzantine in the disputes over the north-western parts of the Balkan Peninsula was the opportunity the Cumans used to return to the Empire in 1150, when they sacked the fortresses on the Danube and defeated the troops sent against them.[328] Manuel I's response consisted not just in bringing troops to the Lower Danube, but also in sending a Byzantine army, which landed on the shore of the Sea of Azov 1152 or 1153. The expeditionary corps was meant to strike the Cuman settlements by surprise.[329] All we know about military action undertaken by the emperor comes from a panegyric written by Michael Rhetor, a Byzantine churchman.[330] The result of the expedition is not known, which suggests that it was not very successful.

Another invasion of the Cumans occurred in the subsequent years.[331] Since they immediately withdrew north of the Danube when Manuel I moved against them, one can infer that the military capacity of the nomads was rather weak. However, the Cuman forces do not appear diminished, given that the emperor led his armies in battle agains them

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[325] P. Ş. Năsturel, "À propos du Tenou Ormon (Teleorman) de Kinnamos," in *Geographica Byzantina*, ed. H. Ahrweiler (Paris, 1981), pp. 81–91.

[326] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome*, p. 95.

[327] Iorga, *Histoire*, III, p. 70; Năsturel, "Valaques," p. 175; idem, "Axiopolis sous les Comnènes. Une relecture de Kinnamos (III 3)," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, eds. I. Cândea, V. Sîrbu, M. Neagu (Brăila, 2004), pp. 531–532; Şt. Ştefănescu, *Ţara Românească de la Basarab I "Întemeietorul" pînă la Mihai Viteazul* (Bucharest, 1970), p. 18.

[328] Choniates, pp. 123–124.

[329] A. P. Kazhdan, in *История Византии*, co-ord. S. D. Skazkin, 2, ed. A. P. Kazhdan (Moscow, 1967), pp. 323 and 455 with n. 27; idem, "Some little-known or misinterpreted evidence about Kievan Rus' in twelfth-century Greek sources," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) (= *Okeanos. Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, eds. C. Mango and O. Pritsak), pp. 344–358; M. V. Bibikov, "Древняя Русь и Византия в свете новых и малоизвестных византийских источников," in *VEDS*, p. 299.

[330] Michaelis Rhetoris *Oratio ad Manuelem imperatorem*, in *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum*, 1–2, *Rhetorum saeculi XII. Orationes politicae*, ed. W. Regel (Petropoli, 1917; reprint Leipzig, 1982), p. 152.

[331] Ioannia Cinnami *Epitome* (see above, n. 308), pp. 201–202. The dating of this invasion is disputed, with some placing it in 1156 or 1157 (*FHDR*, III, p. 237), other in 1157 or 1158 (Ferenţ, *Cumanii* [see above, n. 310], p. 43), and others 1159 (Diaconu, *Coumans*, p. 90) or 1161 (F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* [Paris, 1912], p. 474).

in 1048. The fact that Byzantium was confronted with three raids within a single decade indicates the growing power of the Cumans north of the Danube. In referring to the neighbours of the Hungarian Kingdom in the middle of the eleventh century, bishop Otto of Freising shows that to the north and the east (in fact south-east), Hungary was bounded by the large country of the Pechenegs and the Cumans, which was rich in game, but without agriculture (*unter aquilonem et item orientem Pecenatorum et Falonum maximam venationum copiam habente, sed vomere ac rastro pene experte campania*).[332] Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether the bishop, when mentioning the Pechenegs, had in mind an earlier or a contemporary situation. The existence of some Pecheneg groups under the Cuman domination in the Bugeac and the Romanian Plain is quite possible. After the third raid, the Cumans did not cross the Danube any more, which suggests that some settlement may have been reached between Manuel I and the nomads.

The positive course of those relationships can be deduced from an anonymous chronicle written in a monastery of Cologne. The chronicle refers to events that occurred in the year 1161. According to that source, at that moment the "king of Greece," that is Manuel I Comnenus, warned the "kings of Turkey, Babylon, Persia and Cumania" against Frederick I Barbarossa's upcoming attack against them: *Scripsit etiam idem rex Greciae regibus Turchiae Babiloniae, Persidis et Comaniae, nuncians illis, quod Romanus imperator terram suam et illorum occupare intendat.*[333] It is, of course, highly unlikely that Frederick, who was at the time involved in military expeditions in Lombardy, would have taken any such military undertaking.[334] However, Manuel's message to the rulers of the East and Desht-i Qipchaq may have been designed to energise them with a view to a foreseeable future conflict with Frederick I.

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[332] Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 192.

[333] *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, ed. K. Pertz, in *MGH, SS*, XVII, ed. G. H. Pertz (1861), p. 774; *Chronica regia Coloniensis (Annales maximi Colonienses) cum cotinuationibus in monasterio S. Pantaleonis scriptis aliisque historiae Coloniensis monumentis*, ed. G. Waitz (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recusi* [18]) (Hannoverae, 1880), p. 108.

[334] *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, pp. 773–777; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, pp. 107–111. See also W. Ohnsorge, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Manuels I. von Byzanz," in idem, *Abendland und Byzanz. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziechungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt, 1979), p. 387 ff.; K. P. Todt, "Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa und Byzanz," *Hellenika. Jahrbuch für die Freunde Griechenlands* (1993), pp. 143–144.

In the mid-twelfth century the outer-Carpathian area was troubled not only by Cuman horsemen, but also by plots of pretenders to the Galician and Byzantine thrones, as well as by Manuel I Comnenus' campaign across the Danube. Ivan Rostislavich, who coveted the power in Galicia, and Andronicus Comnenus, who plotted to gain the imperial crown, sought temporary refuge in the region to the east of the Carpathian Mountains. As if descending from the world of Shakespearian dramas, the two characters of princely extraction, driven by fate into the Romanian lands, were in many respects similar, in ambition, spirit of adventure, and tenacity doubled with inconstancy.

Ivan Rostislavich, nicknamed "the Berladnik," first appeared on the Danube in 1144, after an unsuccessful attempt to seize power in Galicia.[335] Hoping to obtain assistance from Kiev, which had been in conflict with the Galician principality, he went first to Kiev, and then wandered around other princely courts, getting involved in the conflicts that afflicted Rus' after the death of Vladimir II Monomakh. In 1159, he came to the region north of the Lower Danube, where he began preparing an expedition designed to remove Iaroslav Osmomysli (1153–1187) from power. Before the beginning of the expedition, Ivan, together with his Cuman allies, is said to have looted two boats belonging to Galician fishermen on the Danube. Ivan's army consisted of 6,000 Berladniks and "many Cumans" from southern Moldavia. They made for Kuchelmin and Ushitsa, both towns on the southern frontier of Galicia. Ivan's troops were not strong enough to remove the prince, so that following the first encounters, they disbanded and Ivan fled to Kiev.[336]

The Berladniks did not return to Moldavia either, since in 1160 they are mentioned near the estuary of the Dnieper River as attacking Oleshia,[337] a locality recently identified with the twelfth- and thirteenth-century settlement on the Velikopotemkinski Isle in the Dnieper estuary.[338] Ivan Rostislavich's wanderings ended in Thessalonike, where he

[335] *Ip.let.*, p. 20.

[336] *Ip.let.*, pp. 83–84; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 68; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), p. 64.

[337] *Ip.let.*, p. 86; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 71; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV, p. 67.

[338] A. L. Sokulskii, "К локализации летописного Олешья," *SA* (1980), no. 1, pp. 64–73.

had fled in 1162. He was killed by the Byzantines,[339] which may be interpreted as a Byzantine attempt to please the powerful Galician ruler at a moment of strenuous Byzantine-Hungarian relations.

Two years later, however, when he had the opportunity to respond in kind, Iaroslav Osmomysli, who hesitated politically between Byzantium and Hungary, took a different attitude. Andronicus Comnenus, Emperor Manuel's cousin and political rival, had escaped from prison and fled to Halych. Before crossing into Galicia, Andronicus was caught by Romanians from Moldavia. He managed to escape again and reached Galicia, where he was well received.[340] Niketas Choniates' account of Andronicus' adventures contains one of the earliest mentions of Romanians north of the Danube.[341] The fact that the Romanians acted in Manuel I's interest suggests that the Empire had a strong political influence beyond its Danube frontier. In fact, Manuel's expeditions to the lands north of the Lower Danube aimed not only to discourage enemies endangering Byzantine interests in the area, but also to extend the Byzantine political control beyond the Danube.

Among Manuel I's great campaigns, there is one which he undertook in 1166 through the Romanian Plain against Hungary. During the ample display of forces on the Danube, with some simulated attacks and manoeuvres designed to divert the attention of the enemy, an important role was played by Leo Vatatzes' army, which contained a large number of Vlachs. John Kinnamos notes that those were probably descendents from Roman colonists from Italy,[342] a remark which may go back to information he may have obtained from Vlachs themselves, who were proud and obviously aware of their Roman origin.[343] According to the emperor's order, Vatatzes and his troops moved against Hungary from the Black Sea shore, perhaps crossing the Danube in northern Dobrudja in order to approach the Carpathian Mountains in the region of their bend. The recruiting of Vlachs must therefore have been a measure

[339] *Ip.let.*, p. 91; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 75; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV, p. 71.

[340] Choniates (see above, n. 261), pp. 168–172. See also Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome* (see above, n. 308), p. 234; *Ip.let.*, p. 93; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 78; *Hust.let.*, p. 308.

[341] Choniates, p. 171.

[342] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome* p. 260.

[343] Armbruster, *La romanité*, pp. 29–30. See also I. Cândea, *Brăila. Origini şi evoluţie până la jumătatea secolului al XVI-lea* (Brăila, 1995), pp. 68–70; V. V. Muntean, "Les relations byzantino-roumaines au Moyen-Age. Nouvelles précisions," in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, IV (see above, n. 228), pp. 170–171.

designed to secure a safe access of the Byzantine troops through a region inhabited by Romanians.[344]

In targeting Transylvania, the Byzantine expedition may have aimed at something more than just weakening the military forces of the Hungarian Kingdom. The twelfth-century Hungarian coins found in Wallachia and Oltenia[345] point to the existence of trade relations with Hungary, a situation that does not exclude the possibility of Arpadian kings intending to expand militarily across the Carpathian Mountains. As a hypothesis—that requires verification—I suggest that the imperial armies moving through the Romaniann may have been an attempt to thwart any possibility of Hungary's entering the outer-Carpathian Romanian lands. Any action against the Hungarians through the Lower Danube plain was also a move to neutralise the Cumans, who could otherwise spoil the Byzantine military intervention. The Byzantine diplomacy had taken that element into account. The information according to which Cuman detachments fought as mercenaries in the Byzantine armies,[346] as well as the fact that for many years the Turkic invasions in the Balkans had been interrupted are proofs in that respect. Furthermore, Manuel I envisaged reconcililiation with his cousin Andronicus, who was endeavouring to persuade the Cumans to join him for a combined invasion of the Empire.[347] At the same time, the Byzantine messengers sent Galicia succeeded in securing the alliance with Iaroslav Osmomysli, who thus abandoned his previously pro-Hungarian policies.[348]

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[344] G. G. Litavrin, "Влахи византийских источников X–XIII вв.," in *IVESV*, p. 102. On Byzantine-Hungarian relations in 1166, see also R. Browning, "A new source on Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the twelfth century," *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961), pp. 173–214 (reprint in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* [Variorum Reprints] [London, 1977], no. IV, pp. 173–214); Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095–1196). Hungarian Domestic Policies and Their Impact upon Foreign Affairs* (Boulder–New York, 1987), p. 180 ff.; P. Stephenson, "Manuel I Comnenus, the Hungarian crown and the 'feudal subjection' of Hungary, 1162–1167," *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), no. 1, pp. 55–59; idem, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (see above, n. 197), pp. 259–261; F. Makk, *A tizenkettedik század története* ([Budapest,] 2000), pp. 146–150; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 316–317.

[345] B. Mitrea, "Oboli ungureşti din prima jumătate a secolului al XII-lea descoperiți în Muntenia," *SCN* 4 (1968), pp. 409–412; D. Ciobotea, "Circulația monetară în Oltenia în preajma constituirii statului feudal independent Țara Românească (sec. X–XIV)," *Arhivele Olteniei*, SN, 2 (1983), pp. 80–82.

[346] Choniates, p. 230.

[347] Ibidem, pp. 172–173.

[348] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome*, pp. 235–236. On the Byzantine-Galician relations during the reign of Manuel' I, see G. Vernadskij, "Relations byzantino-russes au

The Hungarian kings relied heavily on auxiliary troops recruited from among the populations within and outside the kingdom. The employment of Romanian auxiliaries is not attested before the early thirteenth century. During the twelfth century, the Romanians in Transylvania were either not interested to fight side by side with Hungarians, or they were considered untrustworthy because of living within a region in which the Hungarian kings had not yet brought fully under their control. Instead the twelfth-century Hungarian kings employed mercenaries recruited from among pagans or Muslim populations of eastern Europe.[349] On their way to Hungary those mercenaries probably passed through the outer-Carpathian Romanian lands, or through the Verecke pass in the north. An Arab traveller and missionary, Abu Hamid Al-Garnati (born in Andalusia), who lived in Hungary (*Bāšgird*) between 1150 and 1153, mentions military units under the Hungarian king's command, which were made up of Khwarazmians and "Magribians" (Pechenegs). Al-Garnati also mentions that Hungary had no less than 78 cities, as well as gold and silver mines.[350] The mines, as well as some of the cities, must have been those of Transylvania.

XII[e] siècle," *Byzantion* 4 (1927–1928), pp. 269–276; Levchenko, *Очерки* (see above, n. 160), pp. 479–496; E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XII[e] siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *Byzantinoslavica* 20 (1959), no. 1, pp. 50–62; O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweite Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzantinistische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin, 1964), pp. 333–357; idem, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 63–70; G. G. Litavrin, A. P. Kazhdan, Z. V. Udaltsova, "Отношения Древней Руси и Византий в XI-первой половине XIII в.," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1966) (offprint), pp. 10–12; Litavrin, "Русь и Византия" (see above, n. 305), pp. 46–48; N.-M. P. Murgulia, "The Byzantine Empire and centripetal tendencies in Rus in the 12th century," in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes—septembre 1976*, IV, *Histoire, Communications* (Athens, 1980), pp. 259–267; O. Ioannisian, "Об одном эпизоде византийско-венгеро-галицких отношений во второй половине XII в.," in *Галицько-Волинська держава: передумови виникнення, історія, культура, традиції*, eds. Iu. Babik, V. Ivanovs'kii, Z. Matchak (L'viv, 1993), pp. 68–70; M. V. Bibikov, *Byzantinorossica. Свод византийских свидетельств о Руси*, I (Moscow, 2004), pp. 97–105.

[349] S. Balić, "Der Islam im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Südost-Forschungen* 23 (1964), pp. 19–35; C. A. Macartney, "The eastern auxiliaries of the Magyars," in idem, *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History* (see above, n. 99), pp. 55–64; Gy. Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei* (see above, n. 99), *passim*; Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker* (see above, n. 98), pp. 23–139; G. Hatházi, "Az Árpád-kori magyar hadszervezet nomád elemeinek kérdéséhez. A besenyők," *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 103 (1990), no. 2, pp. 22–60.

[350] Abu Hamid el Granadino, *Relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, ed. C. E. Dubler (Madrid, 1953), pp. 65–66; *Путешествие* Абу Хамида ал-Гарнати *в Восточную и*

As for twelfth-century Moldavia, some historians believe it to have been under Galician control.[351] That opinion is primarily based on the so-called "Bârlad diploma," a charter allegedly issued by Ivanko Rostislavich in 1134 and claiming that the Galician prince's rule extended as far south as Bârlad, Tecuci and "Malyi Galich," which has been identified as the present-day city of Galaţi. However, the diploma has been convicingly shown to be a forgery more than a century ago,[352] although some still continue to believe in its authenticity.[353]

Another argument in favour of the idea of a Galician rule over Moldavia is a line from the poem *The Lay of Igor's Campaign* referring to Iaroslav Osmomysli: "O Iaroslav of Halich [Galicia],/the prince of

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Централную Европу (1131–1153 гг.), eds. O. G. Bolshakov, A. L. Mongait (Moscow, 1971), pp. 38, 39, and 54.

[351] Roesler, *Romänische Studien* (see above, n. 96), pp. 323–326; M. Arkas, *Історія України-Русі*, ed. V. G. Sarbei (Odessa, 1994), p. 110; V. V. Mavrodin, "Русские на Дунае," *Ленинградский Государственный Университет, Ученые записки*, 87, *Серия гуманитарных наук*, Saratov (1943), pp. 9–10; idem, *Образование* (see above, n. 147), pp. 90–91; K. G. Guslistyi, "Период феодальной раздробленности Руси (XII–XIV вв.)," in *История Украинской ССР*, I, eds. A. K. Kasimenko (co-ord.), V. A. Diadichenko, F. E. Los', F. P. Shevchenko, F. A. Iastrebov (Kiev, 1953), pp. 98–99; E. Frances, "Slavii pe pământul patriei noastre în veacul al XII-lea," *RIs* 8 (1955), no. 3, p. 65 ff.; A. Žukovs'kij, "Історія Буковини," in *Буковина її минуле и сучасне*, eds. D. Klitkovs'kij, T. Brindzan, A. Žukovs'kij (Paris–Philadelphia–Detroit, 1956), pp. 103–113; Levchenko, *Очерки.*, pp. 437–439; P. Gritsak, *Галицько-Волинська держава* (New York, 1958), pp. 40–44; C. Cihodaru, "Teritoriul Moldovei sub dominaţia cnejilor ruşi," in *Ist.Rom.*, II, pp. 204–205; N. Chubaty, "The medieval history of Ukraine: the princely era," in *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. V. Kubijovyč, I (Toronto, 1963), p. 605; A. Belopol'skii [Bielopole], *СССР на фоне прошлого России. Очерк русской истории в новом освещении* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 27 and 30–31 (map); W. A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk, 1979), pp. 41 and 45; J. Z. Horodysky, *Byzantium and Rus' Relations During the Reign of the Comneni Dynasty*, A thesis submitted to the Graduate School (New Brunswick–New Jersey, 1982), pp. 263–265; P. R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1983), pp. 51–52. G. Stöckl, "Das Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynien," in *HGR*, I, 1, p. 498 adopts a hesitating attitude in this problem.

[352] I. Bogdan, "Diploma bârlădeană din 1134 şi principatul Bârladului," *AARMSI*, Ser. II, 11 (1888–1889), p. 65 ff.; A. I. Sobolevskii, "Грамота кн. Иванка Берладника 1134 г.," in *Труды восьмаго археологическаго съвезда въ Москве 1890*, II (Moscow, 1895), pp. 173–174. See also P. P. Panaitescu, "Din nou despre Diploma bîrlădeană din 1134," *Romanoslavica* 13 (1966), pp. 85–91; S. M. Kashtanov, *Из истории русского средневекового источника. Акты X–XVI вв.* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 71–72.

[353] R. A. Rabinovich, "Призрачная Берладь. О достоверности одной фальсификации," *Stratum plus* (1999), no. 5, pp. 357–378; idem, "Берладники, бродники, галицкие выгонцы," in N. Tel'nov, V. Stepanov, N. Russev, R. Rabinovich, "*И … разошлись славяне по земле*". *Из истории Карпато-Днестровских земель VI–XIII вв.* (Chişinău, 2002), pp. 139–165.

eight senses!/You sit high on your throne wrought of gold./Your iron regiments defend the Hungarian mountains./You bar the way to the [Hungarian] king./You close the gates of the river Danube./You hurl stones over the clouds./Your law reigns up to the river Danube./Your thunder resounds above the lands./You keep the gates of Kiev open./ From your father's golden throne you shoot at the sultan/beyond the [Russian] lands".[354] The passage is obviously hyperbolic, the intention being here to raise the status of Iaroslav, perhaps because he was a relative of Igor of Novgorod-Seversk, the poem's hero.[355] Leaving aside the impossibility of using such hyperboles as evidence of Yaroslav's rule over Moldavia, all the way to the Danube, the authenticity of the *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, about which doubts had already been raised in the 1930s, has recently been disputed with very strong arguments by two outstanding Slavists, the Russian Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin and the American Edward L. Keenan. The former claims that the poem was composed by a Russian monk named Ivan (Ioil) Bykovskii, who lived in the late 1700s,[356] while Keenan identifies the forgerer as no other than the Czech scholar Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829). Dobrovský appears to have written the poem shortly after his journey of study to Russia, at some point between 1792 and 1793, when Ossian (alias James Macpherson) was first translated into Russian.[357] As for the presence of

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[354] *Слово о полку Игореве*, 2nd ed. D. S. Likhachev (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954), p. 86; *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, in *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, ed. S. A. Zenkovsky (New York, 1974), p. 182; G. Barbă, L. Cotorcea, A. Crasovschi, *Слово о полку Игореве/Cântec despre oastea lui Igor*, ed. A. Crasovschi (Bucharest, 2000), pp. 66, 78–79, 97, 120, 146, 165–166, 210–211, 244, and 268.

[355] A. V. Boldur, "Teritoriul Moldovei faţă de principatele Kiev şi Halici," *AM* 12 (1988), p. 230; Gh. Postică, "Spaţiul pruto-nistrean şi vechile cnezate ruseşti în secolele X–XII," in *Civilizaţia medievală şi modernă în Moldova. In honorem Demir Dragnev*, ed. L. Zabolotnâi (Chişinău, 2006), p. 224.

[356] A. A. Zimin, "When was *The Song of Prince Igor* written?," *Russian Studies in History* 45 (2006), no. 2 (*A. A. Zimin and the Controversy Over the Igor Tale*, eds. R. E. Martin and D. Ostrowski), pp. 13–34; idem, "The annotation to the 1307 Pskov *Apostol* and *The Song of Prince Igor*," ibidem, pp. 35–62; idem, "The Hypatian Chronicle and *The Song of Prince Igor*," ibidem, pp. 63–94. See also R. E. Martin and D. Ostrowski, "Guest editors' introduction," ibidem, pp. 3–12.

[357] E. L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovský and the Origins of the "Igor Tale"* (Dumbarton Oaks Public Lecture, December 9, 1998); idem, "Was Iaroslav of Halych really shooting sultans in 1185?," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 (1998 (*Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, eds. Z. Gitelman, L. Hajda, J.-P. Himka, R. Solchanyk), pp. 313–327; idem, "Turkic lexical elements in the *Igor Tale* and the *Zadonščina*," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 80 (2002), no. 3, pp. 479–482; idem, *Josef Dobrovský and the Origins of the Igor' Tale* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), *passim*. See also

the small crosses and other artefacts of Rus' origin in Moldavia, they certainly show trade and confessional relations, not military conquest or political rule.[358]

The fact that Ivan Rostislavich, during his disputes with the princes of Galicia, twice fled to the lands by the Danube, in other words to southern Moldavia, clearly shows that his security was not endangered in that region. If so, that same region could not have been under the rule of those same princes from whom Ivan Rostislavich was fleeing. As for the events taking place in the vicinity of the Danube, a region in which Galician rulers appear to have been only occasionally and indirectly involved, their sway must have covered an area farther to the north. In fact, there is no evidence for either a Rus'[359] or a Byzantine rule[360] over the lands on the left bank of the Lower Danube, a territory which was at that time inhabited by, and under the control of nomads such as the Cumans. The Romanians in the outer-Carpathian regions were certainly under the rule of those nomads, not of Galicia.

Another idea favored by some historians is that the Lower Danube was a "no man's land" to which Rus' princes fled when faced with social or political challenges.[361] Such an idea is ultimately based on the the belief that the Berladniks, the Brodniks and of other "Scythian" peoples mentioned in Byzantine sources were eastern Slavs. Southern Moldavia thus appears as a place where any political refugee could find shelter.[362] From an archaeological point of view, however, eleventh- and

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Ch. J. Halperin, "'Authentic? Not authentic? Not authentic, again!'," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54 (2006), no. 4, pp. 556–571.

[358] V. Spinei, "Les relations de la Moldavie avec Byzance et la Russie au premier quart du IIe millénaire à la lumière des sources archéologiques," *Dacia*, NS, 19 (1975), pp. 235–241.

[359] Pashuto, *Внешняя политика* (see above, n. 160), p. 195; Rusanova, Timoshchuk, *Древнерусское Поднестровье* (see above, n. 158), p. 85.

[360] Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 99–100.

[361] M. N. Tikhomirov, *Крестьянские и городские восстания на Руси XI–XIII вв.* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 202–205; M. F. Kotliar, "Русь на Дунаї," *Український історичний журнал* (1966), no. 9, pp. 12–22; J. Shepard, "Tzetzes' letters to Leo at Dristra," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 6 (1979), pp. 207–210 and 219–228; P. P. Tolochko, "Талицьке князівство," in *Давня історія України*, 3, gen. ed. P. P. Tolochko (Kiev, 2000), p. 368.

[362] Several alternative points of view, based on well-informed and objective research, have been expressed in recent years by various Russian historians. See V. B. Perkhavko, "Князь Иван Берладник на Нижнем Дунае," in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековые. Политичная структура древнерусско государства* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 70–75; I. O. Kniaz'kii, *Славяне, волохи и кочевники Днестровско-Карпатских*

twelfth-century sites in the region produced artefacts very different from those in Rus', even when accounting for genuinely Rus' artefacts, which testify to trade relations with Rus' towns. There is, in other words, no evidence for a population originating from, or somewhat related, to that of the Rus' lands to the north-east. To the contrary, the above-mentioned artefacts have clear analogies on sites discovered elsewhere in Romania, on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains.

It is worth mentioning that recent studies have show than the Cuman presence in the Lower Danube region during the eleventh and twelfth century was temporary and episodic, and that the bulk of the hordes occupied the lands to the east of the Dnieper River. The region north of the Danube appears to have been inhabited at that same time by groups of Pechenegs and Uzes, who, at a certain moment, obeyed Byzantine military orders.[363] In my opinion, the available archaeological material appears to point out to the maintenance of Pecheneg and Uzian elements on the left side of the Lower Danube, but it is very unlikely that the two populations could have elude the Cuman hegemony, who also had important positions near the river. That much is clear from the analysis of the narrative sources presented above.

The outbreak of the 1185 Vlach and Bulgar rebellion led by the Vlach brothers Peter and Asen took Byzantium by surprise. After almost two decades of sustained, but ultimately fruitless efforts to quell the uprising, the Byzantines were forced to admit defeat.[364] The

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земель (конец IX–сер. XIII вв.) (Kolomna, 1997), pp. 197–204; I. G. Konovalova, V. B. Perkhavko, *Древняя Русь и Нижнее Подунавье* (Moscow, 2000), pp. 70–86; N. F. Kotliar, "Стратегия обороны галицкими и волынскими князьями государственных рубежей в XII в.," *Византийский временник* 65 (90) (2006), pp. 78–79 and 82–83.

[363] E. Stoliarik, *Essays on Monetary Circulation in the North-Western Black Sea Region in the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods. Late 3rd Century–Early 13th Century A.D.* (Odessa, 1993), pp. 86–89.

[364] C. R. v. Höfler, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der slavischen Geschichte, I, Die Walachen als Begründer des zweiten bulgarischen Reiches, der Asaniden, 1186–1257," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historische Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 95 (1879), nos. 1–4, pp. 229–245; N. Bănescu, *Un problème d'histoire médiévale. Création et caractère du second Empire bulgare (1185)* (Bucharest, 1943); R. L. Wolff, "The "Second Bulgarian Empire". Its origin and history to 1204," *Speculum* 24 (1949), no. 2, pp. 167–206 (reprint in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe. Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. J. Shepard [Variorum] [Aldershot-Burlington, 2007], pp. 267–306); B. Primov, "Crearea celui de-al doilea ţarat bulgar şi participarea vlahilor," in *Relaţii româno-bulgare de-a lungul veacurilor (sec. XII–XIX). Studii*, I (Bucharest, 1971), pp. 9–56; Ch. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 88–126;

rebellion began in the mountainous region of Haemus (= the Balkan Mountains), which was at that time inhabited by Vlachs and where strongholds perched on cliffs offered good conditions for natural protection.[365] However, the population on both sides of the Danube played a decisive role in the success of the Asenid uprising. In 1186, when Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195) undertook his first campaign in the northern against the rebels, Peter and Asen crossed to the left bank of the Danube and returned with Cuman assistance.[366] From that moment on the Cuman light cavalry, attracted by the possibility of plundering rich regions, fought together with the Vlachs and the

G. Cankova-Petkova, *България при Асеневци* (Sofia, 1978); Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des Zweiten Bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980), pp. 51–147; N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, "De la Vlachie des Assénides au second Empire bulgare," *RESEE* 19 (1981), no. 3, pp. 581–594; G. G. Litavrin, "Становление Второго Болгарского царства и его международное значение в XIII столетии," *Études balkaniques* 21 (1985), no. 3, p. 17 ff.; P. Petrov, *Възстановяване на българската държава 1185–1197* (Sofia, 1985); T. J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People* (New York, 1987), pp. 116–117; *Răscoala şi statul Asăneştilor*, ed. E. Stănescu (Bucharest, 1989) (S. Brezeanu, O. Iliescu, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, E. Stănescu, N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, T. Teoteoi); Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (see above, n. 197), pp. 288–294 and 300–312; M. V. Bibikov, *Византийские источники по истории Древней Руси и Кавказа* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 233–238 and 250–257; G. Prinzing, "Demetrius-Kirche und Aseniden-Aufstand. Zur chronologischen Präzisierung der Frühphase des Aseniden-Aufstandes," *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 38 (1999–2000), pp. 257–265; P. Angelov, "България и българите XI–XIV в.," in *История на българите*, I, *От древността до края на XVI век*, ed. G. Bakalov (Sofia, 2003), p. 336 ff.; I. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 42–47 and 54–56; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 357–365.

[365] Choniates (see above, n. 261), p. 482. For strongholds in the Balkans during the first centuries of the second millennium, see A. Popov, *Крепости и укрепителни съоръжения в крънската средновековна области* (Sofia, 1982); P. Balabanov, S. Boiadzhiev, N. Tuleshkov, *Крепостно строителсво по българските земи* (Sofia, 2000), p. 191 ff. There is of course no way to distinguish the mountain strongholds of the Vlachs from those of the Bulgarians.

[366] Choniates, pp. 487–488; *FHDR*, III, pp. 258–259 (Choniates), 416–417 (Teodor Skutariotes), 462–463 (Efrem); *FHB*, XV, *Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae*, VIII, edidit M. Vojnov, curantibus M. Vojnov, V. Tâpkova-Zaimova, L. Joncev (Serdicae, 1972), pp. 244–245 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*/Теодор Скутариот, *Обзорна хроника*).

Bulgarians against Byzantium,[367] and later against the Latin Empire.[368] The Romanian lands north of the Danube could escape the political influence of the Byzantine Empire. Nonetheless, Byzantine coins continued to be circulate in the Romanian Plain throughout the period of the Angelus dynasty, some of them collected in hoards buried precisely because of the vicissitudes of those times.[369]

Most historians dealing with the Vlach-Bulgarian uprising believe that the Cumans whose alliance the Asenids were able to secure were the nomads of the region immediately to the north of the Lower Danube. Two passages in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle reveal a different situation. Among events of 6695 (= 1187), that chronicle lists the conquest of Cuman strongholds beyond the Dnieper (i.e., on it's the left bank of the river) by troops of Black Caps (*Chornye klobuki*) dispatched by prince Sviatoslav III Vsevolodovich. The success of that military action seems to have been facilitated by the bulk of the Cuman troops being at that time on the Danube, which left the strongholds without defenders (*Половцы до бяхуть шли въ Дунай, и не бе ихъ дома въ вежахъ своихъ*).[370] According to the same source, three years later, in the winter of 6698 (= 1190), the Cumans from the Dnieper region again moved to the Danube (*Подунайци*), thus offering a new opportunity to the Rus' and the Black Caps to attack their settlements.[371] In

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[367] Choniates, pp. 487–489, 515–520, 561–562, 569, 573, 587, 600, 616–617, 643, 663–665, 673, 691–692, 808; Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis *Opuscula* (see above, n. 308), pp. 42, 44; *FHDR*, III, pp. 380–383 (Euthymios Tornikes), 398–403 (Akropolites), 416–437 (Teodor Skutariotes), 462–473 (Efrem), 530–531 (Pseudo-Kodinos); IV, pp. 88–91 (*Cronică universală*), 94–95 (Ioannes Staurakios); *FHB*, XV, pp. 246–265 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*); *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* (Der sogenannte Ansbert), in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Krezzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, ed. A. Chroust (Berlin, 1928), p. 58. See also Ferenţ, *Cumanii*, pp. 46–52; D. Rassovsky, "Роль Половцевъ въ войнахъ Асеней съ Византійской и Латинской имперіями въ 1186–1207 годахъ," *Списание на Българската Академия на Науките*, Sofia (1939), pp. 203–211; Wolff, "The "Second Bulgarian Empire"," pp. 198–201; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 114–119, 130; Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten," pp. 103–105; P. Pavlov, "Средновековна България и куманите. Военнополитически отношения (1186–1241 г.)," "*Трудове на Великотърновския Университет 'Св. Св. Кирил и Методий,'" Исторически Факултет* 27 (1989 [1992]), no. 3, pp. 20–31.

[368] See footnote 383. See also Pavlov, "Средновековна България и куманите," pp. 33–36; I. Vásáry, "Cuman warriors in the fight of Byzantium with the Latins," *AOH* 57 (2004), no. 3, pp. 263–270.

[369] E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Moneda bizantină şi de tip bizantin pe teritoriul de la sud de Carpaţi în secolele XII–XIII—o analiză critică a documentelor numismatice," *Mousaios* 7 (2001), pp. 348–352, 375, and 382–385.

[370] *Ip.let.*, p. 136.

[371] Ibidem, p. 140.

both cases, what the chronicler had to say about the Cumans must be understood in the context of the Cuman assistance to the Vlach and Bulgarian rebels in the northern Balkans. It appears, therefore, that Peter and Asen's allies were not just neighboring Cumans from the Lower Danube plain, but also those whose camps were at that tme in the Dnieper region.

Romanians on the left of the Danube also participated in the uprising against Byzantium. Vlachs and "Scythians" (= the Cumans) crossing the river from north to south are explicitly mentioned by Niketas Choniates among the military events of 1199,[372] the year in which the leadership of the newly emerging state was taken by the younger Asenid brother, Ioannitsa (nicknamed Kaloyannes—"the Handsome John"). It is quite possible that even before 1199, Romanians from Wallachia had participated in the fighting, much like the Cumans. According to Niketas Choniates, another group joining the "Scythians" (Cumans) was that of the *Bordones*.[373] Many believe the latter to be the same as the Brodniks, who are mentioned several times in southern Moldavia during the decades leading to the great Mongol invasion of 1241.[374] If so, then the Brodniks must have moved to the east-Carpathian lands as early as the late twelfth century.

First Half of the Thirteenth Century

Unable to control the situation in the Balkans all by himself, Emperor Alexius III Angelus asked for the assistance of Roman Mstislavich (1199–1205), prince of Galich-Volhynia, whom he urged to attack the Cumans. Roman's repeated incursions (in 1201/1202 and 1203/1204) against the nomads put a temporary end to their raids into Thrace,[375]

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[372] Choniates (see above, n. 261), p. 663.

[373] Nicetae Choniatae *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. I. A. van Dieten (Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1972), p. 93.

[374] F. Uspenskii, *Образованіе втораго Болгарскаго царства, Приложение V* (Odessa, 1879), p. 35; D. Onciul, "Originile Principatelor Române," in idem, *Scrieri istorice*, I, p. 693; G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Brodnicii* (*IIR*, XII) (1938), pp. 41 and 64; Levchenko, *Очерки* (see above, n. 160), p. 495; Kotliar, "Русь на Дунаї" (see above, n. 361), p. 19; Ştefănescu, *Ţara Românească* (see above, n. 327), p. 19; Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten" (see above, n. 364), pp. 135–137; I. O. Kniaz'kii, *Русь и степь* (Moscow, 1996), p. 61.

[375] Choniates, pp. 691–692; *FHDR*, III, pp. 432–433 (Teodor Skutariotes), 472–473 (Efrem); *FHB*, XV, p. 260 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*); *Продолженіе*

but the Byzantines were not able to use the opportunity thus offered to gain the upper hand in the northern Balkans. Roman's expeditions were cut short by the counter-attack of Rurik II Rostislavich (1203–1210), prince of Kiev, who attacked Roman together with the Cuman princes Kotian (= Kuthen) and Somogur.[376]

When Roman died, dissensions between aristocratic factions facilitated the temporary imposition of Hungarian rule over Galich-Volhynia, after many decades of unsuccessful Hungarian attempts to expand into Rus'. With the rule over Galich-Volhynia barely consolidated, King Andrew II hastily adopted in 1206 title of *Galiciae Lodomeriaeque rex*,[377] a title which Hungarian rulers would sport long after their rule on Galich-Volhynia ceased. Andrew II's title, however, was meant to convey a clear sense of the claims to the Rus' territories beyond the Carpathian Mountains. Such claims were not limited to Galich-Volhynia, but were also directed at the neighboring territories to the south and east from the mountains, which were at that time inhabited by Romanians.

The consolidation throughout the second half of the twelfth century of the Hungarian rule in Transylvania was accompanied by the arrival of the Saxon and Szekler "guests." By 1200, the Hungarians built on the cliff at Bâtca Doamnei (Piatra Neamţ, Neamţ county) a stronghold designed destined to monitor access to the the route from Moldavia to Transylvania along the Bistriţa valley and across the Carpathian Mountains.[378] Archaeological excavations on that site produced a number of crosses of Rus' origin, a clear indication that the inhabit-

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Лаврентіевской летописи, in *PSRL*, I, p. 176; *Nik.let.*, II, pp. 34 and 36; *Hust.let.*, p. 328; *Типографская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XXIV (Petrograd, 1921), p. 84; *Летописец Переславля Суздальского (Летописец русских царей)*, in *PSRL*, 41, eds. S. N. Kisterev, B. M. Kloss, L. A. Timoshina, I. A. Tikhoniuk, red. V. I. Buganov (gen.red.), S. N. Kisterev, I. A. Tikhoniuk (Moscow, 1995), p. 124.

[376] *Ip.let.*, pp. 155–156; Choniates, p. 692. See also M. Grushevskii, *Історія України-Руси*, III (Lwów, 1905), pp. 9–10; Rassovsky, "Роль Половцевъ" (see above, n. 367), p. 210; L. Voitovich, "Роман Мстиславич і утворення Галицько-Волинського князівства," in *Галичина та Волинь у добу середньовіччя. До 800-річчя з дня народження Данила Галицького*, gen. ed. Ia. Isaevich (L'viv, 2001), pp. 23–27; M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 242–247 and 251.

[377] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. G. Fejér, III, 1 (Budae, 1829), pp. 31–32; IX, 4 (Budae, 1834), p. XVIII; *DIR,C, v. XI, XII şi XIII*, I, pp. 31–32.

[378] C. Scorpan, "L'ensemble archéologique féodal de Bîtca Doamnei," *Dacia*, NS, 9 (1965), pp. 441–454 (where the stronghold is interpreted as the seat of a local ruler); V. Spinei, "Unele consideraţii cu privire la descoperirile arheologice din Moldova din secolul al XII-lea pînă în prima jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea," *SCIV* 21 (1970), no. 4, p. 614; idem, "Contribuţii la istoria spaţiului est-carpatic din secolul al XI-lea pînă la invazia mongolă din 1241," *MA* 6–8 (1974–1976), pp. 145–148.

ants of the stronghold were Orthodox. Since Romanians were the only Orthodox population in the area at that time, it is likely that the stronghold's garrison was recruited from among Romanians. According to Tholomeus of Lucca (1236–1327), whose information was adopted by other authors, Romanians and Szeklers (*Olleraci <Ollaci> et Siculi*) guarded the mountain passes in the eastern Carpathians at the time of the Mongol invasion.[379] It is precisely at this time that Romanians began to be recruited for the auxiliary units under the command of the Hungarian kings.

Cumans were simultaneously involved in military operations not just in Rus' and in the Balkans, but also in the Caucasus. In order to get the better of his neighbours, and especially in order to face the attacks of the Seljuq Turks, king David IV of Georgia paid much attention to co-operation with the Cumans, so that 40,000 horsemen together with their families were settled on his estates, some of them accepting conversion to Christianity. With a view to consolidating the alliance, the Georgian king married Goranduxt (or Guaranduxt), the daughter of the Cuman chieftain Atrak (Otrok).[380] The Cuman presence in the north-Caucasus region is also archaeologically confirmed by recent finds of graves of horsemen.[381]

On April 13, 1204 one of the greatest events on world history took place: the West European participants in the Crusade conquered Constantinople, which became (and remained, until 1261) the capital of the Latin Empire. The Byzantine Empire was broken up and divided (*Partitio Romaniae*) among the crusaders, Venices and various Greek princes,

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[379] Tholomeus von Lucca, *Die Annalen in doppelter Fassung*, ed. B. Schmeidler, in *MGH*, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, NS, VIII (Berlin, 1930; reprint Munich, 1984), p. 117; Marinus Sanutus, dictus Torsellus, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conserveatione*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, ed. I. Bongarsius (Hanoviae, 1611), p. 214; Paulinus von Venedig, *Bruchstücke aus der Weltchronik (I. Recension)*, I, ed. W. Holtzmann (*Texte zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. F. Schneider, 3) (Rome, 1927), p. 29; Johannis Iperii abbatis *Chronicon Sythiense S. Bertini*, in E. Martene and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, III (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1717), col. 717. See also V. Spinei, "Les répercussions de la grande invasion mongole de 1241–1242 sur l'espace carpato-danubien reflétées surtout dans les oeuvres des croniqueurs italiens," *Südost-Forschungen* 61–62 (2002–2003), pp. 1–47.

[380] *The History of David, King of Kings*, in *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, ed. R. W. Thompson (Oxford, 1996), pp. 325–328.

[381] Y. V. Zelenskii, "Половцы на Кубани," *Древности Кубани* 10, Krasnodar (1998), pp. 15–20; idem, "Несколько предметов из разрушенного средневекового погребения на территории г. Краснодара," *Историко-археологический альманах* 4, Armavir-Moscow (1998), pp. 141–142.

on whose estates the successor states were set up: Nicaea, Trebizond, and Epirus.[382] In the aftermath of the Vlach and Bulgarian rebellion, the catastrophe of 1204 had much more serious consequences for the decline of the Byzantine influence over the lands north of the Lower Danube. In the Balkans, the disputes between Byzantines and Asenids were now replaced with a fierce confrontation between the Second Bulgarian Tsardom and the Latin Empire. The Cumans remained on the side of Ioannitsa (1197–1207), who used them against his new enemies. In 1205, Ioannitsa obtained against a major victory against the Latins under the walls of Adrianople. The commander of the Latin forces, Baldwin I, who had just been crowned emperor in Constantinople, was captured and died in a prison in Tărnovo.[383]

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[382] Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte* (see above, n. 195), p. 346 ff.; G. Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges* (Munich, 1972), pp. 25–47; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)* (London, 1975), pp. 9–36; A. Carile, *Per una storia dell'Impero Latino di Constantinopoli (1204–1261)*, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1978), pp. 175–217; Treadgold, *History* (see above, n. 195), pp. 709–730; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 2004), p. 175 ff.; J. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2004), p. 281 ff.; J. Heers, *Chute et mort de Constantinople (1204–1453)* (Paris, 2007), p. 121 ff.; É. Patlagean, *Un Moyen Âge grec. Byzance IXe-XVe siècle* (Paris, 2007), pp. 288–303.

[383] *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, II, eds. T. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum/Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen*, 2nd Ser., *Diplomataria et acta*, XIII, 2) (Vienna, 1856), pp. 37–42; B. Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)* (Thessalonike, 1988), p. 45; Choniates (see above, n. 261), pp. 808–814; Acropolites (see above, n. 261), col. 1013–1014; *FHB*, XII (1965), p. 241 (*Historia peregrinorum*); XV (1972), pp. 264–265 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*); *FHDR*, III, pp. 436–437 (Teodor Skutariotes), 476–477 (Efrem); IV, pp. 164–173 (*Cronica Moreei*); *Chronique de Morée (1204–1305)*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1911), pp. 22–25; *Versione italiana inedita della cronaca di Morea*, in Ch. Hopf (ed.), *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 420–421; Gregoras, I, pp. 15–16; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, in *Historiens et chroniqueurs du Moyen Age*, eds. A. Pauphilet, Ed. Pognon (Paris, 1952), pp. 50–51, 79; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, in *Historiens*, pp. 161–163, 168–169, 172–176, 185, and 188; Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia, I (Bari, 1966), p. 36; *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, II (Paris, 1859), pp. 280–283; Roberti canonici S. Mariani Altissiodorensis *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *MGH,SS*, XXVI (1882), p. 269; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVIII (Paris, 1822), pp. 103 (Ex Radulfi Coggeshalae abbatis *Chronico Anglicano*), 272 (Ex *Chronologia* Roberti Altissiodorensis), 525–527 (Henricus Imperii moderator ad Innocentium III Papam), 528–529 (Henricus Imperator Constantinopolitanus *De varia Latinorum in Imperio fortuna)*, 563 (Ex *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*), 573 (Ex Andrensis monasterii *Chronico*), 602 (Ex Joannis Iperii *Chronico sythiensi Sancti Bertini*), 720 (Ex *Chronico* S. Medard Suessionensis), 770 (Ex *Chronico* Alberici Trium-Fontium

The Cuman alliance was not always working to the advantage of the Vlach emperor of Bulgaria. If we are to believe the Miracles of St. Demeterius, Ioannitsa was murdered by a group of conspirators led by the Cuman chieftain Manastras.[384] Given their frequent involvement in fighting, first against Byzantium, then against the Latin Empire, some Cumans chose to move permanently south of the Danube. As a consequence, the military potential of the of the Cumans in the outer-Carpathian regions must have been diminished. That much results from the repeated defeats they suffered during the subsequent years. Around 1210, an army from Transylvanian led by Joachim (*Iwachin*) of Sibiu and made up of Saxons, Romanians, Szeklers and Pechenegs (*associatis sibi Saxonibus, Olacis, Siculis et Bissenis*) advanced on Vidin after probably crossing Oltenia and met with "three chieftains from Cumania," one of whom was called Karaz (a name of Turkic origin). That Karaz was from "Cumania" does not indicate the exact region of his origin, because "Cumania" was a name applied not just to the east-European steppes, but also and more specifically to the outer-Carpathian lands inhabited by both Romanians and Cumans. In any case, the Cumans were no match for Joachim's army. In the ensuing battle, two chieftains

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monachi); Guillelmus de Nangis sive Nangiaci *Chronicon*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, eds. [F.] Daunou and [J.] Naudet (Paris, 1840), p. 751; Gombos, I, p. 48 (Albertus Milioli); II, pp. 847 (Detmar-*Chronik*), 1216 (Iacobus de Guisia), 1331 (Ioannes Longus de Ypra); Johannis Iperii abbatis *Chronicon* (see above, n. 379), col. 687; Caffari ejusque continuatorum *Annales Genuenses ab anno MC. ad annum usque MCCXCIII*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VI, ed. L. A. Muratorius (Mediolani, 1725), col. 390–391; Andreae Danduli *Chronicon Venetum*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII, ed. L. A. Muratorius (Mediolani, 1728), col. 132; Joannes Leunclavius, *Glycanorum Annalium continuatio*, in *PG*, CLVIII (1866), col. 636; Ricardi de Gerboredo *De capta et direpta a Latinis Constantinopoli*, in *Exuvie Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I (Genovae, 1877), pp. 36–37; N. Camariano, "La Chronique de la Morée sur les combats de Jean Assen avec les Latins," *Balcania* 7 (1944), no. 2, p. 358; I. Lazarov and P. Lungarova, "Хрониката на Албер де Безано за третия и четвъртия кръстоносен поход и преминаването им през българските земи," in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. В честна професор Веселин Бешевлиев* (Veliko Tărnovo, 1993), pp. 105–109.

[384] Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου λὸγος είς τά θαύματα του Ἁγίου Δημητρίου ed. I. Iverites, *Μακεδονικα* 1 (1940), pp. 369–372; Ioannis Stauracii *Oratio laudatoria de Sancti Myroblytae Demetrii miraculis*, in *FHB*, XXII (*Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae*, X) (Sofia, 1980), pp. 128–132. According to other sources, Kaloyannes would have died because of a pleurisy. See *FHDR*, III, pp. 400–403 (Akropolites), 436–437 (Teodor Skutariotes), 479–480 (Efrem). For the circumstances of Ioannitses Kaloyannes' death, see also Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 84–85; L. Krăstev, "'Les miracles de Saint Démètre de Thessalonique' et la participation d'Alains et de Coumans au siege de Thessalonique en 1207," *Études balkaniques* 33 (1997), nos. 3–4, p. 129; F. Dall'Aglio, "The Bulgarian siege of Thessaloniki in 1207: between history and hagiography," *Eurasian Studies* 1 (2002), no. 2, pp. 278–279.

died and Karaz was taken prisoner (*tres duces de Cumania ipsis occurrentes, cum eis prelium commiserunt, quorum duobus occisis tertium nominae Karaz comes Jwachinus vinctum transmisit ad regem*).[385]

In 1211, the Hungarian king invited the Teutonic knights to the Bârsa Land (*Ţara Bârsei*), in order to put an end to the frequent incursions of the Cumans into Transylvania.[386] From that point of view fulfilled the expectations of the Hungarian king and effectively curbed the Cuman raiding expeditions. However, they were not content to secure south-eastern Transylvania, an area in which they began building timber forts, but decided to extpand "beyond the snow-clad mountains" (*ultra montes nivium*) and managed to impose their military control over territories outside the Carpathian arch.[387] It is difficult to estimate the extent of the land under their control. According to a royal diploma dated to the beginning of 1222, and to a bull dated December 19, 1222, the territories allotted to the knights stretched to the boundaries of the Brodniks (*ad terminos prodnicorum*) and to the Danube (*ad Danubium*).[388] A few decades ago, the authenticity of those documents was contested by Wojcieck Ketrzyński[389] and Iosif Şchiopul,[390] but reinstated by Max Perlbach[391] and Emil Lăzărescu.[392] No more doubts could apparently be raised about their authenticity. More recently, however, through a detailed analysis of both diploma and bull in the context of their time, Maria Holban concluded that both documents were apocryphal, having been forged in 1231 or 1232.[393] But even with such caveats in mind,

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[385] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, V, ed. T. Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1907), no. 641, p. 132; *DRH,D*, I, no. 11.

[386] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 57; H. Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2000), pp. 162–163.

[387] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 82, 85, 88, 91, 93, 95, and 96; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 175, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 193, 194, 199, 201, 203, 204, 206, and 209.

[388] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 74–77; *DRH,D*, I, no. 1, 2; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 170 and 177.

[389] W. v. Ketrzyński, *Der Deutsche Orden und Konrad von Masovien, 1225–1235* (Lemberg, 1904), pp. 11–27.

[390] I. Şchiopul, *Contribuţiuni la istoria Transilvaniei în secolele XII şi XIII* (Cluj, 1932), p. 35 ff.

[391] M. Perlbach, "Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 26 (1905), pp. 415–430. See also K. K. Klein, *Saxonica Septemcastrensia* (Marburg, 1971), pp. 86–90.

[392] E. C. Lăzărescu, "Notă despre documentele Ţării Bârsei şi cavalerii teutoni," *Ţara Bîrsei* 6 (1934), no. 4, pp. 339–348.

[393] M. Holban, "Despre aria de întindere a cavalerilor teutoni în Ţara Bîrsei (1221–1225)," in eadem, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII–XIV* (Bucharest, 1981),

the basic facts about the rule of the Teutonic knights in the Bârsa Land and on either side of the Carpathian Mountains remain the same.

The growth of the Arpadian Kingdom through the actions of the Order was anticipated by a charter issued for the Knights by King Andrew II in 1211. There is no question that, whether sanctioned by royal grant or not, the Teutonic knights could not have conquered all tha land to the Danube in such a short period of time. At the most, the knights must have established military control over a strip of land to the south and to the east of the Carpathian Mountains, next to the Bârsa Land. Meanwhile, major disagreements arose between the king and the knights. Because they refused to abide by the stipulations of the charter, ignoring the royal authority and recognizing only that of the Holy See, the Teutonic knigts were removed by force from Transylvania in 1225.[394]

The establishment of the Teutonic knights in south-eastern Transylvania greatly contributed to the consolidation of royal power in the area. The regions to which the Teutonic knights and the Saxons moved

pp. 9–48. See also the book's review by S. Iosipescu, in *AIIA* 19 (1982), pp. 696–699, who rejects Holban's arguments against authenticity.

[394] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 91–93; *DRH,D*, I, no. 5; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 186–188. For Teutonic knights in Bârsa Land, see W. Kuhn, "Ritterorden als Grenzhüter des Abendlandes gegen das östliche Heidentum," *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft* 1959), pp. 16–22; K. Wieser, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Osteuropa in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Österreichische Osthefte* 7 (1965), no. 1, pp. 12–21; G. Adriányi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ritterordens in Siebenbürgen," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971), pp. 9–22; H. Glassl, "Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland und in Kumanien (1211–1225)," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971), pp. 23–49; J. Schütze, "Bemerkungen zur Berufung und Vertreibung des Deutschen Ordens durch Andreas II. von Ungarn," *Siebenbürgisches Archiv* 8 (1971), pp. 277–283; A. Armbruster, "Nachspiel zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens im Burzenland," *RRH* 18 (1979), no. 2, pp. 277–287; F. Martini, "Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Kolonisten im Burzenland," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 10 (1979), pp. 41–57; Ş. Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea între cruciată şi Imperiul mongol* (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 31–35; H. Bogdan, *Les chevaliers Teutoniques. Vérités et légendes* (Paris, 1995), pp. 85–97; H. Zimmermann, *Siebenbürgen und seine Hospites Teutonici: Vorträge und Forschungen zur südostdeutschen Geschichte. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Gündisch (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 1996); idem, *Der Deutsche Orden, passim*; M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen. Wirtschaft—Gesellschaft—Staat—Ideologie*, trans. J. Heyde and U. Kodur (Osnabrück, 2000), pp. 132–138; I. M. Ţiplic, "Cavalerii teutoni şi fortificaţiile lor din Ţara Bârsei," *Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis* 6 (2000), no. 6, pp. 138–159; Ş. Turcuş, *Sfântul Scaun şi românii în secolul al XIII-lea* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 205–233; J. Laszlovszky and Z. Soós, "Historical monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 319–336.

were neither deserted nor depopulated (*vacua et inhabitata*[395] or *deserta et inhabitata*),[396] as claimed by contemporary documents of the Hungarian chancery. In fact, some of them even mention that the royal "guests" were given land bordering on Romanian settlements, a land said to be sparsely populated and partly untilled.[397]

While the Teutonic knights advanced into the Romanian regions that had been under the military control of the Turanians, whose domination was thus diminished, at the opposite, easternmost frontier of their lands, the Cumans were attacked by Muhammad, the shah of Khwarazm. They eventually had to surrender a part of their territory to the shah.[398] Because the Cumans lived in communities scatter over a vast area, without any political unity, and their forces were engages simultaneously on multiple fronts, the military ability of the Cuman tribal confederacy greatly diminished in the early thirteenth century. In 1221/1222, when the Seljuk sultan from Konya (Iconium) launched a surprising naval attack on Sudak in southern Crimea, the Cumans, who until then had controlled the city, were defeated, in spite of the assistance they received from the Rus' princes.[399]

In his account of the Seljuq expedition, the Turkish chronicler Iazyčyoğlu Ali, who wrote in the early 1400s, has the army moving both by sea and by land. The land forces crossed the Straits and advanced along the seashore across the "land of the Vlachs". After defeating the Cumans and the Rus' and establishing they own garrison in Sudak, the Seljuqs returned along the same route. The passage concerning the Seljuq land troops is absent from from Ibn Bibi's detailed Persian

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[395] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 63; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (see above, n. 386), p. 167.

[396] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 74 and 76; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 170 and 173.

[397] Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 127–128; Th. Nägler, "Zum Gebrauch des Ausdrucks „terra deserta" in einigen Urkunden des 12.–13. Jahrhunderts," *Studii şi comunicări, Arheologie-istorie* (Muzeul Brukenthal), 18 (1974), pp. 51–60; idem, *Die Ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Bucharest, 1979), p. 119.

[398] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3rd ed. (London, 1968), pp. 369–370; S. M. Akhinzhanov, "Кипчаки и Хорезм в канун монгольского нашествия," *Вестник Академии Наук Казахской ССР* 1 (297) (1970), pp. 45–49; idem, *Кипчаки в истории средневекового Казахстана* (Alma-Ata, 1995), p. 222 ff.

[399] H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhague, 1959), pp. 130–139. See also A. Iakubovskii, "Рассказ Ибн-ал-Биби о походе малоазийских турок на Судак, половцев и русских в начале XIII в.," *Византийский временник* 25 (1927), pp. 53–76; A. C. S. Peacock, "The Saljūq campaign against the Crimea and the expansionist policy of the early reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd Ser., 16 (2006), no. 2, pp. 133–149.

chronicle, the main source for the Cuman-Seljuq conflict in southern Crimea. Iazyčyoğlu Ali certainly used Ibn Bibi's chronicle, but he must have also had access to other sources, which did not survive.[400] Assuming that a Seljuq army truly travelled by land from Konya to Crimea, that army must have crossed the frontiers of the Nicaean Empire, of the Latin Empire, of Bulgaria, before entering the Desht-i Qipchaq. At the time of the expedition, relations between the sultan of Konya (Rum) and Nicaea were tense, while those between John Asen II and the Cumans were cordial. There is therefore little evidence to support the idea of such a military expedition at a distance of more than 1,000 km from Konya, through several countries, many of which were both militarily strong and not particularly friendly to the Seljuqs. Iazyčyoğlu Ali's account may be the result of some confusion with other events to be attributed either to him or to one of his unknown sources. The expedition is certainly not mentioned in older sources, such as Ibn Bibi's chronicle.

Shortly after the failure of the Sudak expedition, the Cumans received a new, unexpected, and strong blow. After initially setting forth against Khwarazm, a Mongol army led by Jebe (Ǧebe, Jäbä) and Sübütäi went south of the Caspian Sea, then north of the Caucasus. The Cuman-Alan alliance was rapidly broken, as the Mongols defeated both peoples one after the other. In Crimea, the Mongols sacked Sudak and scattered its population.[401] Jebe and Sübütäi then moved into Desht-i Qipchaq, causing panic among the Cumans, whose khan, Kuthen (Kotian), immediately requested the assistance of Mstislav III and of the other Rus' princes.[402] Though divided by bitter rivalry, which had

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[400] T. Gemil, "Ţara Românească de pe ţărmul mării," *Magazin istoric* 15 (1981), no. 6, pp. 16–18.

[401] Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 25–26 (Ibn el Asyr), 502 (Al-'Aini); II, p. 32 (Rashid-ad-Din); *Extrait* d'Ibn-Alathir, in [Ch. F.] Defrémery, *Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie Méridionale* (offprint from *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser., 13, 1848; 14, 1849) (Paris, 1849), pp. 78–80; Abou'l-Fedâ, *Annales*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, I (Paris, 1872), p. 96; Rashiduddin Fazlullah (see above, n. 122), I, p. 260; *Из "Летописи" Себастаци*, in *Армянские источники о монголах извлечения из рукописей XIII–XIV вв.*, ed. A. G. Galstian (Moscow, 1962), p. 23.

[402] *NPL*, pp. 62, 265; *Троицкая летопись*, in *PSRL*, I (St. Petersburg, 1846), pp. 216–217; *Новгородская четвертая летопись*, in *PSRL*, IV (St. Petersburg, 1848), p. 28; *Let.Voskr.*, pp. 129–130; *Hust.let.*, p. 335; *Густынская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 40, eds. V. A. Kuchkin (gen. ed.), L. L. Murav'eva, A. M. Panchenko (St. Petersburg, 2003), p. 115; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летописью*, in *PSRL*, XV (St. Petersburg, 1863), col. 339; *Рогожскій летописецъ*, in *PSRL*, XV, 1 (Petrograd,

lasted for over a century and a half, the Rus' gathered their forces and came on the side of the Cumans with an impressive army. Some of the Galician forces dispatched to help the Cumans sailed down the Dniester and then moved by se, and up the river Dnieper.[403] This was not the first time the river Dniester was used for the transportation of Galician warriors: a few years before, Daniil Romanovich's expedition to Oleshia has done the same.[404]

The ensuing battle, which took place in 1223 on the little river named Kalka, was a brilliant Mongol victory over the Cuman-Rus' alliance.[405] The disaster was amplified by the fact that the Brodniks under their chieftain ("voivode") Ploskynia switched sides in the middle of the battle. The immediate consequences of the battle at Kalka were not as damaging as the battle itself. The Mongols were at the end of a long campaign (in which, among other things, they had been

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1922), col. 27; *Постниковский, Пискаревский, Московский и Бельский летописцы*, in *PSRL*, 34, eds. V. I. Buganov, V. I. Koretskii (Moscow, 1978), p. 83 (*Пискаревский летописец*); *Новгородская летопись по списку П. П. Дубровского*, in *PSRL*, XLIII, ed. A. Koshelev (Moscow, 2004), p. 85.

[403] *Let.Voskr.*, p. 130; *Софійскія летописи*, in *PSRL*, V (St. Petersburg, 1851), p. 173; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летописью*, in *PSRL*, XV, col. 340; *Постниковский, Пискаревский, Московский и Бельский летописцы*, in *PSRL*, 34, p. 83 (*Пискаревский летописец*). In *Ip.let.*, p. 164, "Dnieper" should be replaced with "Dniester."

[404] *Ip.let.*, p. 161.

[405] *NPL*, pp. 61–63 and 264–267; *Ip.let.*, pp. 163–165; *Let.Voskr.*, pp. 129–132; *Nik.let.*, II, pp. 89–92; *Hust.let.*, p. 335; *Троицкая летопись*, in *PSRL*, I, pp. 216–219; *Псковская первая летопись*, in *PSRL*, IV, pp. 177–178; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летописью*, in *PSRL*, XV, col. 335–343; *Рогожскій летописецъ*, in *PSRL*, XV, 1, col. 27–28; *Ермолинская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XXIII (St. Petersburg, 1910), pp. 69–71; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV (see above, n. 336), pp. 118–120; *Вологодско-Пермская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XXVI (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), pp. 66–69; *Холмогорская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 33, pp. 62–64; *Постниковский, Пискаревский, Московский и Бельский летописцы*, in *PSRL*, 34, p. 83 (*Пискаревский летописец*); *Густынская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 40, pp. 115–116; *Новгородская летопись по списку П. П. Дубровского*, in *PSRL*, XLIII, p. 85; Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 25–27 (Ibn el Asyr); II, pp. 32–33 (Rashid-ad-Din); Rashiduddin Fazlullah, I, p. 260; Abou'l-Fedâ, *Annales*, p. 96; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, I (London, 1910), pp. 294–299; *Sächsische Weltchronik*, ed. L. Weiland, in *MGH*, *Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters*, II, 1 (Hannoverae, 1876), p. 243; Heinrici *Chronicon Lyvoniae*, ed. W. Arndt (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit*) (Hannoverae, 1874), p. 181; Heinrici *Chronicon Livoniae*/Heinrichs *Livländische Chronik*, 2nd ed., recognoverunt L. Arbusov and A. Bauer (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*) (Hannover, 1955), pp. 186–187.

defeated by the Volga Bulgars),[406] too weak and too far from their bases to be able to begin the conquest of the territories through which their army passed. They eventually withdrew from eastern Europe, for the moment content with the booty collected and with the occupation of a part of the steppe lands on the right bank of the Volga. After the Mongols' withdrawal from the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas, the Cumans lost again the control over Sudak, when a new naval expedition undertaken by the bey of Kastamonu imposed the Seljuq rule over in that city.[407] In respect to territorial losses, the wars with Khwarazm were more detrimental to the Cumans than Jebe and Sübütäi's incursions. However, the impressive demonstration of military strength during the expedition of 1222–1223, the conquest of certain regions of central Asia, including perhaps the easternmost Cuman territories, were clear signals for the nomads in Desht-i Qipchaq that a new power had emerged in Eurasia. The Cuman (*Kïmčaq* = Qipchaq) lands in central-western Asia, close to Qangli, are mentioned in the so-called *Secret History of the Mongols* for a period before the famous *quriltai* of 1206 when Temugin (Genghis Khan) was still fighting against the Merkits and the Naimans.[408]

The eastern Qipchaq/Cuman territories occupied by the Mongols during Genghis Khan's lifetime (i.e., before his death on August 18, 1227) were given to Jochi, the elder son of the great khan.[409] Genghis Khan's heir appeared to be very much interested in expanding his domination over the whole Desht-i Qipchaq, and it was only his death that prevented him from doing so. A contemporary Persian chronicler

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[406] *Extrait* d'Ibn-Alathir, pp. 82–83; Tiesenhausen, I, p. 27; *Les invasions mongoles en Orient vecues par un savant médiéval arabe* Ibn Abî l-Hadîd al-Madâ'inî *(1190–1258 J.C.). Extrait du Sharh Nahj al-balâgha*, ed. M. Djebli (Paris, 1995), pp. 52–53.

[407] I. Kafesoğlu, "Seljuks," in *A History of Seljuks. Ibrahim Kafesoğlu's Interpretation and the Resulting Controversy*, ed. G. Leiser (Carbondale-Edwardsville, 1988), p. 74; C. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Istanbul-Paris, 1988), p. 125; M. Kursanskis, "L'Empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs au 13^{e} siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988), pp. 117–118.

[408] *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, ed. W. Heissig (Düsseldorf, 1981), p. 105; *Histoire secrète des Mongols. Chronique mongole du XIII^{e} siècle*, trans. and eds. M.-D. Even and R. Pop (Paris, 1994), p. 164; *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. and ed. I. de Rachewiltz, I (Leiden–Boston, 2004), p. 126. See also I. de Rachewiltz, *Commentary*, in ibidem, II (Leiden–Boston, 2004), pp. 733–734.

[409] Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, I, ed. J. A. Boyle (Manchester, 1959), pp. 139 and 149; Maulana, Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-'Umar-i-'Usman [= Juzjani], *Tabakat-i-nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan*, II, ed. H. G. Raverty (London, 1881), p. 1101; Gregory Abû'l-Faraj, *The Chronography* (see above, n. 234), p. 398.

expresses Jochi's enthusiastic appreciation for the regions controlled by the Cumans: "in the whole universe, there could not be a more delightful land, a more pleasant climate, softer water, meads more verdant, and pasture-land more extensive".[410] The words assigned to Jochi are relevant for the ideals of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes, and those words account for the bitter fights among those populations. A similar characterisation of the same area is to be found in an earlier work, written in the earliest decades of the thirteenth century by the Arab Abdallatif al-Bagdadi and compiled by ad-Dahabi at the beginning of the following century: "The Qipchaqs' [Cumans'] country is large, [having] a moderate climate, fresh waters, full wells and whishing streams. It is a cool country, having rich lands".[411]

Fully aware of the gravity of the situation, the Cumans sought to befriend the Hungarian king, and in 1227 asked to be converted to Christianity by the archbishop of Esztergom (Strigonium). As the contemporary chronicles and the papal documents clearly testify, the initiative had come from the nomads.[412] The Teutonic knights may have had some contribution to the conversion of the Cumans,[413] but their work does not seem to have made any progress, for it had been a forceful conversion. The Hungarian heir to the crown, future King Bela IV, whose father, Andrew II, had entrusted him with the rule of Transylvania in 1222, hurried to take advantage of the Cuman request. He conferred upon it not only a strictly confessional meaning, but also a political one. To that purpose, he closely collaborated with Robert,

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[410] Juzjani, p. 1101; Tiesenhausen, II, p. 14.

[411] J. v. Somogyi, "Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren im 'Ta'rih al Islam' von ad-Dahabi," *Der Islam* 24 (1937), p. 117. A more realistic description of *Comania* is made by the Armenian Hethum/Hayton (See Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient/Flos historiarum terre Orientis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, II [Paris, 1906], pp. 124, 264; L. de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Age* [Paris, 1877], p. 129), reproduced by other authors as well. See Mandeville's *Travels*, ed. M. Letts (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967), I, p. 177; II, p. 374.

[412] *Chronica* Albrici monachii Trium Fontium, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in *MGH,SS*, XXIII, ed. G. H. Pertz (1874), p. 920; *Magnum Chronicon, in quo cumprimis Belgicae res et familiae diligenter explicantur*, in *Rerum Germanicarum veteres iam primum publicati scriptores VI*, ed. I. Pistorius, III (Ratisbonae, 1726), p. 242; *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, III) (Vatican, 1950), pp. 206–208; *DRH,D*, I, no. 6.

[413] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 121–124 and 129–130; *DRH,D*, I, no. 7, 8; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (see above, n. 386), pp. 199, 203, and 206.

Archbishop of Esztergom, who had been appointed as papal legate for Cumania and the Brodnik lands.[414]

The Cuman willingness to accept conversion through the church of Hungary is not unique. Before the battle at Kalka, in 1223 the Cuman prince Basty, afraid of the Mongols, accepted conversion to Christianity in Rus',[415] the land from which he hoped to secure assistance against the new enemy. Several other "Polovtsian princes" had converted before him in the Rus' principalities. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the circumstances forcing them to do so. The Rus' chronicles simply mention that, for example, Amurat was baptized in Riazan' in 6640 (= 1132),[416] while Aidar placed himself in 6676 (= 1168) the service of the great prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich, and after a while converted to Christianity.[417] It is possible to see both "Polovtsian princes" as forced into exile in the foreign lands by internal strife A few years later, in 1239, when khan Kuthen was granted asylum in Hungary, he also had to accept the religion of the host country.[418] The same had happened to the Pecheneg chieftains Kegen and Tyrach as soon as they were allowed to move to Byzantium.[419] The Byzantine policy of conversion towards the Pechenegs was also applied successfully to the Seljuk Turks and to other Turkic groups (*Τουρκόπουλοι, Turcopuli*, etc.), which were subsequently integrated into the imperial armies and dispatched to the Anatolian and Balkan provinces.[420] The same is true for the Cumans who under Atrak (Otrok) had settled in Georgia in the early twelfth century.[421] Those examples show that most Christian powers used proselytism to obtain political advantage. At the very least,

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[414] *Acta Honorii III*, pp. 206–208; *DRH, D*, I, no. 6. See also Emonis *Chronicon*, ed. L. Weiland, in *MGH*, *SS*, XXIII (1874), p. 511; Albric (see above, n. 412), p. 920.

[415] *Ip.let.*, p. 164.

[416] *Nik.let.*, I, p. 158.

[417] Ibidem, p. 236.

[418] Rogerii *Carmen miserabile/*Rogerius, *Cântecul de jale* (*IIR*, V) (1935), pp. 23, 29, 61, and 67.

[419] Skylitzes, pp. 456–457, 459; Kedrenos, II, pp. 583–584, 587.

[420] S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1971), pp. 442–444; M. Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc. Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 31–42; P. Bádenas, "L'intégration des Turcs dans la société byzantine (XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles). Echecs d'un processus de coexistence," in *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th Cent.)* (Athens, 1998), pp. 179–188; P. I. Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки и Византии (XIII-середина XIV в.). Часть первая: Тюркская аристократия," *Византийский временник* 65 (90) (2006), pp. 163–177.

[421] *Life of David*, p. 20; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, p. 363. See also Michel le Grand, *Chronique.* Version arménienne du prêtre Ischôk, trans. V. Langlois (Venice, 1868), p. 316.

the Christianisation of the nomads was expected to make their political manipulation easier.

The successful conversion of the Cumans, due largely to the zeal of the Dominicans, led to the creation of a Cuman Bishopric.[422] At its head Archbishop Robert appointed in 1228 Theodoric, a Dominican, an appointment swiftly confirmed by Pope Gregory IX.[423] The bishopric comprised a portion of south-eastern Transylvania around the the city of Corona (= Braşov, Kronstadt)[424] and an unspecified territory to the east from the Carpathian Bend, which in any case could not have gone beyond the Siret.[425] The inclusion of the Bârsa Land in that bishopric was meant to provide a safe income to its head, because in the outer-Carpathian space he could certainly not rely on gathering tithes from churches. In addition, it appears that, except for the Lower Siret plain, the bishopric did not comprise any landscape adequate for the life of

[422] On the conversion of the Cuman and the creation of the Cuman Bishopric, see I. Gyárfás, *A jasz-kunok története*, II (Kecskemét, 1873), pp. 219–225; C. Auner, "Episcopia Milcoviei," *Revista catolică* 1 (1912), no. 4, pp. 533–551; N. Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz von ihre Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung 1241–1242* (Zurich, 1913), pp. 75–92; B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters* (Habelschwerdt/Schles., 1924), pp. 141–148; Ferenţ, *Cumanii* (see above, n. 310), pp. 115–152; idem, *Începuturile Bisericii Catolice din Moldova* ed. E. Ferenţ (Iaşi, 2004), pp. 243–271; Gh. I. Moisescu, *Catolicismul în Moldova pînă la sfârşitul veacului XIV* (Bucharest, 1942), pp. 10–25; V. T. Pashuto, "Половецкое епископство," in *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Eduard Winter zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. W. Steinitz, P. N. Berkov, B. Suchodolski, and J. Dolanský (Berlin, 1966), pp. 33–40; J. Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Rome, 1977), pp. 20–26; I. O. Kniaz'kii, "О половецких епископиях в Карпато-Дунайских землях (Сообщение)," in *Социально-экономическая и политическая история Юго-Восточной Европы (до середины XIX в.)*, ed. V. D. Koroliuk (Kishinev, 1980), pp. 244–251; V. Gh. Sibiescu, "Episcopatul cuman de la Milcovia (1227 [1228]–1241)" in *Spiritualitate şi istorie la întorsura Carpaţilor*, ed. A. Plămădeală, I (Buzău, 1983), pp. 284–320; O. Bârlea, *Die Konzile des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts und die ökumenische Frage* (Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 76–79; Papacostea, *Românii*, pp. 66–69 and 75–76; F. Solomon, "Episcopia Cumaniei—Episcopia Milcoviei. Două episoade din istoria relaţiilor româno-maghiare," in *Studii istorice româno-ungare*, ed. L. Nastasă (Iaşi, 1999), pp. 7–18; V. Iorgulescu, *Le sud-est européen entre Byzance et Occident aux X^e–XIV^e siècles. Le cas des Roumains* (Iaşi, 2005), pp. 130–149; V. Achim, "La Coumanie de l'espace extra-carpatique à l'époque de la domination hongroise, 1227–1241," *RRH* 45 (2006), nos. 1–4, pp. 3–25; V. Spinei, "The Cuman bishopric—genesis and evolution," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta (Leiden–Boston, 2008) pp. 413–456.

[423] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 111; *Acta Honorii III* (see above, n. 412), pp. 208–209; Albric (see above, n. 412), p. 921.

[424] N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, III (Staubing, 1956), p. 402.

[425] Rogerius (see above, n. 418), pp. 33, 72.

the steppe nomads. Judging by the information in the papal bull of November 14, 1234, most inhabitants of the Cuman bishopric were Romanians (*Walati, Walathi*), under whose influence both Hungarian- and the German-speaking locals appear to have converted to Orthodoxy *(In Cumanorum episcopatu […] quidam populi, qui Walati vocantur, existunt […] et nonulli de regno Ungarie, tam Ungari, quam Theutonici et alii orthodoxi, morandi causa cum ipsis transeunt ad eosdem, et sic cum eis, quia populus unus facti cum eisdem Walathis…)*. The Romanians had their own bishops, called "pseudo-bishops" in the papal letter, who did no obey to Theodoric. Consequently, Pope Gregory IX urged urge prince Bela to take drastic measures against them.[426]

Bishops and bishoprics thus appear to have existed among the Romanians of the outer-Carpathian lands well before the Cuman Bishopric or the Teutonic knights' attemps at forceful conversion. The existence of local ecclesiastical structure does not seem to have been at all prevented by Catholic proselytism. Given the close relation between lay and ecclesiastical power throughout the Middle Ages, the existence of Romanian bishoprics begs the question of what political entities may have also existed in the area. Neither the size, nor the form of such an entity can be established at the moment. but the existence of "pseudo-bishops" and the Romanian resistance to Catholic proselytism cannot be explained away simply as Orthodox activism by churchmen coming from the Bulgarian lands south of the Danube or as an attempt by the Asenid rulers to expand their influence to the lands north of that river.[427] There is simply no basis for such an explanation in the evidence of the papal bull. Nonetheless, the confessional dependence of the north-Danubian "pseudo-bishops" on the ecclesiastical structures of the Second Tsardom seems to be normal for the first half of the thirteenth century, when the Bulgarian church took over the prerogatives held before 1204 by the Constantinopolitan Patriarchy.[428]

The name of the Cuman Bishopric does not seem to correspond to the realities on the ground at that time, for neither its location, nor its inhabitants had anything to do with the Cumans. The Cuman Bishopric

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[426] O. Raynald, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII. ubi desinit cardinalis Baronius*, ed. J. D. Mansi, II (Lucae, 1747), pp. 111–112; *Acta Honorii III*, pp. 284–285; *DRH, D*, I, no. 9.

[427] Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 146–147.

[428] Č. Bonev, "L'Église orthodoxe dans les territoires carpato-danubiens et la politique pontificale pendant la première moitié du XIII^{e} s.," *Études balkaniques* 22 (1986), no. 4, p. 105.

was in fact located in an area inhabited by Romanians and marked by hilly and mountain landscape, which was not suitable for nomadic life. Consequently, the name of the new bishopric was not a reflection of the achievements of the Dominican mission, but an anticipation of future successes of both that mission and the military expansion of the Hungarian Kingdom. Its goals were limited to the activity of missionaries and royal agents, without much concern for the creation of either military and ecclesiastical structures. The conversion of the Cumans would have given the Holy See and Hungary the opportunity to expand to the eastern lands of the continent. In that respect, it is important to note that just ten years after the conversion of the Cumans, several missions were sent to the pagan tribes of the Middle Volga, to the so-called *Magna Hungaria*—a region believe to have been the homeland from which the Hungarians had migrated to Pannonia.[429] The Cuman Bishopric thus illustrates the ample vision and the tenacity of the leaders of the Church of Hungary.

The enthusiasm generated by the initial success of the Cuman conversion of 1227–1228 slowly faded away as it became clear how difficult it was to spread Christianity into a cultural area very different from Catholic Europe. The Dominicans may have been ill-prepared for the enormity of the task and may have greatly underestimated the effort of converting the nomads to Christanity. Moreover in the ideological confrontation taking place in the steppe lands between Christianity and Islam, the latter seems to have prevailed, perhaps because that religion too had originated in a nomadic milieu, and was therefore better adapted to the lifestyle of the east-European nomads.

For all those difficulties, the Hungarian kings followed in the footsteps of the Teutonic knights and slowly consolidated their position of power in the outer-Carpathian Romanian lands, despite the opposition of both natives and nomads. Some Cuman groups, certainly those in the region north of the Lower Danube, who had partly adopted Christianity, may have favored a military alliance with Hungary. When Prince Bela crossed the "Hungarian Mountains" (i.e., the northern or Ukrainian Carpathians) and moved in 1229 against Galicia, he had on his side the Cumans led by Begovars. In turn, Daniil Romanovich, the prince

[429] L. Bendefy, "Fontes authentici itinera (1235–1238) fr. Iuliani illustrantes," *AECO* 3 (1937), nos. 1–4, pp. 1–51; H. Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1956), 1, pp. 125–202.

of Galicia, demanded the assistance of both the Poles and the Cumans of Kotian (Kuthen).[430] For the first time in their recorded history, two Cuman tribes living in the immediate vicinity of the Romanians lands found themselves on opposing sides, a clear sign of internal strife and of the disintegration of the Cuman tribal confederacy. In the end, Bela was defeated by the Galicians with their Cuman allies, and quickly crossed the Dniester River near Vasileu (= Vasilev), on the southern frontier of Galicia, to withdraw to Moldavia. From there he led his armies towards the Prut, and then, as the Hungarians were harassed by enemies and epidemics, he crossed the mountains back into Transylvania.[431] Being too far from the safety of the Verecke pass, Bela may have moved across the mountains along the valley of the river Moldova and then along that of the Someşul Mare until reaching Rodna.

That route was again by the Mongol army led by Kadan, who entered Transylvania in 1241.[432] Before that, Prince Rostislav, the son of the prince of Chernigov, may have employed the same route when fleeing to Hungary after he had failed to eliminate Danilo. The Galician-Volhynian chronicle dates the event to 6743 (= 1235), but it must have taken place a little later. In any case, Rostislav is said to have run away "on the Hungarian road" (*бежа во Угры путемъ*), moving Borsukov "to Baia, called Rodna, and then to the Hungarians" (*и пріиде къ Бани, рекомей Родна, и оттуда иде во Угры*).[433] The passage indicates that Rodna was also called Baia, no doubt because of the adjacent mining settlement. Similarly, a settlement named Molda (Molga, Mulda) on the other side of the Carpathian Mountains, in Moldova, was also known as Baia.[434] The location of Borsukov is not known, but the chronicler may have had in mind the site of the modern village of Bursuceni (Vereşti commune, Suceava county, Romania), situated on the right bank of the river Siret, east of Suceava.

While expanding to the south, across the Carpathian Mountains, Hungarian kings took a serious interest in both Wallachia and Bulgaria. When adopting the title "king of Cumania," which first appears in his

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[430] *Ip.let.*, p. 170.
[431] Ibidem, pp. 169–170.
[432] Rogerius, pp. 33, 72.
[433] *Ip.let.*, p. 175.
[434] *Молдавско-немецкая летопись*, in *Славяно-молдавские летописи XV–XVI вв.*, ed. F. A. Grecul, co-ord. V. I. Buganov (Moscow, 1976), p. 37; C. I. Karadja, "Delegaţii din ţara noastră la conciliul din Constanţa (în Baden) în anul 1415," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 7 (1927), pp. 70 and 82–83.

charters in 1233,[435] King Andrew II already ruled over a number of territories previously under local Cuman and Romanian chieftains. It is no accident that the new title was adopted at the time the Severin Banate was established.[436] During the first four decades of the thirteenth century, for all its inner turmoils, the Hungarian Kingdom appeared to be the main political force in the Middle and Lower Danube area. The Arpadian kings of Hungary had ambitions of expansion directed towads the territories inhabited by "schismatics" (i.e., Orthodox) and pagans. Such a political program had not only the approval, but also the full support of the Holy See. Moreover, Hungarian expansionism took advantage of the Bulgarian involvement in affairs in the southern Balkans. Meanwhile, neither the Rus' principalities, nor the Cumans seem to have had sufficient political and military clout to be a serious obstacle. Therefore, during the first part of the thirteenth century, Hungary became a much more serious threat for the local Romanian communities than the nomads of the steppe.

The conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders drastically diminished the prestige of Orthodoxy, given that none of the competing centers of power—Nicaea, Tărnovo, Thessalonike, Trebizond, or Galicia—had the authority to replace Constantinopolitan Patriarchate in order to counterbalance the increasingly successful offensive of Catholicism. Although various Greek and Slavic rulers showed themselves open to the union with the Church of Rome, Catholic proselytims in south-eastern and eastern Europe never gained much support among common people. The cooperation between the military and political structures, on one hand, and the church hierarchy in Hungary was viewed by both sides as an opportunity for the advancement of their own, specific goals. The resistance to Hungarian expansion into the Orthodox lands was thus viewed as resistance to the conversion to Catholicism.

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[435] *Codex diplomaticus*, ed. G. Fejér (see above, n. 377), III, 2 (Budae, 1829), pp. 347–348; Hurmuzaki, I, p. 127.

[436] For that event, see M. Holban, "Despre Ţara Severinului şi Banatul de Severin în secolul al XIII-lea," in eadem, *Din cronica relaţiilor*, pp. 55–63; Ş. Papacostea, "Înfruntări politice şi spirituale în sud-estul Europei: 1204–1241 (II)," *AII* 27 (1990), pp. 35–36; V. Achim, "Despre vechimea şi originea Banatului de Severin," *Revista istorică*, NS, 5 (1994), nos. 3–4, pp. 234–236; idem, "Istoria unei provincii de frontieră: banatul de Severin în secolul al XIII-lea," in *Secolul al XIII-lea pe meleagurile locuite de către români*, ed. A. A. Rusu (Cluj–Napoca, 2006), pp. 31–40.

Among the nomads who lived in southern Moldavia, similar to the Cumans were the Brodniks, attested in several contemporary diplomas and bulls. The first of those are two documents of 1222,[437] considered by some to be apocryphal. If so, however, the forgery cannot have taken place more than a decade after the date indicated in the documents. In documents issued in 1227, 1231 and 1250 the land of the Brodniks appears together with Cumania in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains,[438] the Brodniks' being mentioned under the name of *Bordones* (*Βορδόνης*), together with *Scythians* (= Cumans) who supported the Vlachs and the Bulgarians in 1186.[439] In 1146/1147[440] and in 1216[441] the Brodniks were mentioned as being involved in wars between the Rus' princes, and in 1223 they participated in the battle at Kalka.[442]

Given that in all sources, they are mentioned along with other ethnic names, the Brodniks must have been a distinct ethnic group, not a social category. The vast area within which they are said to have been able to move, from Suzdal to the steppes north of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube, point to them being nomads. Their name or their "country" was often associated with Cumans or Cumania, and their special mobility may indicate that the Brodniks' belonged to the family of Turkic peoples. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, besides the great Turkic tribes—Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans—and the remainders of the Bulgars and Khazars, there were also smaller groups, such as the

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[437] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 74–77; *DRH,D*, I, no. 1 and 2; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (see above, n. 386), pp. 170 and 173.

[438] Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 102, 114, and 260; *DIR, C, v. XI, XII şi XIII*, I, pp. 228, 245, and 345.

[439] Uspenskii, *Образованіе* (see above, n. 374), p. 35; Nicetae Choniatae *Orationes* (see above, n. 373), p. 93.

[440] *Ip.let.*, p. 30; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 342; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 38; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV (see above, n. 336), p. 40; *Летописный свод 1497 г.*, in *PSRL*, 28 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1963), p. 28; *Летописный свод 1518 г. (Уваровская летопись)*, in ibidem, p. 183; *Холмогорская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 33 (Leningrad, 1977), p. 43.

[441] *Новгородская четвертая летопись*, in *PSRL*, IV, p. 22; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 122; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV, pp. 112–113.

[442] *NPL*, pp. 63, 266; *Троицкая летопись*, in *PSRL*, I (see above, n. 402), p. 218; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 132; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летописью*, in *PSRL*, XV, col. 342; *Ермолинская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XXIII (see above, n. 405), p. 71; *Летопись по Уваровскому списку*, in *PSRL*, XXV, p. 120; *Вологодско-Пермская летопись*, in *PSRL*, XXVI (see above, n. 405), p. 69; *Холмогорская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 33, p. 64.

Berendei, the Turpei, the Kaepichi, and the Koui.[443] Their respective homelands and origins remain unknown, but they may have all become distinct groups in central Asia, or during the migration to the west. Some of them may have simply been clans of the larger tribes.

Earlier studies maintained that the Brodniks were Romanians,[444] most of those who advocated the idea being misled by an erroneous transcription of names in a document of 1222.[445] As often happens, even after the mistake was revealed, that misconception continued to be reproduced. The fact that the Brodniks appear in the Romanian lands to the east from the Carpathian Mountains during a period of much ethnic change and population movement is not sufficient proof for them being natives to those lands, especially considering that they also appear in territories at a long distance from the Carpathian Mountains. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the fact that in contemporary sources the Romanians are consistently identified by other names, all of which derive from the ethnic name Vlach or Voloch. However, it would have been nonsensical for Niketas Choniates and for the emitters of the two documents of 1222[446] to have used two different names for the same ethnic group.

The idea that the Brodniks were Rus' or semi-nomadic Rus' mixed with Turkic nomads (*avant-la-lettre* Cossacks of sorts)[447] is equally ground-

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[443] *Ip.let.; PSRL*, I; *Let.Voskr.; Nik.let.*, I, II, *passim*. See also Rassovsky, "Печенеги, торки и берендеи" (see above, n. 242), pp. 11–16; Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 165; eadem, *Половцы*, pp. 78–82; N. A. Baskakov, "Микроэтнонимы узов (огузов)—черных клобуков в русских летописях," *AOH* 36 (1982), nos. 1–3, pp. 39–40 and 42–44; T. Nagrodszka-Majchrzyk, *Czarni Klobucy* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 18 ff.

[444] D. Onciul, "Originile" (see above, n. 374), pp. 693–695; Kogălniceanu, *Istoria românilor*, I (Iaşi, 1903), p. 28; A. Bunea, *Încercare de istoria românilor pînă la 1382* (Bucharest, 1912), pp. 128–131; V. Motogna, *Articole şi documente. Contribuţii la istoria românilor din v. XIII–XVI* (Cluj, 1923), pp. 35–42; A. V. Boldur, *Istoria Basarabiei. Contribuţii la studiul istoriei românilor*, I (Chişinău, 1937), pp. 111–119.

[445] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 77.

[446] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 74–76; *DRH,D*, I, nos. 1 and 2; Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (see above, n. 386), pp. 170–171.

[447] M. Karamzin, *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie*, II (Paris, 1819), p. 274; P. J. Šafařik, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, II (Prague, 1863), p. 650; D. Rassovsky, "Печенеги, торки и берендеи" (see above, n. 242), p. 176; Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 186; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 203; C. Goehrke, "Wüstungsperioden des frühen und hohen Mittelalters in Osteuropa," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, NF, 16 (1968), no. 1, p. 116; M. F. Kotliar, "Хто таки бродники," *Український історичний журнал* (1969), no. 5 (98), pp. 95–101; A. T. Smilenko, *Слов'яни та їх сусиди в степовому Подніпров'ї (II–XIII ст.)* (Kiev, 1975), p. 190; Al. A. Bolşacov-Ghimpu, *Cronica Ţării Moldovei pînă la întemeiere* (Bucharest, 1979), pp. 55–56; Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten" (see above, n. 364), p. 135; A. Bartha, "The typology of nomadic empires," in *Popoli delle steppe* (see above,

less. Against the idea is the fact that the term *kosak*, which is of Cuman origin[448] means "sentinel," or "watch guard,"[449] and is thus very different in meaning from "brodnik." The name Brodnik most probably derived from the Slavic verb *бродить* ("to wander," "to roam"), so the original meaning must have been "wanderer," "vagrant,"[450] which does not exclude a Turkic origin for the Brodniks.[451] An undoubtedly Turkic tribe was known by a Slavic name, the *Chornye klobuki* (*черные клобуки*, Black Caps), perhaps a translation of the Turkic *Qara-börkli*.[452]

Equally controversial is the ethnicity of the Bolokhovens, a population mentioned as living in the Rus' regions to the north-east from Moldavia. On the basis of similarity with the name of the Volokh/Wallachians, some have regarded them as of Romanian origin, the more so since during the Middle Ages there seems to have been many Romance speaking enclaves within the Galician-Volhynia Principality.[453] Archaeological investigations undertaken in the last few decades have precisely detected the settlements of the Bolokhoven princes mentioned in the

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n. 57), I (Spoleto, 1988), pp. 157–158; A. A. Kozlovs'kii, *Історико-культурний розвиток Південного Подніпров'я в IX–XIV ст.* (Kiev, 1992), pp. 164–171; Iu. V. Sukharev, "Половцы," *Московский журнал* 8 (2006), p. 55.

[448] G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum* (Budapest, 1880), p. 268.

[449] G. Stökl, *Die Entstehung der Kosakentums* (Munich, 1953), pp. 39–41.

[450] F. K. Brun, *Черноморье. Сборникъ изследованій по исторической географіи Южной Россіи*, I (Odessa, 1879), p. 114; N. N. Petraşcu and G. G. Bezviconi, *Relaţiile ruso-române* (Bucharest, 1945), p. 13; B. A. Rybakov, "Древние русы," *SA* 17 (1953), pp. 62–63; N. Polonska-Vasylenko, *Geschichte der Ukraine. Von den Anfängen bis 1923*, trans. R. Szuper (Munich, 1988), p. 133.

[451] Some believe the Brodniks to have been Alans. See O. B. Bubenok, *Ясы и бродники в Восточной Европы (VI–начало XIII вв.)* (Kiev, 1997), pp. 131–136.

[452] J. Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in W. Bang and J. Marquart, "Osttürkische Dialektstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, *Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, NF, 13 (1914), no. 1, pp. 157–158; H. H. Schaeder, *Vorwort des Herausgebers*, in J. Marqwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), p. 44 (the book-review translation of J. Marquart's study made by V. Barthold in 1921). See also P. B. Golden, "The Černii Klobouci," in *Symbolae Turcologicae. Studies in Honour of Lars Johanson on his Sixtieth Birthday*, *8 March 1996*, eds. A. Berta, B. Brendemoen, and C. Schönig (Uppsala, 1996), p. 99: "we do not have to identify the Černii Klobouci with the Qara Qalpaq (and certainly not with the Qara Börklü who were a Cuman/Qipčaq tribe)".

[453] A. S. Petrushevich, *Кто были Болоховскіе князья?* (offprint of *Слово*, 94–95) (Lwow, 1877); Kogălniceanu, *Istoria românilor* (see above, n. 444), pp. 28–29; Boldur, *Istoria Basarabiei* (see above, n. 444), I, pp. 120–125; C. C. Giurescu, *Tîrguri sau oraşe şi cetăţi moldovene din secolul al X-lea pînă la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea* (Bucharest, 1967), pp. 37–39; Th. Holban, "Contribuţii la problema originii şi localizării bolohovenilor," *RIs* 21 (1968), no. 1, pp. 26–27.

chronicles, and defined the features of their material culture.[454] Those features are specific to western Rus' territories, a fact that is believed to be relevant for defining the ethnicity of the Bolokhovens. The idea that the Bolokhovens were Rus' is also supported by evidence of relations between Bolokhoven princes and Galician noble families.[455]

Some believe that prior to the battle at Kalka, the lands of the Bolokhovens were ruled from Kiev.[456] Bolokhoven princely were sworn enemies of Daniil (Danylo) Romanovich, against whom they fought in 1231, 1235, 1241, and 1257.[457] As the confrontations were between unequal military forces, the Bolokhovens allied themselves with Daniil's enemies, the Hungarians and the Mongols. Their fortified settlements enabled the Bolokhovens to opposed the Galicians for many decades. However they could not stand the campaign organized by Daniil in 1257, and thus their chances of political emancipation were ruined.

Medieval places names and the existence of villages organized according to the so-called Romanian law (*jus Valachicum*) on Galicia-northern slopes of the northern Carpathians, which were part of Galych-Volhynia, indicate a numerous Romanian population and point out certain features of its organization.[458] The adoption of numerous

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[454] P. A. Rappoport, "Города Болоховской земли," *KS* 57 (1955), pp. 52–59; K. I. Tereshchuk, "До питання про локалізацію Болоховської землі," in *Дослідження з слав'яно руської археології*, eds. V. I. Dovzhenok (gen. ed.), V. D. Baran, V. I. Bidzilia, L. V. Vakulenko, M. P. Kuchera, O. M. Prikhodniuk (Kiev, 1976), pp. 164–175; I. S. Vinokur, P. A. Gorishnii, *Бакота. Столиця давньоруського Пониззя* (Kamenets-Podolsk, 1994), pp. 249–254; V. I. Iakubovskii, "Болоховські скарби як памятки давньоукраїнського костюму і ремесла," in *Давня і середньовічна історія України (історико-археологічний збірник). На пошану Іона Винокура з нагодийого 70-річчя* (Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kii, 2000), pp. 260–275; I. S. Vinokur, O. I. Zhurko, V. P. Megei, V. I. Iakubovskii, "Дослідження літописного Губина у 2001–2002 роках," in *Археологічні відкриття в Україні 2001–2002 рр.* (Kiev, 2003), pp. 72–74; idem, "Дослідження літописного Губина у 2003 р.," in *Археологічні відкриття в Україні 2002–2003 рр.* (Kiev, 2004), pp. 83–86; I. S. Vinokur, V. I. Iakubovskii, O. I. Zhurko, V. P. Megei, "Речовий скарб із літописного Губина," *Археологія* (2007), no. 1, pp. 54–65.

[455] N. P. Dashkevich, "Болоховская земля и ея значеніе въ русской исторіи," in *Труды третьяго археологическаго съезда въ Россіи, вывшаго въ Кіеве въ августъ 1874 года*, II (Kiev, 1878), p. 69 ff.; D. P. Bogdan, "Despre bolohoveni cu prilejul unui studiu al ucraineanului Andrijašev," *Arhiva românească* 5 (1940), pp. 272–274; Polonska-Vasylenko, *Geschichte*, p. 132.

[456] P. P. Tolochko, "Киевская земля," in *Древнерусские княжества* (see above, n. 269), p. 13.

[457] *Ip.let.*, pp. 172, 174, 179–180, and 194–195.

[458] L. Wyrostek, *Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej* (Cracow, 1932), pp. 27–39; N. Drăganu, *Românii în veacurile IX–XIV pe baza toponimiei şi a onomasticei* (Bucharest, 1933), pp. 404–411; M. N. Popp, "Urme româneşti în viaţa pastorală a Carpaţilor polonezi," *BSRRG* 44 (1935), pp. 210–223; Th. Holban, "Răspîndirea coloniilor

words of neo-Latin origin in the Ukrainian language is due, to a great extent, to the influence of those Romanian enclaves.

Meanwhile, in the lands on the left bank of the Danube, which witnessed the disintegration of the nomadic power, Romanians succeeded in creating several political entities, some of them covering vast territories. Nothing is known about such entities in the years prior to the great Mongol invasion. By contrast, there are several references for the years following that invasion. The 1247 diploma granted to the Knights of of St John lists in Oltenia and western Wallachia, the principalities of two voivodes named Litovoi and Seneslau, and two knezes names John and Farcaş.[459] In that same year, on his way back from the great khan, John of Plano Carpini (Giovanni di Pian di Carpine) met a "duke" named Olaha, who was on his way to the court of Batu Khan.[460] The name of the duke is striking similar to the ethnic name for the Romanians, *oláh*, in Hungarian.[461]

The Franciscan William of Rubruck, who took a message from the king of France to the great khan in 1253, reported that at the court of Sartak he encountered messengers of the Russians, of the Romanians and of other peoples. They had stopped there on their way to the Volga, to the court of Batu Khan, to whom they carried their gifts: *Ipse enim est in itinere christianorum, scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgarie, Soldainorum, Kerkisorum, Alanorum, curiam patris sui, defferentes ei munera, unde magis ampectitur eos*.[462] The fact that Romanian princes sent emissaries to Sarai, or even had personal contacts with the Mongol leaders of the Horde indicates that such actions were necessary in getting confirmation of the status of regional rulers. Since immediately after the great

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româneşti în Polonia," *Arhiva* 42 (1935), nos. 1–2, pp. 28–33; idem, "Contribuţii" (see above, n. 453), pp. 21–27; M. Jurkowski, "Z hydronimii Karpat polskich," *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 11 (1970), no. 2, p. 317; O. Horbatsch, "Ukrainische Ortsnamen rumänischer Herkunft," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, NF, 6 (1971), no. 4, pp. 357–377; T. Sulimirski, "Trakowie w północnych Karpatach i problem pochodzenia wołochów," *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 14 (1974), pp. 79–105; G. Jawor, "Zasięg i charakter osadnictwa wołoskiego na Rusi Czerwonej w XIV–XVI wieku," in *Галицько-Волинська держава: передумови виникнення*, pp. 123–125; idem, *Osady prawa wołoskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu* (Lublin, 2000), p. 15 ff.

[459] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, I, eds. F. Zimmermann and C. Werner (Hermannstadt, 1892), no. 82; *DRH, B*, I, no. 1.

[460] Plano Carpini, p. 129.

[461] Gh. I. Brătianu, "Roman şi Vlachata în tradiţia istorică a descălecatului Moldovei," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 27 (1944–1945), pp. 43–48; idem, "În jurul întemeierii statelor româneşti," *Ethos*, Paris, 2 (1975), pp. 40–41.

[462] Rubruck, p. 209.

invasion several Romanian political formations or their rulers were mentioned in documents, we may assume that those structures had existed previously, and that they were strong enough to survive the shock of the Mongol invasion. They cannot possibly have been organized in the few years after the invasion, especially if we take into account the damage inflicted upon the whole Romanian society.

The traditional relations that had brought together the populations on both sides of the Danube continued after the victory of the Vlach-Bulgarian uprising in the Balkans, and the rise of the Second Bulgarian Empire. Hordes of Cumans continued to be included in the military forces of Ioannitsa's successors, and those horsemen were used in the disputes south of the Balkans. In order to consolidate his reign and his alliance with the nomads of the steppes, Boril (1207–1218) married a Cuman woman, his uncle Ioannitsa's widow.[463] In addition, the pretender to the throne, John, Asen's son—the future John Asen II, who was Boril's cousin—fled with his supporters to the "Scythians" (= Cumans) in the lands north of the Danube. Possibly they came in touch with the Romanians of that area too. In 1218, after having obtained the neutrality of the Cumans of the Romanian Plain, John Asen II, with help from the Russians, returned to Bulgaria and overthrew Boril.[464] In the 1230 great battle at Klokotnitsa, in which the new tsar defeated the armies of Theodore Angelus, the emperor of Thessalonike, John Asen II (1218–1241) had Cuman forces on his side as well.[465] A little later, in 1234/1235, the Nicaean emperor John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222–1254), who aimed to recover Byzantine possessions from the Latins, concluded a peace treaty with John Asen II, not only in order to have him as an ally against the Latin Empire, but also because he feared the good relationship between the Cumans and the tsar.[466]

As they wasted their military capacity in supporting the Asens, the Cuman tribes of the Lower Danube ignored the great threat represented by their own relatives of the extreme eastern territories of Desht-i Qipchaq. About 20,000 Cumans were said to have participated—together with Georgians, Armenians, Lezghians, Abkhazians, and other groups—

[463] Acropolites (see above, n. 261), col. 1019.
[464] Ibidem, col. 1033–1034; *FHB*, XV, p. 267 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*).
[465] Acropolites, col. 1048; *FHB*, XV, pp. 269–270 (Theodori Scutariotae *Compendium chronicum*).
[466] Gregoras, I (see above, n. 261), p. 29.

in the coalition formed against Jalal-al-Din (Jalaluddin)—the successor of the shah Muhammad, who had invaded the Caucasian area in a.H. 625 (= 1227–1228). As they were diplomatically lured by Jalal-al-Din, the Cumans eventually stopped fighting against him. Their forces had come, probably, from the above-mentioned extremity of Desht-i Qipchaq, that is, from territories bordering on Khwarazm.[467] It was at that point, after the destruction of the Khanate of Khwarazm, that the Mongols re-appeared in Europe, enthusiatically preparing themselves to move to the west. Their plans were delayed due to the death of Jochi, to whom his father, Genghis Khan (who also died shortly thereafter), had granted as *ulus* the western territories to be conquered.

The *kuriltai* of 1229 again raised the question of invading Desht-i Qipchaq and the neighbouring regions. Before launching that great campaign, the Mongol hordes undertook some manoeuvres on the Volga, which were meant either to consolidate their positions on the left bank of the river, or to scatter enemy forces. For 1229 and 1231/1232 Russian and Oriental chronicles mention raids against the Bulgars and other populations on the Volga.[468] On the occasion of the first expedition, an attack against the Cumans took place too, dated by Ibn Wasil to a.H. 627[469] (= Nov. 20, 1229–Nov. 9, 1230). The Mongol advance to the west was also facilitated by the disputes between the Cuman tribes of Durut and Toksoba, as presented by authors belonging to the Mamluk state. That conflict, as result of a competition for hunting grounds, led to the murder of Mangush, Kotian's (Kothen's) son, of the tribe of Durut. The reprisals launched by Kotian against the tribe of Toksoba forced the khan of the latter, Akkubul, to ask for Mongol aid.[470] Accute tensions among various Cuman tribal groups were also

[467] Juvaini (see above, n. 409), II, 1959, pp. 438–440; Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, ed. J. A. Boyle (New York–London, 1971), pp. 43–44; Rashiduddin Fazlullah (see above, n. 122), II (Harvard [Cambridge, Mass.], 1999), pp. 318–319.

[468] *Продоженіе Лаврентіевской летописи*, in *PSRL*, I (see above, n. 375), pp. 192, 196; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 138; *Nik.let.*, II, p. 103; *Холмогорская летопись*, in *PSRL*, 33 (see above, n. 440), p. 66; Juvaini, I, p. 190; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* (see above, n. 405), I, p. 300; Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar-Hebraei *Chronicon*, p. 503. See also V. V. Kargalov, *Внешнеполитические факторы развития феодальной Руси* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 66–67; L. V. Cherepnin, "Монголо-татары на Руси XIII в.," in *Татаро-монголы в Азии и Европе*, ed. S. L. Tikhvinskii, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1977), p. 190; Th. T. Allsen, "Prelude to the Western campaigns: Mongol military operations in the Volga-Ural region, 1217–1237," *AEMA* 3 (1983), pp. 14–18.

[469] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 73.

[470] Ibidem, pp. 541 (an-Nuwairi), 542 (Ibn Khaldun).

observed by the Dominican Julian, an emissary to *Hungaria Magna* in 1237. Several protagonists of those intertribal conflicts called for the assistance of both Khwarazmians and Mongols, in order to get the upper hand and to destroy their opponents.[471]

In 1236 a huge Mongol army, under the supreme command of Batu Khan, Jochi's son, set forth to the west, in one of the greatest invasions in the history of the world. It was to produce radical changes in the political and ethnic structure of eastern Europe, as well as in the Carpathian-Danube region. It seems that the ample operations of 1236 were preceded by some attacks undertaken in Desht-i Qipchaq, as mentioned above, in a.H. 632 (= 1234–1235), by the Persian chronicler Rashid al-Din.[472] The bulk of the Mongol forces began to move only after those initial attacks. The first victims of the invasion were the populations living on the Lower and Middle Volga, Cumans included. The Cuman leader Bachman, in alliance with the Bulgars and the Iassians, offered vigorous resistance to the aggressors.[473] The fact that he received no help from the Cumans in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea speaks volumes about of the political blindness of the Cuman chieftains.

Towards the end of 1237 the Mongol hordes attacked the principalities of Riazan' and Vladimir, which were conquered before the following spring. According to Rashid al-Din, in a.H. 635 (= Aug. 24, 1237–Aug. 13, 1238) the Mongol actions focused on the steppes north of the Black Sea,[474] which were inhabited by Cumans and by other nomads still living in Desht-i Qipchaq under their rule. The attempted

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[471] Bendefy, "Fontes authentici" (see above, n. 429), pp. 35–36, 39–40; Dörrie, "Drei Texte" (see above, n. 429), pp. 170–171 (Iulianus).

[472] Rashid al-Din, *Successors*, p. 61; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, II, p. 328.

[473] W. Abramowski, "Die chinesischen Annalen des Möngke. Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des Yüan-shih," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 13 (1979), p. 16; Juvaini, II, p. 553; Rashid al-Din, *Successors*, pp. 58–59; Tiesenhausen, II, pp. 24 (Juvaini), 35–36 (Rashid-ad-Din); Rashiduddin Fazlullah, II, pp. 326 and 402; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I, pp. 311–312; P. Pelliot, "À propos des Coumans," *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 11, 15 (1920), no. 2, 165–167; Allsen, "Prelude to the Western campaigns," pp. 18–20; A. J. Frank, "Historical legends of the Volga-Ural Muslims concerning Alexander the Great, the city of Yelabuga, and Bāchmān Khān," in *Figures mythiques des mondes musulmans. Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Série Histoire* 89–90 (2000), pp. 101–104; E. P. Mys'kov, "Расказ о Бачмане," *Нижневолжский археологический вестник* 3 (2000), pp. 238–239; D. Korobeinikov, "A broken mirror: the Kipçak world in the thirteenth century," in *Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 404–405.

[474] Tiesenhausen, II, p. 37 (Rashid-ad-Din); Rashiduddin Fazlullah, II, p. 327; Korobeinikov, "A broken mirror," p. 391.

resistance, under Kuthen's command, was in vain, although the results of the first clashes were favourable to the Cumans.[475] The development of the battles in Desht-i Qipchaq was not very well recorded in the documents, but the Cumans' subsequent migration to the south and to the west is eloquent enough. One part of the Cumans made for the the Caucasian passes,[476] another for the Balkans and Panonnian Plain.

Hordes of Cumans crossed the Danube on leather bags stuffed with straw, then they moved to southern Bulgaria, plundered Thrace and Macedonia along the way.[477] Ibn Tagribirdi relates that the Vlach chieftain Unus Khan attacked the Cumans after initially having allowed them to settle within his territories.[478] Taking into account that the Bulgarians opposed the crossing of their country by the Cumans,[479] and that medieval authors frequently referred to the state of the Asens as the "Land of the Vlachs," the above-mentioned "khan" must have been John Asen II.[480] Although the military collaboration with the Cumans had been very profitable for him, and although in his youth he had taken refuge among them, John Asen II could not accept the idea of having to deal with more nomads within his own country. He certainly could foresee what ravages hordes of at least 10,000 people could cause.

In having to choose between fighting the Turkic tribes and using them as auxiliary troops, John III Ducas Vatatzes opted for the latter.[481] His rivals, the Latins of Constantinople, were also preoccupied with getting the Cumans on their side.[482] The emperors of Nicaea had hired Cuman detachments in Asia Minor, but they also used them in their campaigns in south-eastern Europe. Those detachments were frequently mentioned in the armies of John III Ducas Vatatzes'

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[475] Rogerius (see above, n. 418), pp. 23, 61.
[476] Tiesenhausen, II, p. 38 (Rashid-ad-Din); Rashiduddin Fazlullah, II, p. 332.
[477] Acropolites, col. 1062; Gregoras, I, pp. 36–37.
[478] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 542.
[479] Acropolites, col. 1062.
[480] V. Spinei, "Aspekte der politischen Verhältnisse des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Schwarzem Meer zur Zeit der Mongolenherrschaft (XIII.–XIV. Jahrhundert)," *Dacoromania. Jahrbuch für Östliche Latinität*, Freiburg-Munich, 3 (1975–1976), p. 30; P. Pavlov, "По въпроса за заселванията на кумани в България през XIII в.," *Доклади*, 6, *Българските земи в древността. България през средновековието* (Sofia, 1987), pp. 631–632.
[481] Gregoras, I (see above, n. 261), p. 37.
[482] Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, in *Historiens* (Paris, 1952) (see above, n. 383), p. 311; idem, *Vie de Saint Louis*, trans. and ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1998), pp. 244–245; Albric, p. 950. For similar, previous attempts, see *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 381.

successors, Theodore II Lascaris (1254–1258) and Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258–1282). Among other campaigns, they took part even in the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins in July, 1261.[483] Other Cuman mercenaries came from various Balkan provinces. They were not always reliable. For example, in 1327 and the subsequent years, 2,000 Cumans who were suspected of planning a coalition with the Mongols were carried from Thrace to three islands in the Aegean Sea: Lemnos, Thasos and Lesbos.[484]

In order to consolidate the cooperation with the Turkic nomads the imperial house resorted to matrimonial alliances, a method that recalled that previously employed in relationships with Rus', Georgia, Bulgaria and Hungary. Very significant in this respect is the case of a late-thirteenth-century Cuman leader's son, Sytzigan (baptized as Syrgiannes), who married a member of the Palaeologus family and got positions of honour at the court of Andronicus II (1282–1328).[485] As a result of such matrimonial arrangements, descendants of Cumans were related to the members of the royal house of Georgia, and they also came to appear as members of the imperial family of the Grand Comneni of Trebizond in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[486] The Cumans scattered over such a vast area that their assimilation came naturally, especially when facilitated by conversion and the adoption of a sedentary way of life.

The third Cuman branch, which came from the steppes north of the Black Sea under the rule of Kuthen, was allowed by king Bela IV to settle in the Hungary despite being very large, about 40,000 people, according to Rogerius. Because of the troubles caused by the settlement of the Turkic nomads in Hungary, the authorities undertook reprisals against them. Kuthen was killed and the Cumans took refuge in Bulgaria, thus depriving the Hungarian Kingdom of important assistance

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[483] A. G. K. Savvides, "Οί Κομάνοι (Κουμάνοι) καί τὸ Βυζάντιο, 11ος–13ος αί μ.Χ.," *Byzantina* 13 (1985), no. 2, pp. 953–955; M. C. Bartusis, "On the problem of smallholding soldiers in Late Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), pp. 12–13; idem, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 26–27.

[484] Ioannis Cantacuzeni *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1828), p. 259.

[485] Ibidem, p. 18; Gregoras, I, p. 296. The Mongol origin of Sitzigan (Syrgiannes) proposed by D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1993), p. 156, cannot be accepted.

[486] E. A. Zachariadou, "Noms coumans à Trébizonde," *Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 285–288.

just at the moment when the great Mongol invasion was on its way.[487] Only a few years after the withdrawal of Batu's armies, the Cumans were again allowed to settle in Hungary, where they were to become a strong constituent of the royal armies for more than a century. Under such circumstances, the Cumans often fought side by side with the Romanians recruited by Arpadian and Angevin kings. They appear together in the Hungarian campaigns of 1260[488] and 1271[489] against Bohemia, in those of 1291[490] and 1296[491] into Austria, and in that against the Polish magnates of 1383.[492] Cuman troops accompanied Charles Robert in his unfortunate expedition to Wallachia in 1330.[493] In 1282 the Cumans who had rebelled against Ladislas IV the Cuman fled to the Mongols,[494] certainly after crossing the territory of Moldavia.

After the conquest of Desht-i Qipchaq in 1238–1239, the Mongols resumed their campaign against the Rus' principalities, which had not yet been conquered. In 1241–1242 they invaded the Romanian regions, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Bulgaria. The human losses and the destruction of settlements and of cultivated fields were enormous, and many years were needed for recovery. In the Carpathian-Danube area some perturbations took place on the occasion of the Cuman exodus

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[487] Rogerius (see above, n. 418), pp. 22–24, 26, 28, 29, 35–37, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, and 74–76; Dörrie, "Drei Texte" (see above, n. 429), p. 175; Marinus Sanutus, p. 236.

[488] *Historia Russiae monumenta*, II, ed. A. J. Turgenev (Petropoli, 1842), p. 348; Hurmuzaki, I, p. 287; Joannes de Marignoli, *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta historica Boemiae*, II, ed. G. Dobner (Prague, 1768), p. 221; *Annales Otakariani*, ed. R. Koepke, in *MGH, SS*, IX (1851), p. 185; Giovanni Villani, *Historie fiorentine*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratorius, XIII (Mediolani, 1728), col. 203; idem, *Nuova cronica*, I, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1990), p. 363; Io. Dubravii *Historia Boiemica* (Basileae, 1575), p. 158.

[489] *Chronicon Claustroneuburgense*, in *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, I, ed. A. Rauch (Vindobonae, 1793), p. 108; *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis VI*, in *MGH, SS*, IX (1851), p. 743; *Rocznik kapituły Krakowskiej*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, SN, V, *Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario*, ed. S. Kozlowska-Budka (Warsaw, 1978), p. 101.

[490] *Continuatio Vindobonensis*, in *MGH, SS*, IX (1851), p. 716; Gombos, I, p. 515; Thomas Ebendorfer, *Cronica Austriae*, ed. A. Lhotsky, in *MGH*, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, NS, XIII (Berlin–Zurich, 1967), pp. 200–201.

[491] Anonymi Leobiensis *Chronicon*, in *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum*, I, ed. H. Pez (Lipsiae, 1721), col. 874; Gombos, I, p. 279.

[492] *Kalendarz Krakowsky*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), p. 931; *Calendarii Cracoviensis notae historicae ad annorum dierumque ordinem redactae*, ed. W. Bruchnalski, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, VI (Cracow, 1893), p. 657.

[493] *Cronici Hungarici* (see above, n. 273), p. 499; *CPict*, pp. 111, 235; *Chronicon Budense*, p. 249; Johannes de Thurocz, I, p. 151.

[494] *Cronici Hungarici*, pp. 471–472; *CPict*, pp. 97–98, 221; *Chronicon Posoniense*, p. 44; Henric de Mügeln, p. 209. See also *Chronicon Zagrabiense cum textu Chronici Varadiensis collatum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, in *SRH*, I, p. 213; *Chronicon Budense*, p. 207; Johannes de Thurocz, I, p. 139.

from eastern Europe. The steppes of that part of the continent were conquered by Batu Khan's armies and became parts of the Golden Horde, whose western frontiers were on the Lower Danube. Among the major consequences of the great Mongol invasion was the destruction of the Turkic tribes in the steppes north of the Black and Caspian seas. That situation extended over the plains of the outer-Carpathian space, where a great part of the Turkic groups were exterminated, subjugated or forced to migrate to other lands, because neither the Bugeac, nor the Romanian Plain offered sufficient protection against the enemy.

The massacre of the Cumans and their exodus did not lead to total evacuation of Desht-i Qipchaq. John of Plano Carpini, the messenger of Pope Innocent IV to the great khan, travelled throughout the Mongol Empire in 1245–1247, and he related that the Tatars had slaughtered the Cumans, but some of the latter could flee and return later, whereas others were taken away as captives: *Istos autem Comanos Tartari occiderunt; quidam etiam a facie ipsorum fugerunt, et alii sunt in eorum servitutem redacti. Plurimi tamen ex eis qui fugerunt, revertuntur ad ipsos*.[495]

Some Turkic groups were subdued by the new rulers of the Eurasian steppes, and they had to accompany Batu in his great expedition to Hungary.[496] Shortly after the invasion, the messengers of the pope and of the king of France, as well as different oriental travellers mentioned the presence of numerous groups of Cumans in the steppes north of the Black Sea and in Crimea. Evidence regarding their presence in the territories conquered by the Mongols can be found in many passages of contemporary chroniclers.[497] The information is also confirmed by archaeological excavations of numerous burial assemblages of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century nomads. Such assemblages show the continuation of the Turkic burial rites, especially the inhumation under

[495] Plano Carpini, p. 112.

[496] Matthaei Parisiensis *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, IV (London, 1877), p. 131; Rogerius, pp. 49–51 and 89–91; *Chronicon monasterii Mellicensis*, in *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum*, I (see above, n. 491), col. 239; *Chronicon Salisburgense*, in ibidem, col. 356; Anonymi Leobiensis *Chronicon*, in ibidem, col. 816; *Chronicon Claustroneuburgense* (see above, n. 489), p. 85.

[497] Plano Carpini, pp. 90, 112, and 127; Rubruck, pp. 186, 194–195, and 217; Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. J. Richard (Paris, 1965), p. 47; Ibn Batoutah, *Voyages*, eds. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, II (Paris, 1949), pp. 357 and 364; B. Spuler, *Geschichte der Mongolen nach östlichen und europäischen Zeugnissen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich–Stuttgart, 1968), p. 218 (Ibn 'Abd az-Zahir).

barrows, with human skeletons accompanied by sacrificed horses.[498] The Cuman communities maintained their individuality for a long time in central Asia as well. Their detachments are mentioned as part of Saribugha Jalayir's armies, sent against the Moghuls in a.H. 766 (= 1365) by Timur Lenk (Tamerlane). In a.H. 777 (= 1373–1377) they joined the uprisal against Timur. Many Qipchaq emirs were also in the service of Timur Lenk during the last years of the fourteenth century.[499]

The evolution of the Mongol-Cuman co-habitation was rightly understood by the Muslim scholar Al-'Umari (1301–1349), who used the detailed and accurate information provided by merchants travelling across Desht-i Qipchaq. Here is his presentation of the geographic and ethnic background of the Golden Horde: "In the past the Empire had belonged to the Qipchaq Turks. Defeated by the Tatars and subdued to them [in the course of time], they mixed and became related to them, the territory defeating [little by little] the nature and the character [of the conquerors]; therefore, the Mongols who had established here, married the Qipchaqs, took their country, became similar to them and [today together with them] seemed to descend from the same race. Using this way of staying for a longer time in each town and in each country, they can reach a corresponding assimilation of the [human] nature and an equalization of the original elements of the specific features from the respective territory".[500]

The close and long contacts between Mongols and Cumans had linguistic consequences, as the Cuman language was eventually adopted

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[498] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 145–150; idem, *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorhänger* (Leipzig, 1972), p. 94 ff.; V. A. Ivanov, V. A. Kriger, *Курганы кыпчакского времени на Южном Урале (XII–XIV вв.)* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 51–54, 56–57, and 70–72; D. V. Dubrovskii, "Жертвенный конь в погребальном обряде кочевников улуса Джучи," in *Тюркологический сборник*, 2001, *Золотая Орда и ее наследие*, eds. S. G. Kliashtornyi (gen. ed.), V. V. Trepavlov, D. M. Iskhakov (Moscow, 2002), pp. 198–211; M. V. Vlaskin, A. I. Garmashov, Z. V. Dode, S. A. Naumenko, *Погребения знати золотоордынского времени в междуречье Дона и Сала* (*Материалы по изучению историко-культурного наследия Северного Кавказа*, VI) (Moscow, 2006), pp. 11–73.

[499] B. F. Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlan* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 163; S. Ando, *Timuridische Emire nach dem Mu'izz al-ansāb. Untersuchungen zur Stammesaristokratie Zentralasiens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 67, 98, 99, 163, 184, 240, and 242; Ch. J. Halperin, "The Kipchak connection: the Ilkhans, the Mamluks and Ayn Jalut," *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 62 (2000), no. 2, p. 239. See also *The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, ed. W. M. Thackston (Washington, D.C.–New York–Oxford, 1996), pp. 44–45 and 63.

[500] *Das mongolische Weltreich*. Al-'Umari's *Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masalik al-abṣar fi mamalik al-amsar*, ed. K. Lech (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 141; Tiesenhausen, I, p. 235.

by their conquerors and rulers. Some of the official documents issued by the Mongol khans (*jarlyks*) in the late fourteenth century are written in Qipchaq.[501] Various other sources from that period testify to the use of that language in eastern Europe.[502] In addition, it was not an accident that one of the Tatar tribes of sixteenth-century Crimea was called Kiptchak[503] (Qipchaq). The great proliferation of names such as *Comania, Cumania,* or *terra Comanorum* in the twelfth and in the first decades of the thirteenth century, as well as the survival of the Cumans in the aftermath of the great Mongol invasion, account for the existence of such names, in identical or derivative forms, in travel notes,[504] chronicles,[505]

[501] A. P. Grigor'ev, "Grants of privileges in the edicts of Toqtamiš and Timur-Qutlug," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. G. Kara (Budapest, 1987), pp. 85–104.

[502] F. Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 21; Paschalis de Victoria, *Epistola*, in *SF*, I, p. 503; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale* (*Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris*, IV) (Duaci, 1624; reprint Graz, 1965), p. 1294; M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, II, *Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzó, 1360* (Paris–The Hague–New York, 1980), no. 50, p. 99; no. 56, p. 108; L. Waddingus Hibernus, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, VII (*1323–1346*), 3rd ed. J. M. Fonseca ab Ebora (Ad Clara Aquas/Quaracchi, 1932), p. 304.

[503] M. Guboglu, "Campania lui Suleiman I Magnificul în Moldova (1538) într-o cronică turco-tătărească," in *Izvoare străine pentru istoria românilor*, ed. Ş. S. Gorovei (*Românii în istoria universală*, III, 3) (Iaşi, 1988), p. 13.

[504] Plano Carpini, pp. 72, 89, 95, and 126; Benedictus Polonus, *Relatio*, in *SF*, pp. 137–138; C. de Bridia Monachi, *Hystoria Tartarorum*, ed. A. Önnerfors (Berlin, 1967), pp. 19 and 21; *Христианский мир и "Великая Монгольская империя". Материалы францисканской миссии 1245 года ["История Тартар" брата Ц. де Бридиа]*, eds. and trans. S. V. Aksenov and A. G. Iurchenko (St. Petersburg, 2002), pp. 84 and 88; Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, ed. D. Olivieri (Bari, 1928), p. 245; idem, *La description du monde*, ed. L. Hambis (Paris, 1955), p. 326; Mandeville's *Travels* (see above, n. 411), I, pp. 4, 177, and 178; II, pp. 232, 374, 375, and 420; Josaphat Barbaro, *Viaggio alla Tana*, in *Барбаро и Контарини о России*, ed. E. Ch. Skrzhinska (Leningrad, 1971), p. 114.

[505] *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, II (Paris, 1859), p. 636; Hayton, *La flor des estoires* (see above, n. 411), pp. 124, 125, 161, 162, 215, etc.; Hetoum, *A Lytell Cronycle*. Richard Pynson's Translation (c 1520) of *La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient* (c 1307), ed. G. Burger (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1988), pp. 10–11, 35, and 61; Marinus Sanutus (see above, n. 379), p. 236; *Crusaders as conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. H. E. Lurier (New York–London, 1964), p. 97; Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, in *Croniche* di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani, ed. D. A. Racheli, I (Triest, 1857), pp. 8, 71, and 85; A. Kern, *Der "Libellus de notitia orbis" Johannes' III. (De Galonifontibus) O. P. Erzbischofs von Sulthanyeh*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938), p. 106; Roger Bacon (see above, n. 107), pp. 360 and 366; Johannes de Thurocz (see above, n. 273), I, p. 34; Petrus de Reva, *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, II, ed. I. G. Schwandtner (Vindobonae, 1746), p. 832.

documents,[506] maps,[507] after the creation of the Golden Horde as well, both in the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas, and in the Carpathian-Danube region. At the same time, eastern sources continued to use the name *Desht-i Qipchaq* after the twelfth century.[508]

Judging by all this evidence, it appears that the Cuman element remained a solid one in the southern region of the eastern Europe, without endangering the Mongol political and military supremacy. The history of the world has many other examples of conquerors adopting the language of the conquered, because the latter were either numerically or economically superior to the former. Things happened in much the same manner with the Franks and the Romanised Gauls in Gaul, with the Bulgars and the Slavs in the Balkans, with the Normans and the French in Normandy, with the Langobards and the Italians in northern

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[506] *Bullarium franciscanum Romanorum pontificum* (Rome), I (1759), pp. 269 and 360; II (1761), p. 285; IV (1768), p. 278; V (1898), pp. 35, 150, and 211; VI (1902), pp. 427, 432–433, and 436–438 (I–IV—ed. I. H. Sbaralea; V–VII—ed. C. Eubel); *Bullarium franciscanum Romanorum pontificum. Epitome et supplementum quattuor voluminum priorum*, ed. C. Eubel (Ad Claras Aquas, 1908), pp. 27, 98, and 197; Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 220, 257, and 483; I, 2, p. 575; *Acta Romanorum pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276–1304) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt* F. M. Delorme et A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, V/II) (Vatican, 1954), pp. 142, 184, and 209; *Acta Clementis PP. V (1303–1314) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt* F. M. Delorme et A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, VII/I) (Vatican, 1955), p. 25; *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, VII/II) (Vatican, 1952), pp. 21 and 94; *DRH, D*, I, nos. 10 and 11.

[507] Santarem, *Atlas, composé de mappemondes, de portulans et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques, depuis le VI^e jusqu'au XVII^e siècle, pour la plupart inédites, devant servir de preuves à l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le Moyen Age et a celle des progrès de la géographie* (Paris, 1842–1853); A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus, an Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions* (New York, 1897); E. L. Stevenson, *Facsimiles of Portulan Charts belonging to the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1916); R. Almagià, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal secolo XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (= *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana*, I) (Vatican, 1944); D. Bennett Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 1952); M. de La Roncière and M. Mollat du Jourdin, *Les portulans. Cartes marines du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Fribourg/Suisse, 1984); B. Dimitrov, *България в средневековната морска картография XIV–XVII век* (Sofia, 1984); I. Dumitriu-Snagov, *Monumenta Romaniae Vaticana. Manoscritti—Documenti—Carte/Manuscripts—Documents—Maps. Catalogo della mostra Salone Sistino* (Vatican, 1996), *passim*.

[508] Tiesenhausen, I; II; *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии*, I, ed. V. A. Romodin (Moscow, 1973); *Материалы по истории казахских ханств XV–XVIII веков*, eds. S. K. Ibragimov, N. N. Mingulov, K. A. Pishulina, V. P. Iudin (Alma–Ata, 1969); *Cronici turceşti privind Ţările Române. Extrase*, I, eds. M. Guboglu and M. Mehmet (Bucharest, 1966); II, ed. M. Guboglu (Bucharest, 1974); Aboul-Ghâzi Bèhâdour Khan, *Histoire*, II (see above, n. 271), *passim*.

Italy, with the Varangians and the Slavs in the Kievan Rus', and with the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons in England, to name a few. Taking into account the indubitable proofs of the massive presence of the Cumans in the steppe lands north of the Caspian and Black seas, it is safe to assume the continuity of certain Turkic groups in tha region during the Golden Horde period. If so, the contacts between the Romanians and the nomadic Turks must have continued for several decades after the 1241 invasion, albeit under very different circumstances.

Some features of special significance can be pointed out in the analysis of the disparate and often vague data concerning the political events in the southern half of Moldavia and the surrounding regions. Between the tenth and the thirteenth century the last migrations of took place in eastern Europe, a part of the continent with a medieval history of migrations longer than that of the western parts by several centuries. The evolution of Romanian communities in the regions to the east from the eastern Carpathians (Fig. 2–3) took place in a context of long and complex contacts with various nomads. The presence of the nomadic horsemen considerably slowed the general development of the local society, and sometimes it even threatened its existence.

Those migrating to the steppe lands north of the Black Sea between the tenth century and the great Mongol invasion of 1236–1242 were exclusively of Turkic origin (Fig. 4). Such migrations began with the Hungarian exodus of 896 and ended with the Mongol invasion. Although they occurred in the last part of the so-called *Völkerwanderungszeit*, the late Turkic movement of people was no feeble imitation of earlier migrations. On the contrary, the movements of the Pechenegs, the Uzes and the Cumans had a force that was not inferior to that of their predecessors, the Avars and the Bulgars. Moments of weakening of their power were recorded in certain periods, especially towards the end of their stay in the plains north of the Danube and the Black Sea. Those moments were mainly determined by the scattering of their own forces, by the more active centrifugal tendencies within tribal confederacies, and by the severe blows coming from other nomad groups and from neighbouring states.

The general political background of the tenth to thirteenth centuries was considerably different from that of the previous period. Beginning with the end of the first millennium, in the eastern half of the continent there was not just one very strong state, the Byzantine Empire, but several: Bulgaria, Rus', Hungary, each of them capable of great military and political initiatives. Their actions, when added to those

of Byzantium, affected at various moments and to various degrees the ethnic and political configuration of the Carpathian-Danube area. Both the Romanian communities and the Turkic nomads in the Carpathian-Dniester area were under the conspicuous and multilateral influence of the Byzantine Empire and they depended on its military potential and firm control of the Danube. The rise of the Second Bulgarian Empire and the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders temporarily interrupted the Byzantine influence of the Byzantine world on the Romanian lands north of the Danube, a phenomenon with long-term consequences. In the thirteenth century, the Cuman power was on the decline and Desht-i Qipchaq became the stage of new disputes, as Khwarazm, Kievan Rus' and Hungary strove to increase their own spheres of influence. Under those circumstances the Turkic domination of Romanian society weakened considerably, and the Carpathian-Danube area became the target of Hungarian expansion. Arpadian Kingdom emerged as the most active and enterprising political and military force in the area.

The equilibrium of forces in the eastern half of the continent was shattered by the great Mongol invasion, which produced great changes in the demographic and political situation of the region, as it stopped, for about one century, the Hungarian penetration across Carpathians. Also, the vigorous advance of the Mongols practically eliminated the Turkic nomads from the political map of eastern Europe. The Mongols thus put an end to the migration period in that part of the continent, and the consequences of their invasion remained manifest for a long time, both within the Carpathian-Dniester area and the lands farther to the east.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTRASTING WAYS OF LIFE: ROMANIAN AGRICULTURISTS AND TURKIC PASTORALISTS

One of the main features in the history of the outer-Carpathian region at the turn of the second millennium was undoubtedly the interaction between Romanians and Turkic nomads. In order to understand the complex nature of that relationship, its multifaceted character, and the large number of phenomena it involves, an method of analysis is needed, which should take into consideration the most relevant aspects of the two kinds of society. Such a method is appropriate given that most sources concerning the relations between Romanians and nomadic Turkic populations often contain only vague and equivocal information. Understanding the social structure of each community may contribute to a better understanding of the the relations between them. This is also a way to avoid broad, but ultimately meaningless generalizations despite the fact that the scarcity of sources may inevitably lead to omissions and inadvertences. Where no written sources exist to help with the interpretation, archaeological excavations have produced a large and very detailed body of information. Not only can the archaeological evidence refine the chronologies of developments, but at times and in certain cases it can even clarify the ambiguity of the written sources.

A presentation side by side of the distinctive features of the native and nomadic ways of life is best suited for their easier identification, and for a better understanding of the mutual relations between those ways of life. Such a presentation allows for a comparative treatment of the issues. If Plutarch's "parallel lives" scrutinized the destiny of some celebrities of the Greek and Roman Antiquity, the target here is to pinpoint the interactions between various ethnic groups in the outer-Carpathian region during the Middle Ages.

Linguistic and Ethnic Aspects

At the time of their contact with the late nomads, the ethnogenesis of the Romanians was a *fait accompli*. This has been a relatively long-drawn

process involving a numerous population on both sides of the Lower Danube. Most linguists believe that the Romanian vernacular separate from both late (or "vulgar") Latin and Romance appeared between the eighth and ninth centuries, after the incorporation of a relatively strong influence of Late Common Slavic. That influence decisively marked the distinction of Romanian from other Romance languages in phonetical and morphological terms. The subsequent influence of Common Slavic or of Slavic vernaculars on Romanian is commonly interpreted as the historical equivalent of the influence of old Germanic dialects upon the western Romance languages. Linguists speak of proto-Romanian after the eighth century, and of a pre-literary phase of development of Romanian between the tenth and the fourteenth century.[1]

The gradual ethnic and linguistic individualization of the Romance-speaking population in the East is reflected in the consistent use in contemporary sources of the term Vlach or of its variants in reference to Romanians, first those on the right, then those on the left bank of the Danube. That the first Vlachs mentioned in the sources were those in the Balkans is a consequence of their proximity to the sources of information, especially to Constantinople. There is no serious reason to believe that such a priority can be interpreted as an indication of a Vlach migration from the southern to the northern banks of the river Danube. Were that the case, then, by the same token, one should assume a migration from the Continent to Scandinavia, given that the Germanic-speaking population on the Continent appears in written sources at a much earlier date that that in Scandinavia.

It is important to note that all names employed by outsiders to refer to Romanians referred to speakers of Romance languages, in general. That Romanians were fully aware of the Roman origins of their language and ethnic identity is repeatedly mentioned in contemporary sources, especially by such authors writing about the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Balkan Vlachs[2] as Kekaumenos'[3]

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[1] G. Ivănescu, *Istoria limbii române* (Iaşi, 1980), pp. 285–289, 319–322, 367, 420–422, 476–478, and 499–502; V. Arvinte, "Conceptul 'română primitivă' în *Istoria limbii române* de G. Ivănescu," in idem, *Studii de istorie a limbii române* (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 89–95.

[2] R. Ortiz, *Manualetto rumeno* (Bucharest, 1936), p. 7; Gh. I. Brătianu, *Tradiţia istorică despre întemeierea statelor româneşti*, ed. V. Râpeanu (Bucharest, 1980), pp. 62–64; A. Armbruster, *La romanité des Roumains. Histoire d'une idée* (Bucharest, 1977), pp. 25–33; V. Arvinte, *Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnahmen* (Tübingen, 1980), p. 37 ff.; A. Ruzé, *Ucrainiens et Roumains (XI^e–XX^e siècle). Rivalités carpatho-pontiques* (Paris–Montréal, 1999), pp. 36–43.

[3] *Советы и рассказы Кекавмена* / Cecaumeni *Consilia et narrationes*, ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), pp. 268–269.

and John Kinnamos.[4] The same is true for the correspondence between Pope Innocent III and Ioannitsa Kaloyannes.[5] Romanians living north of the Danube may have been equally aware of their Roman origins, but all evidence for that is rather late.[6]

One of the earliest mentions of the name, which Romanians used to refer to themselves appears in an Italian description of the world,[7] probably drawn up in Tuscany and now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (ms. *Chigi M.V. 116*, ff. 65 r°–72 r°). Among the peoples living in the region (*prouincia*) of *Vngaria* (Hungary), the unknown author lists *i Rumeni e i Valacchi*, obviously without knowing that the two names referred to one and the same people.[8] The Italian author also wrongly described the *Rumeni* and the *Valacchi* as pagans. An approximate date for this source may be established on the basis of another reference to "emperor" *Osbeccho*, no doubt the Italianized form the name of Golden Horde khan Özbäg (1313–1342).[9]

Migration and expansion have been invoked to explain the distinction between the language in use among Romanians north of the

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[4] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 260; Jean Kinnamos, *Chronique*, trans. J. Rosenblum (Paris, 1972), p. 168; John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, ed. Ch. M. Brand (New York, 1976), p. 195.

[5] A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, I (Rome, 1863), p. 11 ff.; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 2, *2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200*, eds. O. Hegeneder, W. Maleczek and A. A. Strnad (Rome-Vienna, 1979), pp. 485–486; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 5, *5. Pontifikatsjahr, 1202/1203*, ed. O. Hegeneder, with the collab. of C. Egger, K. Rudolf, and A. Sommerlechner (Vienna, 1993), pp. 224–233; I. M. Mălinaş, *Regeste şi registre de la Constantinopol şi Roma, din prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea, privitoare la primatul Vasile I şi la împăratul Ioniţă Caloian, din Târnovo* (Oradea, 2000), pp. 105–120.

[6] Ş. Papacostea, "Les Roumains et la conscience de leur romanité au Moyen-Age," *RRH* 4 (1965), no. 1, pp. 15–24; G. Bonfante, *Studi Romeni* (Rome, 1973), p. 307 ff.; Armbruster, *La romanité*, pp. 46–49; S. Iosipescu, "«La colonia delli Romani Negri che dicono Valacchi». La romanité des Roumains dans la conscience européenne du XIV^e^ siècle," *RRH* 18 (1979), no. 4, pp. 673–685; C. Alzati, "La coscienza etnico-religiosa romena in età umanistica, tra echi di romanità e modelli ecclesiastici bizantino-slavi," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 17 (1991), pp. 85–104; S. Brezeanu, *Romanitatea orientală în Evul Mediu de la cetăţenii romani la naţiunea medievală* (Bucharest, 1999), *passim*; L. Renzi, "Ancora sugli umanisti italiani e la lingua rumena," *Romanische Forschungen* 112 (2000), no. 1, pp. 1–38.

[7] Ş. Turcuş, "Prima mărturie străină despre etnonimul român (1314)," *Cele Trei Crişuri*, IIIrd Ser., 1 (2000), nos. 7–9, pp. 1–14; V. Spinei, "Românii în cronica atribuită lui Amaretto Mannelli," in *Naţiune şi europenitate. Studii istorice. In honorem magistri Camilli Mureşanu*, eds. N. Edroiu, S. Andea, Ş. Turcuş (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 19–20.

[8] P. G. Dalché, "Une géographie provenant du milieu des marchands toscans (début XIV^e^ siècle)," in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità. Studi in onore di Cinzio Violante*, I (Spoleto, 1994), p. 439.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 434–435.

Danube river ("Daco-Romanian") from the dialect spoken by Romanian communities in Macedonia calling themselves "Aromanians" (Macedo-Romanian). If so, then the same may certainly be true about the separation of two other dialects, the Megleno-Romanian in the Moglena region of Greece, and Istro-Romanian in Istria and the surrounding islands of the northern Adriatic sea.[10] While several dialects of Romanian exist south of the river Danube, Daco-Romanian displays a remarkable linguistic uniformity within the entire Carpathian-Danube region to the north, in spite of the political separation of Romanians into three different states throughout the Middle Ages and until the modern era. There are in fact no linguistic arguments for the idea of a separate, east-Carpathian dialect of Romanian, and even less for a language different from Daco-Romanian.[11] What is often presented as the Moldavian language is in fact (Daco-)Romanian, in spite of the political circumstances behind recent attempts to draw a distinction. Despite regional variation, Daco-Romanian is in fact the only Eastern Romance language still spoken north of the Danube River.

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As already mentioned, most tribes of nomadic horsemen entering the outer-Carpathian area at some point between the Hungarian migration to Pannonia and the great Mongol invasion of 1241–1242 were of Turkic origin and originated in central Asia.

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[10] O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine. I—Les origines; II—Le seizième siècle*, ed. V. Rusu (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 274–325; Ivănescu, *Istoria* (see above, n. 1), pp. 285–328; I. Gheţie, *Introducere în dialectologia istorică românească* (Bucharest, 1994), p. 47 ff.; *Românii de la sud de Dunăre. Documente*, eds. S. Brezeanu, Gh. Zbuchea (Bucharest, 1997), *passim*; M. Pillon, "L'exode des «Sermésiens» et les grandes migrations des Romains de Pannonie dans les Balkans durant le Haut Moyen Âge," *Études balkaniques* (2002), no. 3, pp. 103–141; N. Saramandu, "Romanitatea sud-dunăreană (pe baza surselor istorice)," in *Spaţiul lingvistic şi literar românesc din perspectiva integrării europene*, eds. D. Mănucă, O. Ichim and F.-T. Olariu (Iaşi, 2004), pp. 337–346; idem, *Romanitatea orientală* (Bucharest 2004), *passim*.

[11] C. Tagliavini, *Le origini delle lingue neolatine. Introduzione alla filologia romanza* (Bologna, 1959), pp. 300–304; N. Dima, *Bessarabia and Bukovina* (New York, 1982), pp. 94–100; G. Ciorănescu, *Bessarabia, Disputed Land between East and West* (Munich, 1985), pp. 222–227; K. Bochmann, "«Moldoveneşte» sau «româneşte»? Aspecte lingvistice, culturale şi politice ale limbii de stat," in idem, *Limba română. Istorie, variante, conflicte. O privire din afară*, eds. V. Dumbravă and I. Şarov (Chişinău, 2004), pp. 191–200.

None of the tribal confederacies created during that period were ethnically or linguistically homogenous, first and foremost because such confederacies were conglomerates of smaller groups of population, which had been forced to migrate by their neighbors. Nonetheless, a predominantly Turkic character of the Pecheneg, Oghuz / Uzes, and Qipchaq / Polovtsy / Cuman confederacies is beyond any doubt.[12] The old idea that Pechenegs spoke an Ugrian language[13] has now been entirely discredited, much like the nineteenth-century concept of Pechenegs of "Mongol race"[14] True, late nomadic tribal confederacies were often multinational and multilingual. In that respect, some have argued in favour of Iassians living among the Pechenegs but speaking Iranian languages.[15] Others believe some Cuman dynasties to be of "proto-Mongol" origin.[16]

At some point during the second half of the early eleventh century, after living for a long time among Turkic populations and studying their languages and traditions, Mahmud al-Kashghari produced a well-documented work about the "Turks." According to him, only the Qirqiz, the Qipchaq, the Oghuz and five other tribes spoke a pure Turkic language, while the languages of the Bulgars, Suvars and Pechenegs (*Bäčänäk*), while undoubtedly Turkic, had been altered by foreign influences. Mahmud al-Kashgari believed that initially there were very

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[12] R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes. Attila. Gengis-Khan. Tamerlan*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1982), pp. 203–219 and 238–242; P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992); idem, "The peoples of the south Russian steppes," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 256–284; I. Vásáry, *Geschichte des frühen Innerasiens*, trans. T. Schäfer (Herne, 1999), pp. 122–129 and 167–174; C. Schönig, "A new attempt to classify the Turkic languages (1), (2)," *Turkic Languages* 1 (1997), pp. 117–133 and 262–277; L. Rásonyi, "Turcs non-islamisés en Occident (Pétchénègues, Ouzes et Qiptschaqs et leurs rapports avec les Hongrois)," in *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period / Histoire des Peoples Turcs à l'Époque Pré-Islamique*, ed. H. R. Roemer, with the assist. of W.-E. Scharlipp (Berlin, 2000), pp. 303–331; S. G. Kliashtornyi, T. I. Sultanov, *Государства и народы Евразийских степей. Древность и средневековье*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 2004), pp. 111–138.

[13] C. Cihodaru, "Informaţii despre pecenegi din opera lui Constantin Porphirogenetos," *AŞUI*, Secţ. III, *a. Istorie* 20 (1974), no. 1, p. 21.

[14] A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, I, 4th ed. V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (Bucharest, 1985), p. 411; C. Kogălniceanu, *Istoria veche a românilor* (Bucharest, 1938), p. 6.

[15] O. Pritsak, "The Pečenegs," *AEMA* 1 (1975), p. 23.

[16] Idem, "Половці," *Український історик* 10 (1973), nos. 1–2 (37–38), p. 117; idem, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *AEMA* 2 (1982), pp. 368–369.

few differences between all those languages, all phonetical.[17] He saw the linguistic fragmentation as a natural phenomenon, given the vast area, between the Byzantine and the Chinese frontiers, in which those peoples lived. Mahmud al-Kashghari's examples support his idea of a great similarity between Qipchaq and Oghuz, both different in some respects from the language of the Pechenegs. However, to outsiders such nuances do not seem to have been obvious, as Byzantine authors believed that Pechenegs and Cumans spoke one and the same language, without any difference.[18]

To Ibn Khordâdhbeh, the *Ghozz*, the *Badjanâk* and the *Khifschâkh* were Turkic countries.[19] Most other medieval sources written in Arab explicitly regarded the Oghuz, the Pechenegs, the Qipchaq as "Turks." This is the case not only for Mahmud al-Kashghari,[20] but also for al-Marvazi,[21] Idrisi,[22] Shams al-Din al-Dimashqi,[23] Mahammad Ibn Mansur Merverrudi,[24] Abu'l-Fida,[25] Ibn Khaldun[26] and Shükrüllakh

[17] Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk)*, ed. R. Dankoff, in collab. with J. Kelley, I (Harvard, 1982), pp. 83–84. See also C. Brokkelmann, "Mahmud al-Kašghari über die Sprachen und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh.," *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921), no. 1, pp. 37–38.

[18] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, II, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), p. 142.

[19] Abu'l-Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordâdhbeh, *Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l-mamâlik*, ed. J. de Goeje (Lugduni-Batavorum, 1889), pp. 22–23. See also J. Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in W. Bang and J. Marquart, "Osttürkische Dialektstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, NF, 13 (1914), no. 1, p. 97.

[20] Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī, I, pp. 82, 101, 354, 362; idem [Makhmud Kashgari], *Дивану лугат ат-тюрк*, in *Материалы по истории Средней и Центральной Азии X–XIX вв.* (Tashkent, 1988), pp. 21–23.

[21] Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi, *On China, the Turks and India*, ed. V. Minorsky (London, 1942), pp. 29–33; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 241, 250.

[22] Édrisi, *Géographie*, ed. A. Jaubert (*Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*) (Paris), I (1836), p. 498; II (1840), pp. 342, 407; I. G. Konovalova [ed. and trans.], *Ал-Идриси о странах и народах Восточной Европы* (Moscow, 2006), p. 122.

[23] Shems ed-Dîn Abou-'Abdallah Moh'ammed de Damas, *Manuel de la cosmographie du Moyen Âge traduit de l'arabe. "Nokhbet ed-dahr fi 'adjaib-il-birr wal-bah'r,"* ed. A. F. Mehren (Copenhague-Paris-Leipzig, 1874), p. 379.

[24] Makhammad Ibn Mansur Merverrudi, *Тарих-и Мубарак-шах*, in *Материалы по истории Средней и Центральной Азии X–XIX вв.*, p. 92.

[25] Aboulféda, *Géographie*, II, 1, ed. T. J. Reinaud (Paris, 1848), pp. 291–292 and 296.

[26] Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, I, ed. F. Rosenthal (New York, 1958), pp. 156, 161, 162, and 165; idem, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle. Al-Muqaddima*, trans. V. Monteil, 2nd ed., I (Paris, 1978), pp. 155, 160, and 163.

(Šükrallāh).[27] The Pechenegs appear as "Turks" in al-Qazwini[28] and al-Wardi;[29] the Oghuz in Ya'kubi,[30] al-Istakhri[31] and Birdzhandi;[32] both Pechenegs and Oghuz in Mas'udi,[33] Ibn Hauqal,[34] al-Bakuvi[35] and Yakut al-Hamavi.[36] The Qipchaq / Cumans are mentioned as "Turks" in Ibn Abî l-Hadîd al-Madâ'inî,[37] but also in Jacques de Vitry.[38] It is important to note at this point that in Arab, Persian, and Turkish sources a "Turk" is simply another word for a nomad from the Eurasian steppe lands, the equivalent of what pedantic Byzantine authors called "Scythian."[39] This may explain what otherwise well-informed authors such as Ibn

[27] J. de Hammer, *Sur les origines russes* (St. Petersburg, 1827), pp. 44–46; G. Hazai, "Les manuscrits, conservés à Sofia, des remaniements médiévals de Marvazī et 'Aufī," *AOH* 7 (1957), nos. 2–3, pp. 159–164.

[28] *Extraits du traité de géographie de* Zakaria Qazwîny, *intitulé Curiosités des pays et renseignements sur leur habitants*, in F.-B. Charmoy, *Relation de Mas'oudi et d'autres auteurs musulmans sur les anciens slaves* (in *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VI[e] série, *Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie*, 2, 1834, pp. 297–408), in *Die Erforschung arabischer Quellen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte der Slaven und Volgabulgaren*, ed. H. Haarmann (Hamburg, 1976), p. 338.

[29] *Extrait de l'ouvrage de* Sèrâdj-u'd-dîn 'Omar (…) Ibn-ul-Wardy, in Charmoy, *Relation*, p. 349.

[30] Ya'kubi, *Les Pays*, ed. G. Wiet (Cairo, 1937), p. 113.

[31] Al-Istakhri, *Китаб масалик ал-мамалик*, in *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии*, I, ed. V. A. Romodin (Moscow, 1973), pp. 16 and 25.

[32] Birdzhandi, *Аджа'иб ал-булдан*, in *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии*, I, p. 171.

[33] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, eds. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille, I (Paris, 1861), pp. 59, 262, and 288; Al-Mas'ûdî, *Bis zu den Grenzen der Erde. Auszüge aus dem "Buch der Goldwäschen,"* ed. G. Rotter (Tübingen-Basel, 1978), pp. 35, 53, and 91.

[34] Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la Terre (Kitab surat al-ard)*, II, eds. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Beirut-Paris, 1964), pp. 379 and 387.

[35] Abd ar-Rashid al-Bakuvi, *Китаб талхис ал-асар ва 'аджа'иб ал-малик ал-каххар ("Сокращение [книги о] «Памятникаха и чудеса царя могучело»")*, ed. Z. M. Buniiatov (Moscow, 1971), pp. 102–103.

[36] Iakut al-Khamavi, *Му'джам ал-булдан*, in *Материалы по истории Средней и Центральной Азии X–XIX вв.* (see above, n. 20), p. 77.

[37] *Les invasions mongoles en Orient vecues par un savant médiéval arabe* Ibn Abîl-Hadîd al-Madâ'inî *(1190–1258 J.C.). Extrait du Sharh Nahj al-balâgha*, ed. M. Djebli (Paris, 1995), p. 21.

[38] Iacobi a Vitriaco *Libri duo, quorum prior Orientalis sive Hierosolymitanae, alter Occidentalis historiae nomine inscribitur* (Duaci, 1597), p. 37; idem (Jacques de Vitry), *Historia Orientalis*, ed. C. Buridant (Paris, 1986), p. 74; idem, *Histoire orientale,* trans. M.-G. Grossel (Paris, 2005), pp. 105–106.

[39] C. M. Frähn, *Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit* (St. Petersburg, 1823), p. 41 with n. 5.

Rusta,[40] Mas'udi,[41] the unknown authors of the late tenth-century Persian geography *Hudūd al-'Ālam*,[42] Gardizi,[43] al-Marvazi,[44] Abu'l-Fida,[45] Shükrüllakh,[46] Muhammad Kātib (Mohammed the Writer),[47] and many others treated the Hungarians as "Turks." In doing so, they were certainly not alone: Byzantine authors, especially Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, consistently called the Hungarians "Turks." "Turks" were also the Mongols of Ibn Battuta.[48]

The ethnic names of the Pecheneg, Uzes (Oghuz), and Cumans (Qipchak), as well as a great number of names of chieftains mentioned in the sources testify to the Turkic character of their languages. Pecheneg names such as Boga, Temir and Küchüg appear with other Turkic peoples as well. The Pechenegs have been associated with runes and runic inscriptions found in the Maiaki and Sarkel (Belaia Vezha) strongholds, as well as on items from the the Sânnicolau Mare (Nagyszentmiklós) (Timiş county, Romania) hoard.[49] The population of the Saltovo-Maiaki culture was undoubtedly multi-ethnic, with Khazars, Bulgars, Alans, and Pechenegs living side by side. However, the presence of the Pechenegs is not documented in any of the urban centers of the Khazar Khaganate and, consequently, the runes from Maiaki and Sarkel are hardly Pecheneg. As for the 18 to 20 runes on the vessels found in the Sânnicolau Mare hoard, which has recently been re-dated much earlier and associated with the Avars,[50] it is important

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[40] Ibn-Dasta [Ibn-Rusta], *Известія о хозарахъ, буртасахъ, болгарахъ, мадьярахъ, славянах и руссахъ*, ed. D. A. Khvolson (St. Petersburg, 1869), p. 25; *Orient. Ber.*, p. 67.

[41] Al-Mas'ûdî, p. 53.

[42] *Hudūd al-'Ālam. "The Regions of the World". A Persian Geography 372 a.H.–982 a.D.*, ed. V. Minorsky (London, 1937), p. 101; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 210.

[43] A. P. Martinez (trans.), "Gardizi's two chapters on the Turks," *AEMA* 2 (1982), p. 159; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 172. See also A. Decei, "Asupra unui pasagiu din geograful persan Gardizi (a. 1050)," in *Fraţilor Alexandru şi Ion I. Lăpedatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 ani* (Bucharest, 1936), pp. 881 and 883.

[44] Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 35; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 252.

[45] Aboulféda (see above, n. 25), II, 1, p. 324.

[46] Hammer, *Sur les origines russes* (see above, n. 27), p. 47; I. Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen über die Ungarn vor der Landnahme. Das ungarische Kapitel der Ǧaihānī-Tradition* trans. T. Schäfer (Herne, 2006), p. 47.

[47] Hammer, *Sur les origines russes*, p. 64; Zimonyi, *Muslimische Quellen*, p. 49.

[48] Ibn Batoutah, *Voyages*, eds. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, II (Paris, 1949), *passim*.

[49] A. M. Shcherbak, "Знаки на керамике и кирпичах из Саркела-Белой Вежи," in *MIA*, 75 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1959), pp. 378–380.

[50] F. Daim, "Avars and Avar archaeology. An introduction," in *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of*

to note that only six or seven of them have analogies among known Turkic runes. If indeed the runes in question render a short text in the Pecheneg language, than whoever carved them certainly had a poor knowledge of that or of any other related, Turkic language.[51] The old Turkic runes, first attested in southern Siberia and central Asia during the eighth and ninth centuries, was in use with several ethnic groups, some of which eventually migrated to the southern regions of eastern Europe.[52] The use of Turkic runes is attested among Khazars,[53] Bulgars[54] and Avars.[55] Besides runes, the Turkic tribes within the territories to the east from the Ural Mountains used other scripts borrowed from neighbouring populations in central Asia.[56]

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the Roman World, eds. H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl, with the collab. of S. Kaschke (Leiden-Boston, 2003), pp. 515–516 and 568–570 with figs. 42–44; O. Gamber, "Der Goldschatz von Nagyszentmiklós im Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museum," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 2 (2001), pp. 73–84; C. Bálint, *A nagyszentmiklósi kincs. Régészeti tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2004).

[51] N. Diyarbekirli, "Peçenek hazinesi ve Türk sanatinin çeşitli kitalarda gelişen ortak nitelikleri," *Tarih enstitüsü dergisi*, Istambul, 4–5 (1973–1974), pp. 395–428; Shcherbak, "Знаки," pp. 386–388. See also J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós* (Budapest, 1932), pp. 17–36; G. Vékony, "Spätvölkerwanderungszeitliche Kerbinschriften im Karpatenbecken," *ActaArchHung* 39 (1987), nos. 3–4, pp. 211–233; R. Göbl, A. Róna-Tas, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szentmiklós. Eine paläographische Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1995), p. 25 ff.; A. Róna-Tas, "The inscriptions of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure," in *The Gold of the Avars. The Nagyszentmiklós Treasure*, gen. ed. T. Kovács, ed. E. Garam (Budapest, 2002), pp. 121–127; P. Georgiev, "Новое направление в чтении рунических текстов клада из Надь-сент-Миклоша," *Byzantinoslavica* 62 (2004), pp. 289–298.

[52] G. Clauson, "The origin of the Turkish "runic" alphabet," *Acta Orientalia ediderunt Societates Orientales Danica Norvegica Svecica* 32 (1970), pp. 51–76; E. Tryjarski, "Runes and runelike scripts of Eurasian area," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 20 (2002), pp. 5–80; 21 (2003), pp. 5–90; Kliashtornyi, Sultanov, *Государства* (see above, n. 12), pp. 170–174; D. D. Vasil'ev, "The Eurasian areal aspects of Old Turkic written culture," *AOH* 58 (2005), no. 4, pp. 323–330; I. L. Kyzlasov, "Особенности тюркской рунологии," in *Центральная Азия. Источники, история, культура* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 427–449.

[53] V. Je. Flörova, *Граффити Хазарии* (Moscow, 1997), p. 23 ff.; eadem (V. E. Flerova), "Сюжеты хазарской графики," in *Хазары / Khazars (Евреи и славяне / Jews and Slavs*, 16), eds. V. Petrukhin, W. Moskovich, A. Fedorchuk, A. Kulik, D. Shapira (Moscow–Jerusalem, 2005), pp. 153–172; S. G. Kliashtornyi, "Хазарские заметки," *Тюркологический сборник* (2003–2004) [2005], pp. 95–102.

[54] I. Kyzlasov, "Руническая эпиграфика древних болгар," *Татар археологиясе*, Kazan (2000), nos. 1–2 (6–7), pp. 5–18.

[55] W. Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n.Chr.* (Munich, 1988), pp. 182, 224–225, and 399.

[56] G. Clauson, "The diffusion of writing in the Altaic world," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*, ed. D. Sinor (Westport, Connecticut, 1963), pp. 139–144; idem, *Studies in Turkic and Mongolic Linguistics*, 2nd ed. (London–New York, 2002), *passim*; T. Tekin, M. Ölmez, *Türk dilleri / Les langues turques* (Ankara, 1995), p. 20 ff.; A. Róna-Tas,

According to the Rus' learned tradition of the early twelfth century, the Pechenegs, the Torki (Uzes), and the Cumans (Polovtsy) were all related to each other, as successors of the Biblical sons of Ishmael.[57] On the other hand, Seljuq legends also reflect the awareness of a common descent of the Oghuz and the Cumans.[58] The Slavs called the Oghuz *Torki* because they regarded them as of Turkic origin.[59]

According to N. A. Baskakov, most groups of nomads moving into the Carpathian-Danube region between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries spoke Turkic-Western Hun languages of the Oghuz and Qipchaq groups. The former includes such language subgroups as Oghuz-Turkman, Oghuz-Bulgarian, and Oghuz-Seljuk. The language of the tenth- to eleventh-century Oghuz belonged to the Oghuz-Turkman subgroup. The language of the Pechenegs, of the later Oghuz and of the Gagauz are all of the Oghuz-Bulgarian sub-group. The oldest language in the Qipchaq subgroup is Qipchaq (Cuman, Polovtsy).[60]

Cuman is the best-known old Turkic language, largely due to the *Codex Comanicus* a collection of Latin-Persian-Cuman texts preserved in a manuscript of the San Marco (Marciana) Library in Venice.[61] The manuscript includes a Latin-Persian-Cuman glossary, as well as a collection of prayers, sermons, sacred stanzas and other religious texts written in the Cuman language. According to the most recent studies, the earliest part of the collection must be dated between and attributed to a Genoese merchant familiar with, and involved in the Black Sea trade network. The later parts of the manuscript were written by a monk in eastern or central Germany at some point between 1330 and 1350.[62] The idea that some Cuman entries in the glossary may be of

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"Turkic writing systems," in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. L. Johanson and É. Á. Csató (London–New York, 1998), pp. 126–137.

[57] *PVL*, I, pp. 152–153; *Nik.let.*, I, p. 126.

[58] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, III, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1905), p. 155; Aboul-Ghâzi Bèhâdour Khan, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, II, ed. P. I. Desmaisons (St. Petersburg, 1874), p. 19.

[59] *PVL*, I; *Ip.let.*; *Let.Voskr.; Nik.let.*, I, *passim*.

[60] N. A. Baskakov, *Тюркские языки* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 103–148. See also K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 60.

[61] G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum* (Budapest, 1880); *Codex Cumanicus, Cod. Marc. Lat. DXLIX in Faksimile*, ed. K. Grønbech (Copenhagen, 1936); V. Drimba, *Codex comanicus* (Bucharest, 2000).

[62] D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus: Entstehung und Bedeutung* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 24–43. On details concerning Cumanian language, see G. Golubovich, *Bibliotheca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, III (*dal 1300 al 1332*) (Quaracchi /

Romanian origin is not supported by any piece of evidence. Instead, scholars have identified Greek, East Slavic, Mongolian, Arab, Persian, Hebrew loans, as well as a strong influence on the Cuman language of the specialized vocabulary of Christianity.[63] Fragments of the Cuman language have also been preserved in some texts originating from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Armenian communities in the towns of Kam'ianets Podil's'kyi (Kamenets-Podolsk) and L'viv (Lwów), which were written in the Armenian alphabet.[64]

Florence, 1919), pp. 1–28; Gy. Györffy, "A kipcsaki kun társadalom a Codex Cumanicus alapján," in idem, *A magyarság keleti elemei* (Budapest, 1990), pp. 242–273; A. v. Gabain, "Die Sprache des Codex Cumanicus," in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, I, eds. J. Deny, K. Grønbech, H. Scheel, Z. V. Togan (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 46–73; O. Pritsak, "Das Kiptschakische," in ibidem, pp. 74–87; V. Drimba, *Syntaxe comane* (Bucharest-Leiden, 1973); idem, "Miscellanea Cumanica (I–IV)," *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 15 (1970), no. 5, pp. 455–459; no. 6, pp. 579–584; 16 (1971), no. 4, pp. 275–286; 17 (1972), no. 1, pp. 3–21; M. Mollova, "Nouveaux côtés dévoilés du *Codex Cumanicus*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83 (1993), pp. 117–148; A. Coman, *Rumänen, Kumanen, Osmanen. Zur Geschichte und Sprachgeschichte Südosteuropas vom IX.–XX. Jhd.* (Fulda-Hermannstadt, 1998), pp. 421–426 and 471–476; V. Stoianov, "Codex Cumanicus: история изучения," *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии* 10 (2003), pp. 481–505; idem (V. Stojanow), "Der *Codex Cumanicus* in der Forschungsgeschichte," in *Il codice Cumanico e il suo mondo*, eds. F. Schmieder and P. Schreiner (Rome, 2005), pp. 3–44; F. Schmieder, "The world of the *Codex Cumanicus*, the *Codex Cumanicus* in its world," in ibidem, pp. XIII–XXXI; eadem, "Die Welt des *Codex Cumanicus*. Aussereuropäische Kontexte lateinisch-christlicher Sprachgrenzüberwindungen," in *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter*, eds. U. Knefelkamp and K. Bosselmann-Cyran (Berlin, 2007), pp. 285–294. For an ample survey of the literature pertaining to the re-evaluation of the *Codex Cumanicus*, see V. Stoianov, *Bulgaro-Turcica*, 3, *История на изучаването на Codex Cumanicus. Неславянска, кумано-печенежка антропонимика в българските земи през XV век* (Sofia, 2000), pp. 30–151.

[63] P. B. Golden, "The Codex Cumanicus," in *Central Asiatic Monuments*, ed. H. B. Paksoy (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 57–62.

[64] *Документы на половецком языке XVI в. (Судебные акты Каменец-Подольской армянской общины)*, ed. and trans. T. I. Grunin, red. E. V. Sevortian (Moscow, 1967); E. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak d'après trois manuscrits des collections viennoises* (Warsaw), I, 1 (1968); I, 2 (1968); I, 3 (1969); I, 4 (1972); idem, "Die armeno-kiptschakische Sprache und Literatur—ein Beispiel für kulturellen Synkretismus," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, NF, 5 (1985), pp. 209–224; E. Schütz, "Armeno-Kipchak texts from Lvov (A.D. 1618)," *AOH* 15 (1962), nos. 1–3, pp. 291–309; idem, "Notes on the Armeno-Kipčak script and its historical background," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization* (see above, n. 56), pp. 145–154; idem, "Armeno-kiptschakisch und die Krim," in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest, 1976), pp. 185–205; idem, "An Armeno-Kipchak document of 1640 from Lvov and its background in Armenia and in the diaspora," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. G. Kara (Budapest, 1987), pp. 247–330; idem, "Armeno-kiptschakische Ehekontrakte und Testamente aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert," in idem, *Armeno-Turcica. Selected Studies* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1998), pp. 265–300; S. Vásáry, "Armeno-Kipchak parts from the Kamenets Chronicle," *AOH* 22 (1969), no. 2, pp. 139–189; Ya. R. Dachkevytch, "Who are Armeno-Kipchaks?

Turkic nomadic societies were typically multi-ethnic, first and foremost because conquered groups were forcefully incorporated into the political and military structures of the conquering group. Equally important in that respect were alliances between different groups against common enemies.[65] Such ephemeral associations are mentioned in the sources for the Hungarians and the Kabars; the Khazars and the Uzes; the Pechenegs and the Uzes; the Pechenegs and the Hungarians; the Pechenegs, the Uzes and the Berendei; the Cumans and the Berladniks; the Cumans and the Brodniks; the Cumans and the Pechenegs; the Cumans and the Alans and the Mongols and the Cumans.

Demographic Aspects

The objective assessment of the relationship between the Romanians and the nomads is still unconvincing, unless we establish or at least estimate the numerical relationship between these populations. From the very beginning, it is necessary to specify that the narrative sources provide little reliable information in this respect: they tend to underestimate the Romanian element and exaggerate the number of Turkic nomads. That those sources would reflect the ethno-demographic realities in such a way is hardly surprising, given that not only in the Middle Ages, but at all times in history it is the spectacular—usually violent—events and their protagonists that attract particular attention. Peaceful events and historical characters tend to be ignored, irrespective of their contribution to the society in which they happen to live. This serves to exlain the paucity of information reffering to the Romanian population in the tenth to thirteenth centuries and the incomparably more substantial sources we have for the nomads, as well as the more generous assessments of their number.

A particularly relevant source for the demographic weight of the natives in southwestern Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia is the aforementioned bull of November 14, 1234, according to which Hungarians and Germans in the Catholic Cuman diocese had adopted the

(On the ethnical substrate of the Armenian colonies in the Ukraine)," *Revue des études arméniennes*, NS, 16 (1982), pp. 357–416.

[65] G. Vernadsky, "The Eurasian nomads and their impact on medieval Europe," *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 4 (1963), pp. 415–419.

religion of the Romanians.[66] This could only have been possible if within a region under direct Hungarian control, the Romanians were not only numerous, but also well organized. This is not a unique episode in the confessional history of the east-Carpathian region. The conversion of Catholics to Orthodoxy, without any pressure from the authorities, is mentioned in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[67] By that time, the political circumstances have considerably changed.

Some estimate that an ideal ratio of farmers to nomads within one and the same territory is 10 to 1.[68] This is commonly explained in terms of agricultural fields supporting a much larger population than the equivalent area used as pasture land. It is not possible at this moment to evaluate the demographic ratio of Romanians to nomads. However, judging from the archaeological evidence, it is not too far-fetched to advance the 10 to 1 ratio for the tenth to twelfth centuries. The Romanian population in Moldavia substantially decreased during the thirteenth, possibly beginning in the late twelfth century, and increased again in the fourteenth century.

There is currently no way to assess the relative population growth of Romanians and nomads other than by archaeological means. However, the demographic interpretation of the archaeological evidence is only at the beginning. There is nevertheless a sufficient amount of data for attempting to advance some preliminary estimates.

The local population in tenth- to twelfth-century Moldavia is known from excavations of sites attributed to the so-called Dridu (or Carpathian-Danube) and Răducăneni cultures. It was imperative to abandon these names as soon as a general consensus (not yet possible, apparently) would be reached in regard to some of the main aspects about the genesis and evolution of these cultures. Since the basic features of the Dridu and the Răducăneni cultures, as well as those of the thirteenth-century settlements, are essentially the same, they can be presented together.

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[66] O. Raynald, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII. ubi desinit cardinalis Baronius*, ed. J. D. Mansi, II (Lucae, 1747), pp. 111–112; *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes,* Series III, III) (Vatican, 1950), pp. 284–285.

[67] *Călători*, IV, pp. 43–44 (B. Quirini) and 187 (Şt. Balthazar).

[68] F. Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, 3rd ed. E. Oberhummer (Munich–Berlin, 1923), p. 52.

The population of the Dridu culture appears to have been multi-ethnic, with Romanians, Bulgarian Slavs, and Turks living side by side, as indicated by large cemeteries excavated in the Romanian Plain. For example, some of the burial assemblages found in southern Wallachia on such sites as Izvoru (Giurgiu county),[69] Păuleasa (Teleorman county),[70] Platoneşti (Ialomiţa county),[71] and Sultana (Călăraşi county),[72] have numerous analogies in the northern Balkans, as well as in the Lower Volga region. To some, this appears as sufficient for a blanket attribution of such assemblages to the Bulgars.[73]

Settlement sites dated to the same period have also been excavated in southern and central Moldavia at Gara Banca,[74] Bârlad-"Prodana,"[75] Bârlăleşti,[76] Dodeşti,[77] Epureni[78] (Vaslui county), Brăşăuţi[79] (Neamţ county), Câmpineanca[80] (Vrancea county), Hlincea-Iaşi[81] Şorogari[82]

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[69] B. Mitrea, "Das Gräberfeld aus dem VIII. Jahrhundert von Izvoru, jud. Giurgiu (I)," *Dacia*, NS, 33 (1989), nos. 1–2, pp. 145–219.

[70] M. Comşa and Gh. Bichir, "Date preliminare cu privire la necropola de la Păuleasa," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 2, pp. 317–320; U. Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau*, 2 (Bonn, 1992), pp. 418–420.

[71] Gh. Matei, "Platoneşti, jud. Ialomiţa," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1997. A XXXII-a Sesiune naţională de rapoarte arheologice, Călăraşi, 20–24 mai 1998* ([Bucharest,] 1998), pp. 57–58; Gh. Matei, R. Coman, "Platoneşti, jud. Ialomiţa," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1998. A XXXIII-a Sesiune naţională de rapoarte arheologice, Vaslui, 30 iunie–4 iulie 1999* ([Bucharest,] 1999), pp. 86–87; Gh. Matei, R. Coman, "Platoneşti, com. Săveni, jud. Ialomiţa," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2002. A XXXVII-a Sesiune naţională de rapoarte arheologice, Covasna, 2–6 iunie 2003* ([Bucharest,] 2003), p. 239.

[72] B. Mitrea, "La nécropole birituelle de Sultana. Résultats et problèmes," *Dacia*, NS, 32 (1988), pp. 91–139.

[73] Fiedler, *Studien*, 1 (Bonn, 1992), pp. 332–342. See also D. Dimitrov, *Прабългарите по Северното и Западното Черноморие* (Varna, 1987), pp. 207–219.

[74] R. Maxim-Alaiba, "Consideraţii preliminare cu privire la viaţa spirituală a locuitorilor aşezării de la Gara Banca-Vaslui din secolele IX–X," *AM* 12 (1988), pp. 253–261.

[75] Teodor, *Teritoriul*, p. 101 and figs. 24/3; 62/9–10; Coman, *Statornicie*, p. 71.

[76] Spinei, *Moldova*, pp. 84, 90, 96, and 103.

[77] D. Gh. Teodor, *Continuitatea populaţiei autohtone la est de Carpaţi. Aşezările din secolele VI–XI e.n. de la Dodeşti-Vaslui* (Iaşi, 1984), pp. 107–128.

[78] Idem, "Aşezarea feudală timpurie de la Epureni-Vaslui," *AM* 11 (1987), pp. 141–167.

[79] V. Spinei and D. Monah, "Aşezarea prefeudală de la Brăşăuţi," *MA* 2 (1970), pp. 371–387.

[80] I. Mitrea, "Cercetări arheologice privind secolele IV–XI în judeţul Vrancea," *Studii şi comunicări*, Focşani, 1 (1978), pp. 53–59.

[81] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa et al., "Şantierul arheologic Hlincea-Iaşi," *SCIV* 6 (1955), nos. 3–4, pp. 687–693.

[82] Zaharia, etc., *Aşezări*, pp. 219–220.

(Iaşi county), Oituz,[83] Onceşti[84] (Bacău county), Şendreni,[85] Vânători[86] (Galaţi county) (Romania), Calfa (Anenii Noi county),[87] Hansca[88] (Ialoveni county), Etulia[89] (the Gagauz Autonomous Territorial Unit), Giurgiuleşti[90] (Cahul county) (Republic of Moldova), Bogatoe,[91] Safian,[92] Suvorovo[93] (Ismail district), Şaba[94] (Bilhorod Dnistrovs'kyi

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[83] D. Gh. Teodor, C. Buzdugan, and I. Mitrea, "Descoperirile arheologice de la Oituz (judeţul Bacău)," *Carpica* 2 (1969), pp. 309–324.

[84] I. Mitrea, "Aşezarea prefeudală de la Onceşti (jud. Bacău)," *Carpica* 4 (1971), pp. 271–286.

[85] N. Gostar, "Săpăturile şi sondajele de la Şendreni-Barboşi (r. Galaţi)," *MCA* 8 (1962), pp. 506–507; D. Gh. Teodor, "Descoperirile arheologice de la Şendreni-Galaţi," *Danubius* 1 (1967), pp. 129–135.

[86] M. Brudiu, "Cercetări arheologice de la Vînători (jud. Galaţi)," *MCA* (1983), pp. 407–413.

[87] G. F. Chebotarenko, *Калфа-городище VIII–X вв. на Днестре* (Chişinău, 1973).

[88] I. G. Hâncu, "Археологические исследования на поселении Лимбарь-Кэпрэ-рия X–XII *вв. в* 1968–1969 гг.," in *AIM v 1968–1969 gg.* (1972), pp. 159–178; idem, "Результаты археологических раскопок селища X–XIV вв. у с. Ханска в 1970–1971 гг.," in *AIM v 1970–1971 gg.* (1973), pp. 177–195; idem, "Раскопки на поселении X–XIV вв. у села Ханска," in *AIM (1972 g.)* (1974), pp. 159–171; idem, "Раскопки на селище Ханска X–XIV вв.," in *AIM (1973 g.)* (1974), pp. 175–187; G. I. Postică, "Раскопки поселения Лимбарь-Кэпрэрия," in *AO 1981 G* (1983), pp. 400–401; idem, "Археологические исследования на средневековом поселении Ханска," in *AIM v 1981 g.* (1985), pp. 162–167; idem, *Românii din codrii Moldovei în evul mediu timpuriu (Studiu arheologic pe baza ceramicii din aşezarea Hansca)* (Chişinău, 1994).

[89] G. F. Chebotarenko, "Поселение Этулия VI," in *AIM (1972 g.)* (1974), pp. 173–182; G. F. Chebotarenko, T. A. Shcherbakova, "Раскопки поселения у с. Этулия," in *AIM (1973 g.)* (1974), pp. 140–155.

[90] Gh. Postică, I. Hâncu, I. Tentiuc, "Aşezarea din secolele IX–XI de la Giurgiuleşti şi unele consideraţii privind siturile medievale timpurii din zona lacurilor dunărene," in *Studia in honorem Ion Niculiţă. Omagiu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani*, eds. T. Arnăut, A. Zanoci, S. Matveev (Chişinău, 1999), pp. 280–298.

[91] A. T. Smilenko, A. A. Kozlovskii, "Поселения у сел Шабо и Богатое Одесской области," in *Днестро-Дунайское междуречье в I-начале II тыс. н.э.* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 112–121; V. I. Kozlov, "Богатое—поселение Первого болгарского царства на левобережье Дуная," *Добруджа* 14–16 (1997–1999), pp. 98–130.

[92] A. A. Kravchenko, "Поселение IX–X вв. н.э. у села Сафьяны," *MASP* 7 (1971), pp. 71–77; V. I. Kozlov, A. E. Maliukevich, L. V. Subbotin, "Раскопки поселения IX–X вв. Сафьяны близ Дуная," in *Старожитності степового Причорномор'я і Криму* (Zaporizhzhia, 2001), pp. 227–239.

[93] A. T. Smilenko, "Раскопки поселения Суворово I," in *AO 1981 G* (1983), p. 320.

[94] V. I. Kozlov, "Охранные работы на поселении VIII-начала X в. у с. Шабо," in *Северное Причерноморье (Материалы по археологии)* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 138–144; A. T. Smilenko, V. I. Kozlov, "Славянское поселение конца I тысячелетия н.э. у с. Шабо на Днестровском лимане," in *Археологические исследования средневековых памятников в Днестровско-Прутском междуречье*, eds. P. P. Bârnea (gen. ed.), E. N. Abyzova, V. I. Grosu, N. P. Tel'nov, T. A. Shcherbakova (Kishinev, 1985), pp. 119–136; Smilenko, Kozlovskii, "Поселения у сел Шабо," p. 98 ff.

district) (Odessa region) (Ukraine). Later settlements attributed to the Răducăneni culture have also been excavated in Brădiceşti,[95] Hlincea-Iaşi,[96] Răducăneni[97] (Iaşi county), Dăneşti,[98] Olteneşti[99] (Vaslui county) (Romania), Hansca,[100] Moleşti[101] (Ialoveni county), Durleşti[102] (in Chişinău) (Republic of Moldova), while twelfth- and thirteenth-century villages have been unearther in Dobrovăţ,[103] Hlincea-Iaşi,[104] and Iaşi-"Nicolina"[105] (Iaşi county) (Romania). I shall return shortly to the burial assemblages dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century and attributed to the local population.

According to a recent study, there are 107 tenth- to eleventh-century sites in southern, and 87 in central Bessarabia. Forty-eight of those 87 sites (56 percent) also produced evidence of an eighth to ninth-century occupation, an indication of continuity.[106] The number of known sites within the same region substantially diminishes for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by as much as 40 percent. The greatest decrease occurs in southern Bessarabia, where so far only three settlements have been found, which could be dated between the twelfth and the

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[95] Excavations carried by Constantin Iconomu.

[96] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa et al., "Şantierul Hlincea-Iaşi," *SCIV* 4 (1953), nos. 1–2, pp. 316–320; idem, "Şantierul arheologic Hlincea-Iaşi," *SCIV* 5 (1954), nos. 1–2, pp. 240–242.

[97] D. Gh. Teodor, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Răducăneni," *MCA* 8 (1962), pp. 723–731.

[98] M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţa and Em. Zaharia, "Sondajul arheologic de la Dăneşti," *MCA*, 8 (1962), p. 56; V. Spinei, "Aspecte economice şi sociale ale evoluţiei comunităţilor locale din spaţiul est-carpatic în secolele X–XIII," *Hierasus. Anuar '78*, Botoşani, 1 (1980), fig. 4.

[99] V. Spinei, "Săpăturile de salvare de la Olteneşti," *Carpica* 5 (1972), pp. 133–141.

[100] Hâncu, "Раскопки на поселении X–XIV вв. у села Ханска" (see above, n. 88), p. 169; idem, "Раскопки на селище Ханска X–XIV вв." (see above, n. 88), p. 185; G. F. Chebotarenko, *Население центральной части Днестровско-Прутского междуречья в X–XII вв.* (Kishinev, 1982), pp. 7–18; G. F. Chebotarenko, N. P. Tel'nov, "Исследования южнославянской экспедиции в 1979 г.," in *AIM v 1979–1980 gg.* (1983), pp. 92–102; Postică, *Românii* (see above, n. 88), pp. 8–11 and 62–97.

[101] G. F. Chebotarenko, "Раскопки на поселении у с. Молешты Кутузовского р-на," in *AIM v 1979–1980 gg.* (1983), pp. 183–192.

[102] I. S. Tentiuc, "Исследование поселний у с. Дурлешты," in *AO 1986 G* (1988), pp. 432–433; idem, "Cercetări arheologice în aşezarea medievală Durleşti-Valea Babei," *AM* 17 (1994), pp. 253–269.

[103] Excavations carried by Maria-Voica Puşcaşu and Nicolae Puşcaşu.

[104] Zaharia, etc., *Aşezări*, pp. 136–137.

[105] Excavations carried by the author.

[106] Gh. Postică, "Evoluţia aşezărilor din spaţiul pruto-nistrean în epoca migraţiilor (sec. V–XIII)," *Thraco-Dacica* 20 (1999), nos. 1–2, p. 333.

thirteenth century.[107] In Moldavia, to the west from the Prut River, field surveys identified 129 ninth- to tenth-century sites attributed to the Dridu culture (Fig. 2), with 121 settlements, 4 cemeteries or isolated burial assemblages, and 4 coin finds. Forty-one of those sites were located in the plain and hilly region, 80 in the highlands, and only eight in the mountains.[108] The number of sites is substantially greater for the tenth to eleventh centuries. Out of 296 sites, 247 were settlements, 16 cemeteries or isolated burial assemblages, 23 coin finds, three coin hoards, and seven hoards of agricultural implements and weapons. Most tenth- to eleventh-century sites cluster in the plain and in the hills (107), as well as in the highlands (173), with only a few in the mountain region (16).[109] Judging from the published archaeological evidence, there are about 100 sites of the Răducăneni culture dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries known from the area east from the Carpathian Mountains (Fig. 3). By contrast, only 35 sites are known, which have been dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[110] The small number of thirteenth-century sites is certainly a problem of the current research, and must therefore be treated with caution.

The evidence of field surveys thus shows that native Romanians were far more numerous than the Turkic nomads. There is a clear decrease in the number of sites at the time of the migration of the Turkic nomads. The greatest variation in the number of sites is that

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[107] Ibidem, p. 334; Gh. Postică, "Obşti săteşti şi formaţiuni teritoriale româneşti din perioada medievală timpurie în spaţiul pruto-nistrean," *Destin românesc*, SN, 2 (13) (2007), nos. 1–2 (49–50), pp. 156, 200–201, and 212.

[108] D. Gh. Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice şi numismatice la est de Carpaţi în secolele V–XI d.H. (Contribuţii la continuitatea daco-romană şi veche românească)*, ed. D. Popovici (Bucharest, 1996 [1997]), p. 24.

[109] Ibidem, p. 27.

[110] E. K. Chernysh, I. T. Cherniakov, "Археологические разведки в Подунавье," *KS* 99 (1964), pp. 89–96; M. M. Shmaglii, I. T. Cherniakov, "Археологічни ровідки 1964 р в Пониззи Дунаю," *Археологія* 19 (1965), pp. 215–221; G. F. Chebotarenko, "Материалы к археологической карте памятников VIII–X вв. южной части Пруто-Днестровского междуречья," in *DPM*, pp. 211–229; idem, *Население* (see above, n. 100); Zaharia, etc., *Aşezări*, *passim*; M. Brudiu, "Cercetări perieghetice în sudul Moldovei," *MCA* 9 (1970), pp. 511–528; Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 40–74; Teodor, *Teritoriul*; Coman, *Statornicie*, *passim*; V. Spinei, "Consideraţii cu privire la populaţia locală din zona centrală şi meridională a Moldovei în secolele XI–XII," *CIs*, SN, 12–13 (1981–1982), pp. 173–179; V. Chirica, M. Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Iaşi* (Iaşi) I (1984); II (1985); A. T. Smilenko, A. A. Kozlovskii, "Средневековые поселения в приморской часть Днестро-Дунайского междуречья," in *Днестро-Дунайское междуречье*, pp. 67–83; Gh. Postică, *Civilizaţia medievală timpurie din spaţiul pruto-nistrean (secolele V–XIII)* (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 102–108, 116–119, and 126–129.

from the plain region between the Siret and the Dniester rivers. The field surveys also indicate that the largest population, judging from the number of sites, was that of the tenth- and eleventh-century southern Moldavia, followed by a sharp decrease in that same region during the subsequent centures. Many sites were abandoned in that region, no doubt because of the Turkic steppe nomads moving in the neighbourhood. The smallest number of sites throughout the entire period between the tenth and the thirteenth century was that of the mountain region, clearly not suitable for a population of agriculturists.

Given the current state of research, it is not possible o estimate the absolute numbers of the local population in the Carpathian-Dniester area. Some believed the population of Moldavia in the mid-fourteenth century to have raised to some 85,000, the majority of whom were Romanians and Slavs.[111] Others advanced a much larger figure of 400,000, with 500,000 and 900,000 for contemporary Wallachia and Transylvania, respectively.[112] Judging from the military forces at the disposal of Prince Ştefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great) during the late 1400s, the population of Moldavia may have been as large as 600,000.[113] Until the second half of the eighteenth century, a period for which there is more consistent census data, the demographic evolution in Moldavia must have had its ups and downs, depending largely upon wars and military campaigns. A census of 1591 lists 46,860 families.[114] If the average family consisted of five persons, then the total population of Moldavia before 1600 must have been 234,300 strong.[115]

Throughout the Middle Ages the natural increase in population was greatly limited by high rates of infant and child mortality. The anthropological study of skeletal remains from twelfth- to fourteenth-century

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[111] L. L. Polevoi, "Premizele social-economice. Economia şi orînduirea socială în a doua jumătate a sec. XIII-prima jumătate a sec. XIV," in *Istoria RSS Moldoveneşti*, I, eds. V. L. Ianin (gen. ed.), V. A. Dergacev, V. M. Masson, L. L. Polevoi, I. P. Rusanova, P. V. Sovetov (Chişinău, 1988), pp. 313–314. See also idem, *Очерки исторической географии Молдавии XIII–XV вв.* (Kishinev, 1979), pp. 19–25.

[112] V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor de la origini pînă în zilele noastre*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles, 1989), p. 28. Others reached similar conclusions regarding the population of Transylvania (Şt. Pascu, *A History of Transylvania*, trans. R. Ladd [Detroit, 1982], p. 67) and of the three large Romanian provinces, the population of which was estimated at 1,800,000–1,900,000 (V. Trebici, *Demografia* [Bucharest, 1979], p. 457).

[113] P. Cernovodeanu, P. Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamităţile naturale din trecutul României (pînă la 1800)* (Bucharest, 1993), p. 39.

[114] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, IV, pp. 4–6.

[115] P. G. Dmitriev, *Народонаселение Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1973), p. 82.

rural cemeteries excavated in the region to the east and south from the Carpathian Mountain suggest a rate of infant mortality as high as 40 percent and an average age of no more than 30.[116]

Those travelling through Moldavia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century estimated the population of the country to have been 500,000 (J. L. Carra—1777),[117] 525,000 (Ch. F. Reinhard—1806),[118] 600,000 (Struve—1793;[119] F. Káracsay—1812)[120] or 730,000 (D. Bantysh-Kamenski—1808)[121] strong. By contrast, abbot Ruggero Giuseppe Boscovich estimated in 1762 that about 150,000 people lived in Moldavia, while twenty years later Raičevich believed the population of Moldavia and Wallachia was one million strong,[122] which seems to fit the above-mentioned estimates. Such figures are also confirmed by census data for the years 1772–1774, which recorded 2,299 settlements, excluding those under Turkish administration. According to some calculations, in those settlements there were about 113,600 houses, which means 568,000 inhabitants.[123] A century ago, a Dutch source

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[116] D. Botezatu and Gh. Ştefănescu, "Contribuţii la studiul antropologic al populaţiei feudale timpurii din Moldova din sec. XIII e.n.," *Studii şi cercetări de antropologie* 7 (1970), no. 1, pp. 13–18; M. S. Velikanova, *Палеоантропология Прутско-Днестровского междуречья* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 114–138; I. Popovici, M. Adam, and M. St. Udrescu, "Contribution anthropologique au problème du peuplement de la Plaine Roumaine du Moyen Âge," in *Populaţie şi societate*, IV, ed. Şt. Pascu (Cluj-Napoca, 1980), pp. 210–214; S. Antoniu, C. Obreja, "Studiul antropologic al scheletelor medievale de la Hudum-Botoşani din secolele XIII–XV," *AM* 10 (1985), pp. 89–96; D. Botezatu, P. Cantemir, and G. Miu, "Observaţii antropologice asupra materialului osteologic uman de la Trifeşti (jud. Iaşi), datînd din perioada feudală timpurie (secolele XIII–XIV e.n.)," *AM* 11 (1987), pp. 247–259; G. Miu and R. Simalcsik, "Necropola feudal-timpurie de la Hudum (judeţul Botoşani). Studiu antropologic," *Academia Română. Memoriile Secţiilor Ştiinţifice*, Ser. IV, 26 (2003), pp. 207–220; G. Miu, R. Simalcsik, and M. Stupu, "La nécropole féodale de Hudum (département de Botoşani), XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles. Analyse démographique," *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* 40 (2003), pp. 3–9.

[117] N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, ed. A. Anghelescu (Bucharest, 1981), p. 380.

[118] Şt. Ştefănescu, *Demografia, dimensiune a istoriei* (Timişoara, 1974), p. 24; *Călători străini despre Ţările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, SN, I *(1801–1821)*, eds. G. Filitti, B. Marinescu, Ş. Rădulescu-Zoner, M. Stroia, co-ord. P. Cernovodeanu (Bucharest, 2004), p. 267.

[119] Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători*, p. 410; Gh. Teodorescu, *Mărturii geografice despre ţările noastre de la Herodot pînă la Wilkinson (450 î.Hr.–1820)* (Buzău, 1942), pp. 102–103.

[120] *Călători străini despre Ţările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, SN, I, p. 763.

[121] Ibidem, p. 405.

[122] D. A. Lăzărescu, *Imaginea României prin călători*, I, *1716–1789* (Bucharest, 1985), pp. 64 and 198.

[123] Dmitriev, *Народонаселение Молдавии* (see above, n. 115), pp. 62, 78–79, and 83. Others advanced different figures. See I. A. Kotenko, N. A. Mokhov, P. V. Sovetov "О тенденции роста народонаселения Молдавии в эпоху феодализма," *Ученые*

indicated a greater number of villages for Moldavia: 3,000.[124] According to French statistics, the total populaton of Moldavia in 1808, that is after the annexation of Bucovina by the Habsburgs, was of about 800,000 inhabitants, in addition to 20,000 in the Hotin *raia* and 140,000 in "Bessarabia" (= Bugeac).[125] The figures are finally confirmed by internal ecclesiastical statistics (1810), which indicate 814,884 "souls" in Moldavia and "Bessarabia" (= Bugeac).[126]

Taking into account the dynamics of the demographic increase, which results from the evidence mentioned above, as well as from the archaeological studies, it is possible to give a rough estimate of the local population of Moldaiva between the tenth and the thirteenth century. Given the uneven development of the archaeological research on ninth- to eleventh-century sites, the number of rural settlements from that period must have been higher the 400 sites so far known, perhaps as large as 2,000. Judging from the evidence of systematically excavated sites, such as Băiceni (Iaşi county), Bârlăleşti, Dodeşti, Gara Banca (Vaslui county) (Romania), Calfa (Anenii Noi county), Etulia (the Gagauz Autonomous Territorial Unit) and Hansca (Ialoveni county) (Republic of Moldova), an average number of 25 houses per village may be advanced, which would produce a total number of 50,000 households for the entire Carpathian-Danube area. Further assuming five members per household, this will give a total population of some 250,000 inhabitants for the period between the ninth and the first half of the eleventh century.

The removal of the agricultural communities from the Bugeac and the substantial decrease in population in eastern Moldavia, led to a diminishing demographic index for the second half of the eleventh and the twelfth century. The population may have been no more 150,000–200,000 strong, with even lower levels of 100,000–150,000 inhabitants for the thirteenth century, the period of the most serious

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записки 6 *(Серия историческая)* (1957), pp. 55–56; Şt. Ştefănescu, "Aspects de la révolution démographique dans les pays roumains à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle," in *Nouvelles études d'histoire*, VI, 1 (Bucharest, 1980), p. 313.

[124] *Călători*, VII, p. 522 (*Relaţie anonimă olandeză, 1687*).

[125] T. Holban, *Documente româneşti din arhivele franceze (1801–1812)* (Bucharest, 1939), p. 49.

[126] C. Istrati, "Statistici ecleziastice efectuate în Moldova între anii 1808 şi 1812," *AIIA* 25 (1988), no. 1, p. 354.

demographic depression. The population began to increase again only after 1300, without however ging beyond the tenth-century level.[127]

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As for the nomads, different sources provide different population estimates. According to John Skylitzes, when crossing the Danube into the Empire in 1046/1047, Tyrach brought with him 800,000 people, divided into 11 tribes.[128] If so, then each Pecheneg tribe must have been some 72,700 strong. Before Tyrach's horde, two other Pecheneg tribes, led by Kegen, had settled in the Balkans. John Skylitzes estimates that they were 20,000 strong. The total number of Pechenegs in the mid-eleventh-century Balkans was thus one million, which is clearly exaggerated. Omeljan Pritsak's estimate of 2.8 to 3 million Pechenegs is equally unlikely.[129] The figure of 600,000 Uzes invading the Empire in 1064–1065 must also be treated with suspicion.[130] The army of "Sauromanthians" (Cumans), "Scythians" (Pechenegs) and "Dacians" (Hungarians), who crossed the Danube in 1087 under the command of Tzelgu, is said to have been 80,000 strong,[131] whereas the Pechenegs gathered in 1091 to battle Alexius I Comnenus at Lebunion were believed to have been 600,000.[132] Both estimates can hardly be accepted at face value. Their rhetorical flavour is enhanced by what one of emperor Alexius I's panegyrists had to say about the emperor's enemies: "their multitude exceeds the number of spring bees."[133]

More reliable appear to be the figures advanced for the Cuman forces fleeing the Mongols: 10,000 went to the Balkans[134] and 40,000 to Hungary.[135] If these figures are close to reality, then those about the

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[127] V. Spinei, "Note sull'evoluzione della Moldavia prima di Stefano il Grande," *Annuario dell'Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* 6–7 (2004–2005), nos. 6–7, pp. 17–19.

[128] Skylitzes, p. 458; Kedrenos, II, p. 585.

[129] O. Pritsak, "Печеніги," *Український історик* 7 (1970), nos. 1–3 (25–27), p. 97; idem, "Pečenegs" (see above, n. 15), p. 21.

[130] Michaelis Attaliotae *Historia*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), p. 88; Michaelis Glycae *Annales*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), p. 605; *Excerpta ex breviario historico* Ioannis Scylitzae Curopalatae, in Kedrenos, II, p. 654.

[131] Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, p. 87.

[132] Matthieu d'Édesse, *Chronique*, ed. Ed. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), p. 199; *Armenia and the Crusades. Tenth to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of* Matthew of Edessa, ed. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham–New York–London, 1993), p. 155.

[133] *FHDR*, III, pp. 18–19 (Teofilact al Ohridei).

[134] Nicephori Gregorae *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1829), p. 37.

[135] Rogerius, pp. 23 and 63.

Pechenegs and the Uzes must be grossly exaggerated and altogether reliable. Given the subsistence economy of the Balkans in the eleventh century, a sudden surplus of 800,000 or even 600,000 people would have meant a real catastrophe for both natives and invaders.

In their desire to emphasise the great danger caused by the migration of the nomads and thus to find an excuse for Byzantine defeats, the Greek authors exaggerated the military potential of the nomads, a sufficient reason for not taking their information at face value. True, the figures advanced did not refer to all Pechenegs, for no Byzantine author seems to have been concerned with just how many nomads were out there, in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. It is perhaps safe to assume no more than one million Pechenegs, Uzes, and Cumans altogether.

Large concentrations of military forces such as mentioned in the Byzantine sources were unique episodes in the history of nomadic societies, the end result of which was mass migration. By contrast, even large raids to the south or to the west implied only a relatively small number of participants. The organization of the great forays against neighbouring states frequently involved warriors not only from hordes scattered in the Bugeac and the Romanian Plain, which were never sufficient, but also from the entire area north of the Black Sea. Since in the early eleventh century there were still native settlements in the lowlands of the outer-Carpathian area, the Pechenegs must have at that time come from farther to the east. They moved into the Bugeac and the Bărăgan only after the mid-eleventh century, mainly because of an increasing need for grazing fields, and in doing so they forced the native population out. This was a clear increase in the nomadic population, but just how large that population was, it is impossible to decide.

Nonetheless, some idea may still obtained by means of comparison with later Tatar forces settled in the Bugeac. During the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Georg Reicherstorffer knew that the Tatars in south-eastern Moldavia had some 500 farms (*sessiones*),[136] while more than a century later Elvya Çelebi mentioned only 200 settlements and 45,000 Tatars.[137] The figures advanced for the military forces of

[136] *Călători*, I, p. 197. See also *Călători*, VIII, p. 635 (*Descriere "curioasă" a Moldovei şi Ţării Româneşti, 1699*).

[137] *Călători*, VI, p. 413. Elsewhere, Elvya Çelebi evaluated the Tatar forces at 40,000 (see *Călători*, VI, p. 434) or 47,000 (Ibidem, p. 632).

the Tatars by French travellers of the second half of the seventeenth century are contradictory: François Gaston de Béthume has 25,000 horsemen, and Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan—probably closer to truth—only between 4,000 and 5,000.[138] In 1806, at the time of their final removal from the Bugeac, count Langeron estimated the Tatar army was 30,000 strong.[139] This is obviously exaggerated, because such an army would require a population of more than 100,000 inhabitants. Others believed the total Tatar population to have been 40,000, and that only as a result of the Ottoman-led colonization following the wars with Russia. A part of the Nogai-Tatars fled to the Turks south of the Danube, while those who remained behind (about 6,404) were forcefully removed by the Russian armies.[140]

It is possible to admit numbers as large for the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Turkic populations as those advanced for the later Tatars. Until the Mongol invasion, most Turkic populations in the steppe were practicing nomadism, whereas the Tatars living during the late Middle Ages and the modern era in that region had already begun to settle and to adopt agricultural occupations, which contributed to a demographic increase far superior to that of purely nomadic communities. This is further substantiated by the comparatively larger numbers of people buried in Tatar cemeteries in the Bugeac.[141]

Archaeological excavations have so far offered extremely helpful indication of the population numbers for the Turkic nomads in the Carpathian-Dniester area (Fig. 4). I will return to those problems in the section dedicated to burial assemblages.

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[138] *Călători*, VII, pp. 410 and 516.

[139] Hurmuzaki, supl. I, III (1889), p. 110. See also V. Spinei and M. Spinei, "Însemnările cu caracter istorico-etnografic asupra Principatelor române ale contelui de Langeron," *Patrimoniu*, Chişinău (1992), no. 2, pp. 12–13.

[140] A. O. Dobroliubskii, *Кочевники на юго-западе СССР в X–XVIII веках* (Автор. дисс. на соиск. учен. ст. докт. ист. наук) (Moscow, 1988), pp. 22–23. See also L. Roman, "Basarabia," in L. Roman, R. Ştefănescu, *Studii de demografie istorică românească* (Bucharest, 2002), p. 157.

[141] A. O. Dobroliubskii, L. V. Subbotin, S. P. Segeda, "Погребальные памятники Буджакской орды," in *Средневековые памятники Днестровско-Прутского междуречья*, eds. P. P. Bârnea (gen. ed.), G. F. Chebotarenko, A. A. Nudel'man, N. P. Tel'nov, E. N. Abyzova (Kishinev, 1988), pp. 131–144.

Settlements and Life Style

The ninth- to thirteenth-century native villages are quite large, sometimes covering several hectares. They were located on exposed positions, in river everglades, on hills with mild slopes, or in the lowlands. They are not normally found at high altitude, away from arteries of communication or bodies of water. Some in fact are right on the banks of rivers or on lake shores. Throughout the whole period under discussion, native fortified settlements appear only exceptionally, as most settlements were open. By contrast, in neighbouring Transylvania; ever since the end of the first millennium, a number of earthworks were built with ditches and palisades.[142] The same is true about the mountain region in the northern Balkans, where according to the written sources the Vlachs had their own stone fortresses.[143] The Slavic tribes living in the Middle Dniester and Upper Prut regions also had settlements fortified with earth walls and palisades, like most other peoples of central and eastern Europe at that time.[144]

The scarcity, if not total absence, of earthworks in the Romanian lands south and east from the Carpathians requires some explanation. It cannot have been either the level of development reached by local com-

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[142] M. Rusu, "Castrum, urbs, civitas (Cetăţi şi 'oraşe' transilvănene din sec. IX–XIII)," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 8 (1971), pp. 197–203; Şt. Matei, P. Iambor, "Observaţii privind aşezările fortificate din Transilvania în perioada feudalismului timpuriu," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 17 (1980), pp. 507–516; Pascu, *Trans.*, I, pp. 42–47; P. Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate din Transilvania (secolele IX–XIII)*, ed. T. Sălăgean (Cluj–Napoca, 2005), pp. 62–137; A. A. Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificaţii şi cetăţi din Transilvania şi teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII–XIV)* (Cluj–Napoca, 2005), pp. 80–94; I. M. Ţiplic, *Fortificaţiile medievale timpurii din Transilvania (secolele al X-lea—al XII-lea)* (Iaşi, 2007), pp. 115–146.

[143] Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), p. 482.

[144] R. v. Uslar, *Studien zu frühgeschichtlichen Befestigungen zwischen Nordsee und Alpen* (Cologne–Graz, 1964); W. Hensel, *Die Slawen im frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 290–301; M. Štěpánek, *Opevněná sídliště 8.–12. století ve střední Evropě* (Prague, 1965); Č. Staňa, "Mährische Burgwälle im 9. Jahrhundert," in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, 2, eds. H. Freisinger and F. Daim (Vienna, 1987), pp. 157–205; J. Giesler, *Der Ostalpenraum vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zu archäologischen und schriftlichen Zeugnissen*, 2, *Historische Interpretation* (Rahden/Westf., 1997), p. 418 ff.; *Burgen in Mitteleuropa. Ein Handbuch*, I, *Bauformen und Entwicklung*, eds. H. W. Böhme, B. v. d. Dollen, D. Kerber, C. Meckseper, B. Schock-Werner, J. Zeune (Stuttgart, 1999), p. 38 ff.; B. O. Timoshchuk, *Східні слов'яни VII–X ст.: полюддя, язичництво, початки держави* (Chernivtsi, 1999), pp. 69–104; S. Brather, *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen. Siedlungen, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (Berlin-New York, 2001), pp. 119–164; Iambor, *Aşezări fortificate*, pp. 32–61; L. Mikhailina, *Слов'яни VIII–X ст. між Дніпром і Карпатами* (Kiev, 2007), pp. 43–45 and 60–68; A. Buko, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Poland. Discoveries—Hypotheses—Interpretations* (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 84–99.

munities, or some technological inability to erect strongholds. Instead, one should perhaps look elsewhere for a credible explanation. In my opinion, the lack of strongholds is to be associated to the particular relations between natives and nomads. Strongholds are bastions of resistance, so any political or military power trying to suppress the ability of the conquered population to rebel would begin by demolishing the existing strongholds and preventing the building of new ones. This was certainly the logic behind the measures taken by the Mongols in 6758 (= 1250) against the Rus' of Galich-Wolhynia to prevent them from building new forts,[145] and in 6769 (= 1261) to destroy the fortresses of the principality.[146] Prior to that, the Mongols had not only extracted tribute and military cooperation from the Caucasus region, but also asked for all fortifications of Armenia and Georgia to be destroyed.[147] The same is true for Ilkhan Hülägü, who in a.H. 654 (= 1257/1258) demanded that all fortifications on in the lands of Khur-shah (Khwarshah) be destroyed.[148] When allowing the rebuilding and resettlement of Kantzag, the Mongols nonetheless forbade the restoration of the city's ramparts.[149] During the sixteenth century, the Ottoman asked the princes of Moldavia to demolish the walls of their own fortresses and forbade them to build new ones.[150] It is very likely that a similar prohibition applied to the Romanian communities in the outer-Carpathian region under Bulgar, later nomadic rule. The destruction, at some point between the tenth and the eleventh century, of Tivertsian strongholds, as well as of the fortress at Calfa (Anenii Noi county), by either Pechenegs and Uzes, or by Cumans must be understood as a stern warning to anyone challenging their power.

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[145] *Ip.let.*, p. 184.

[146] Ibidem, p. 198.

[147] Grigor of Akanc', *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*, eds. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949), no. 2, p. 297.

[148] Rachid-Eddin, *Extraits de l'Histoire des Mongols écrite en persan*, in *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1832), pp. 532–537; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston, III (Harvard [Cambridge, Mass.], 1999), p. 484.

[149] Guiragos, *Extrait*, in Éd. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens," *Journal Asiatique*, 5th Ser., 11 (1858), nos. 2–3, pp. 215–216.

[150] Hurmuzaki, I, supl. 1, p. 23; *Cronica moldo-polonă*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1959), p. 186; *Călători*, III, pp. 18 (F. Sivori), 352 (T. Korobeinikov); VIII, pp. 245 (I. Vişenski), 260 (D. Krmann); *Curiose Beschreibung von der Moldau und Wallachey*, trans. S. Mehedinţi, in *BSGR* 16 (1895), nos. 1–2, p. 116. See also Gh. Pungă, *Ţara Moldovei în vremea lui Alexandru Lăpuşneanu* (Iaşi, 1994), pp. 152–158.

The settlements in Moldavia (Figs. 2–3) were rural, as no towns came into being before the great Mongol invasion. The delayed urbanization of the east-Carpathian region is most likely the result of the absence of any viable urban traditions.[151] Since the cities in existence during Antiquity in the Lower Danube region disappeared during the subsequent centuries, no traces were left in the Romanian language of the Latin vocabulary of city life.[152]

In the densely forested hilly and sub-Carpathian regions, villages were isolated. Such villages are in existence even to the present day, and their number must have considerably larger in the recent past. River valleys served as arteries of communications, along with roads crossing natural barriers. Land needed for new housing, agricultural or grazing fields was obtained through clearance of the forest. Neighbouring woods also provided shelter in case of emergency. In the eastern Carpathians, permanent settlements, consisting of hamlets or isolated buildings, may be found today up to an altitude of 1,000 to 1,200, with seasonal settlements, especially those associated with transhumance going as high as 1,300 to 1,500 m.[153] Although no archaeological evidence exists so far in that respect, it is likely that such seasonal settlements must have also existed on mountain peaks at the beginning of the second millennium, given the pastoral traditions of the Romanians.

Since no single settlement dated between the ninth and thirteenth century has been so far totally excavated, one has only a partial view of intrasite arrangement of houses and adjacent buildings. As a consequence, very little may be surmised in terms of populaton density. Nonetheless, some conclusions can still be drawn on the basis of ampler and more methodical excavations of settlement sites, each one with some 20 to 30 features. Judging from that evidence, buildings in ninth- to eleventh-century villages in the hilly regions of central and

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[151] V. Spinei, "La genèse des villes du sud-est de la Moldavie et les rapports commerciaux des XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles," *Balkan Studies* 35 (1994), no. 2, pp. 197–210 and 258; idem, "La genèse des villes médievales de Moldavie," in *The Colloquia of the XIII International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Forli (Italia) 8–14 September 1996*, 14, *Archaeology and History of the Middle Ages*, eds. R. Francovich, G. P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, R. Hodges, H. Steuer (Forli, 1996), pp. 55–70; M. D. Matei, *Genezǎ şi evoluţie urbanǎ în Moldova şi Ţara Românească până în secolul al XVII-lea* (Iaşi, 1997), pp. 45–56.

[152] S. Puşcariu, *Limba română*, I, *Privire generală*, ed. I. Dan (Bucharest, 1976), p. 361.

[153] T. Morariu, A. Bogdan, and M. Mihail, "High-zone settlements in the Romanian Carpathians," *Revue Roumaine de Géologie, Géophysique et Géographie, Serie de géographie* 12 (1968), nos. 1–2, p. 156.

southern Moldavia were clustered together, their position depending on the shape and stability of the ground. Ethnographic studies have shown that villages with houses placed at a small distance from each other are typical for communities involved in mixed farming (intensive agriculture and stock breeding), while villages with dispersed houses set at a greater distance from each other are of communities specializing in stock breeding.[154] The tight correlation between natural conditions and the intrasite structure of villages is particularly manifest in mountain villages, where networks of villages tend to expand tentacularly among valleys.

The great variety of types of relief, climate, soil and vegetation of the east-Carpathian territory, much like that of other regions in the Carpathian-Danube area, had a great influence on the classification of (modern) Romanian villages according to the position and density of their houses. The Romanian geographer Vintilă Mihăilescu classified Romanian inter-war rural settlements into three main categories: grouped (or concentrated), dispersed, and scattered (or spread-out) villages[155] (Fig. 5). Accepted by most ethnographers, geographers, historians and sociologists,[156] Mihăilescu's classification was later expanded by Romulus Vuia.[157] It is likely that that classification applies to medieval villages as well, given that the types of villages depended upon economic requirements, which did not change much for centuries. Most villages in central Moldavia were of either the grouped or of the dispersed kind. In the early twentieth century, those were the most common forms of villages.[158] Systematic research in Moldavia and in the Şomuzul Mare area showed that between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, as well as in modern times, dispersed villages predominated in the

[154] R. Vuia, "Satul românesc din Transilvania şi Banat," in idem, *Studii de etnografie şi folclor*, I (Bucharest, 1975), p. 239.

[155] V. Mihăilescu, "Trebuiesc recunoscute trei tipuri de sat: satul adunat (sau concentrat), satul răsfirat şi satul risipit?," *BSRRG* 45 (1926), pp. 106–110.

[156] V. Butură, *Etnografia poporului român. Cultura materială* (Cluj–Napoca, 1978), pp. 58–64; idem, *Străvechi mărturii de civilizaţie românească. Transilvania—Studiu etnografic* (Bucharest, 1989), pp. 37–62; I. H. Ciubotaru, *Catolicii din Moldova. Universul culturii populare*, I, *Arhitectura tradiţională. Textilele de interior. Portul popular de sărbătoare* (Iaşi, 1998), pp. 21–23; I. Praoveanu, *Etnografia poporului român* (Piteşti–Braşov–Bucharest–Cluj–Napoca, 2001), pp. 47–51; C. Iaţu, *Depresiunea Rădăuţilor—Studiu de geografie umană* (Iaşi, 2002), pp. 293–295; P. I. Panait, D. Flaut, *Arheologie medievală română* (Constanţa, 2004), pp. 65–67.

[157] Vuia, "Satul românesc din Transilvania şi Banat," *passim.*

[158] V. Mihăilescu, "O hartă a principalelor tipuri de aşezări rurale din România" *BSRRG* 46 (1927), pp. 62–75.

region.[159] There aare also cases in which parts of a village have the characteristics of one kind, whereas the remainder those of another kind of village.[160]

Much like in Wallachia, in modern Moldavia compact villages typically appear in hilly regions and in the lowlands (the Bugeac, the Romanian Plain, the Bălţi Plain), in which the chernozem soil type and the steppe flora prevail. It is from this region that, beginning with the eleventh century, the nomads evacuated the native agricultural communities. Their resettlement by agriculturists took place only after the nomad were driven away. The expansion of the grouped kind of villages in this region appears to be a recent phenomenon.

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The steppe Turkic tribes were primarily nomads on horseback, with all that that mode of life implies in material and spiritual terms. In contemporary sources, the explicit category of "nomads" applied to all important peoples of Turkic origin living in the east-European steppes: the Pechenegs,[161] the Uzes[162] and Cumans.[163] This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that all three were called "Scythians" in Byzantine sources, precisely because of their supposed similarity with the most famous nomads of Antiquity. In Arab sources, the Pechenegs appear as "a nomadic people who search for places that are wet

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[159] M. D. Matei, E. I. Emandi, *Habitatul medieval rural din Valea Moldovei şi din bazinul Şomuzului Mare (secolele XI–XVII)* (Bucharest, 1982), *passim.*

[160] I. Vlăduţiu, *Etnografia românească* (Bucharest, 1973), p. 126.

[161] Michaelis Pselli *Orationes panegyricae*, ed. G. T. Dennis (Stuttgardiae et Lipsiae, 1994), p. 63; Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae *Quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, I. Bollig descripsit, P. de Lagarde edidit (Gottingae, 1882), pp. 144 and 192; Skylitzes, p. 455; Kedrenos, II, p. 582; *Extrait* d'Abou-Obeid Al-Bécri, in [Ch. F.] Defrémery, *Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie Méridionale* (offprint from *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser., 13, 1848; 14, 1849) (Paris, 1849), p. 14.

[162] Ibn Fadlan's *Reisebericht*, ed. A. Z. V. Togan, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 24 (1939), no. 3, p. 19; Frähn, *Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer araber Berichte* (see above, n. 39), p. 244; Maçoudi, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, ed. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1896), pp. 244–245; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th–11th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 150 (Mas'udi); Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, I, ed. J. A. Boyle (Manchester, 1959), p. 90; *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, II, ed. Fr. Giese (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 17, 1) (Leipzig, 1925), p. 10.

[163] Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis *Opuscula*, ed. T. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), p. 44; A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I (Rome, 1859), pp. 87–88.

and rich in pastures,"[164] with their chieftain being constantly on the move.[165] The Cumans maintained their nomadic way of life for many decades after being allowed by King Bela IV to enter his kingdom,[166] just like his comrades who had remained in Desht-i Qipchaq under the Mongol rule.[167]

All activities of the steppe Turkic populations, from family to social-political life, were influenced by pastoralism. Loss of animals was fatal for nomadic communities, since hunting, gathering, or, where possible, sporadic cultivation of crops could substitute for more substantial subsistence strategies only for brief periods. As a consequence, except plundering raids, all movements of Turkic populations took place together with whole families and flocks. Even when undertaking long-distance expeditions, Turkic warriors were accompanied by herds of horses used for riding, for drawing carts, and for food.

The basic features of equestrian nomadism remained the same from Antiquity to modern times. Consequently, Greek and Roman ethnographic descriptions of the tribes living in the steppes of Eurasia are strikingly similar to those found in Byzantine, Arab, Persian, Russian, and Western medieval sources, as well as to those from the period just before the expansion of Muscovy beyond the Volga. As a result, details about the pastoralist mode of life during a certain period may sometimes be used to fill in the gap of information regarding other periods.[168]

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[164] Al-Bécri, p. 14; Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 32; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 221 (al-Bakrī) and 250 (al-Marwazī).

[165] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or* (see above, n. 33), II, 1863, p. 59; Al-Mas'ûdî (see above, n. 33), p. 103.

[166] Rogerius, pp. 23, 26, 62, and 65.

[167] *Das mongolische Weltreich*. Al-'Umari's *Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masalik al-abṣar fi mamalik al-amsar*, ed. K. Lech (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 138.

[168] E. D. Phillips, *Les nomades de la steppe*, trans. A. Zundel-Bernard (Paris–Bruxelles, 1966), p. 11 ff.; *Être nomade aujourd'hui* (Neuchâtel, 1979); *The Nomadic Alternative. Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes*, ed. W. Weissleder (The Hague–Paris, 1979); *Pastoral Production and Society / Production pastorale et societé* (Cambridge–Paris, 1979); Ph. C. Salzman, "Is "nomadism" a useful concept?," *Nomadic Peoples* 6 (1980), pp. 1–7; I. Ecsedy, "Nomads in history and historical research," *AOH* 35 (1981), nos. 2–3, pp. 201–227; R. P. Lindner, "What was a nomadic tribe?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), pp. 689–711; E. Turri, *Gli uomini delle tende. I pastori nomadi tra ecologia e storia, tra deserto e bidonville* (Milan, 1983), p. 48 ff.; D. Kshibekov, *Кочевое общество: генезис, развитие, упадок* (Alma–Ata, 1984), pp. 43–147; *Nomaden und ihre Umwelt im Wandel*, ed. E. Baum (Witzenhausen, 1989); *Ecology and Empire. Nomads in the Cultural Evolution of the Old World* (Proceedings of the Soviet-American Academic Symposia in Conjunction with the Museum Exhibition *Nomads: Masters of the Eurasian Steppe*, 1), ed. G. Seaman (Los Angeles, 1989); A. Khazanov, "Ecological limitations of nomadism in the Eurasian steppes and their social and cultural implications," *Asian and*

The ancient tribes of central Asia, the region from which countless populations moved to the west, shared the same mode of life. Quite suggestive in that respect is the description of the Hiung-nu to be found in the Chinese *Shi ki* ("Historical Writings"): "Their stock is made mostly of horses, cattle and sheep. Less frequent are domestic animals such as camels, donkeys and mules. They roam to and fro, in search of water and pastures. They have no fortified cities, nor stable settlements, and they practise no tilling either, although they do each possess a plot of land. They have no writing. Alliances among them are established verbally. Children are allowed to ride rams and sheep, and to shoot arrows at birds, weasels and rats; when they grow, they hunt foxes and hares, for food. The valiance of their warriors is demonstrated in archery. They are all armoured horsemen. In keeping with their customs and abilities, they move around with their stock in times of peace, and they also hunt birds and animals, for more food. When they are threatened, men prepare for war. They provoke and launch impetuous attacks, according to their temper. Their shooting weapons are bows and arrows; for close combat they use sabres and spears. When they have some advantage, they attack promptly, but when they are at bay they are quite ready to retreat suddenly, and even in such situations they maintain favourable positions [...] Both their princes and their commoners eat meat and dress in animal skins, over which they put on yet another fur coat."[169]

The movements of the Turkic populations were either locally limited or determined by transhumance. Practically speaking, no nomadic community could settle in any place for more than a few weeks, since

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African Studies 24 (1990), pp. 1–15; *The Archaeology of the Steppes. Methods and Strategies*, ed. B. Genito (Napoli, 1994); E. I. Kychanov, *Кочевые государства от гуннов до маньчжуров* (Moscow, 1997); C. Humphrey and D. Sneath, *The End of Nomadism? Society, State and the Environment in Inner Asia* (Durham, 1999); D. M. U. Rodrigues, *Nómadas e sedentários na Ásia Central. Continuidade e descontinuidade no processo civilizatório* (Porto, 1999), pp. 209–282; S. Stark, "Nomaden und Sesshafte in Mittel- und Zentralasien: Nomadische Adaptationsstrategien am Fallbeispiel der Alttürken," in *Grenzüberschreitungen. Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*, eds. M. Schuol, U. Hartmann, A. Luther (*Oriens et Occidens. Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben*, ed. J. Wiesehöfer, 3) (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 363–404; I. Lebedynsky, *Les Nomades. Les peuples nomades de la steppe des origines aux invasions mongoles IX^e siècle av. J.-C.—XIII^e siècle apr. J.-C.* (Paris, 2003), pp. 15–244; M. Weiers, *Zweitausend Jahre Krieg und Drangsal und Tschinggis Khans Vermächtnis* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 16–69; R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads. The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 30–33, 138–161, and 264–277.

[169] *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit. Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, I, trans. and ed. J. J. M. Groot (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), pp. 2–3.

the pasture land would have been exhausted by intensive or prolonged grazing, and regeneration required a rather long time. That is why flocks led by shepherds and their families were constantly moving to neighbouring pastures. In referring to Scythians, Hippocrates, the founder of ancient medicine, noticed that they "remained in the same place as long as their cattle had enough grass to eat. When they ran out of grass, they moved somewhere else".[170] Alans[171] and Avars[172] are known to have done the same.

At the beginning of summer, when humidity decreased in the plain and the grassy vegetation was no longer abundant, the nomads drove their animals to the north, along the river everglades at the limit of the steppe and forest-steppe belts, where grass was still fresh. The pastoralist community returned to the south in winter, with brief stops near lakes, near the sea, or at points where rivers flow into the sea. There, under the influence of the Black Sea microclimate, the weather was a little warmer than in the interior. The snow was blown away or melted quickly enough, for the animals to feed on dry grass. Indeed, until modern times, the nomads of Eurasia had but only small quantities of stocked fodder.

The pastoralists' seasonal wandering over the steppes is one of the essential features of nomadic life, specific to all the tribes in the southern area of eastern Europe. According to the folk tradition of the Turkic peoples, their ancestor—Japheth (Ulğay-Khan), Noah's son—was a nomad who had his summer and winter camps in Turkestan.[173] The summer migration of the Pechenegs to the Dnieper is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[174] and that of the Oghuz north of the Caspian Sea by an anonymous, tenth-century Persian geographer,[175] as

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[170] *FHDR*, I, pp. 80–81 (Hipocrate).

[171] Ammiani Marcellini *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, II, ed. W. Seyfarth (Leipzig, 1978), p. 165; P. Aalto and T. Pekkanen, *Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia*, I (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 20 ff.

[172] Pohl, *Die Awaren* (see above, n. 55), pp. 163–170.

[173] Rashid-ad-din, *Сборник летописей*, I, 1, trans. L. A. Khetagurov, ed. A. A. Semenov (Moscow–Leningrad, 1952), pp. 80–81; K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rašid ad-Din* (Vienna, 1969), p. 17; Rashiduddin Fazlullah (see above, n. 148), I (Harvard [Cambridge, Mass.], 1998), p. 27.

[174] *DAI*, I, pp. 56–57.

[175] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), p. 100: "Both in summer and winter they [the Oghuz] wander along the pasture-lands and grazing-grounds". See also *Orient.Ber.*, p. 206. Seljuq pastoralists spent the summer in the "Bulgarian land" and the winter in Turkestan. See Makrizi, *Histoire d'Egypte*, trans. E. Blochet (offprint from *Revue de l'Orient latin*) (Paris, 1908), p. 84.

well as by Mas'udi.[176] Similar data concerning the Cumans north of the Caucasus appear in a Georgian chronicle about Davit II Ağmashenebeli (The Builder) (1089–1125).[177] The Kimak tribe wintered together with their flocks in the Oghuz country.[178] It is known that before their migration in the east of Europe, the Cumans belonged to the tribal union led by the Kimaks.[179] A variant of Oghuz-Khan's legend (*Oghuzname*) mentions the summer and winter camps of the Oghuz, who lived by a un-named sea.[180] Similar accounts exist for the Toquz-Oghuz, one of the main branches of the Oghuz, who lived on the western border of China: "In summer and winter they wander from place to place along the grazing grounds in the climates which [happen to be] the best".[181] In Antiquity, the Sarmatians wintered in the swampy region near the Meotic Lake (Sea of Azov), and moved to the steppe lands in the summer.[182]

A revealing description of pastoralist nomads is that of the Oghuz (called Turks or Turkomans) by William of Tyre, the outstanding chronicler of the crusades. The "Turks" entered northern Persia to live a nomadic life, which is described as follows: "They were constantly roaming about here and there in search of the best pasture for their flocks. They had no cities or towns or permanent place of abode anywhere. When they wished to change their location, the people of the same tribe went together, some elder man of their tribe acting as chief. All questions which arose in the tribe referred to him, and his word was obeyed by both disputants, for no one was allowed with impunity to set aside his decision. In their wanderings, they carried along with them all their substance: studs of horses, flocks and herds, servants and maid-servants; for in these lay all their property. They paid no atten-

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[176] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or* (see above, n. 33), II, p. 19.

[177] P. B. Golden, "Cumanica, I: The Qipčaqs in Georgia," *AEMA* 4 (1984), p. 49 (reprint in idem, *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* [Variorum Collected Studies Series] [Aldershot–Burlington, 2003], no. XI).

[178] Marvazi, p. 32; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 249.

[179] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 101; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 202–203. See also Golden, *Introduction* (see above, n. 12)., pp. 202, 273, and 277; S. M. Akhinzhanov, *Кипчаки в истории средневекового Казахстана* (Alma-Ata, 1995), pp. 99–132; B. E. Kumekov, "О древнетюркских государственных традициях в Кимакском каганате и Кипчакском ханстве," *Хабарлары известия. Серия общественных наук*, Alma-Ata, 1 (239) (2003), pp. 74–77.

[180] Jahn, *Die Geschichte*, p. 33.

[181] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 94; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 191.

[182] *The Geography of* Strabo, III, ed. and trans. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1967), pp. 222–223.

tion to agriculture. Buying and selling were unknown to them, for they obtained only by exchange whatever was necessary for existence".[183]

Transhumance is deeply rooted in the traditions of nomadic life, and is preserved even by populations who moved towards semi-nomadism and towards state organization. This was the case of the Khazars, Bulgars and Mongols. About the former, Ibn Rusta, Gardizi and al-Marvazi knew that in winter they stayed in two towns, and when spring came they moved to the steppes, where they remained until the cold season returned.[184] Such accounts are substantiated by the tenth-century author Mutahhar al-Maqdasi[185] and by the anonymous author of *Muğmal al-tewarih* writing in the early twelfth century.[186] Moreover, the seasonal wanderings of the Volga Bulghars are described by Ibn Hauqal.[187]

The Mongols had a very similar organization of pastoralist traditions. The Golden Horde khans—among the others, Batu and Özbäg—did the same: left their residence at Sarai in the spring and moved to a temporary camp, situated in a cooler region to the north.[188] Naturally, the practice of seasonal nomadism was also adopted by the ilkhans of Persia.[189] Transhumance was also practiced by ordinary Mongols,[190] as

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[183] William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, I, eds. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (Saint Paul, Minn., 1943), p. 72.

[184] Ibn-Dasta [Ibn Rusta] (see above, n. 40), p. 17; A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 153; Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 33; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 53–54 (ibn Rusta), 167 (Gardīzī), 250–251 (al-Marwazī).

[185] Motahhar ben Tâhir el-Maqdisî, *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, attribué à Abou-Zéïd Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhî, IV, ed. Cl. Huart (Paris, 1907), p. 62; V. M. Beilis, "Народы Восточной Европы в кратком списании Мутаххара ал-Макдиси (X в.)," in *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной и Центральной Европы*, II, ed. A. S. Tveritinova (Moscow, 1969), p. 309.

[186] D. Ludwig, *Struktur und Gesellschaft des Chazaren-Reiches im Licht der schriftlichen Quellen* (Münster / Westf., 1982), p. 363.

[187] Ibn Hauqal (see above, n. 34), p. 387.

[188] Rubruck, p. 212; Al-'Umari (see above, n. 167), p. 147. See also B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223–1502*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 264–266.

[189] Al-'Umari, p. 149; *Relatio* Fr. Odorici, in *SF*, I, p. 418; *Die Reise des Selingen Odorich von Pordenone nach Indien und China (1314/18–1330)*, ed. F. Reichert (Heidelberg, 1987), p. 28.

[190] *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237*, Nach Vorarbeiten von E. Haenisch und Yao Ts'ung-wu, trans. P. Olbricht and E. Pinks (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 104–105 (*Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*); Plano Carpini, p. 108; Rubruck, pp. 172 and 197–198; Al-Makin ibn al-'Amid, *Chronique des Ayyoubides (602–658 / 1205–6–1259–60)*, eds. A.-M. Eddé and F. Micheau (Paris, 1994), p. 23; Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, 2nd ed. D. Olivieri (Bari, 1928), p. 61; Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, *La route de Samarkand au temps de Tamerlan. Relation du voyage de l'ambassade de Castille à la cour de Timour Beg, 1403–1406*, ed. L. Kehren (Paris, 1990), pp. 186–188.

well as by numerous other populations of the Eurasian steppes, up to modern times. The length of the seasonal routes varied from region to region, depending upon local climate and flora. Twice a year the Turkmen and the Qirqiz covered distances ranging from 20–30 to 150–200 km, but the Kazakhs are said to have moved over distances of 1,000–1,500 km.[191] The routes of the nomads in the east-Carpathian region, who wintered near the Danube and the sea lakes were perhaps between 250 and 600 km long for each season.

When gathering together for winter, the nomads were more vulnerable to attack, because their mobility was comparatively more restricted. Not surprisingly, the Rus' princes regularly attacked the Cumans in winter time.[192] Illustrative in that respect is also the "barbarian" saying, which John Skylitzes puts in the mouth of Kegen, who was urging the Byzantines to slaughter Tyrach's men that had crossed the frozen Danube: "You must kill the snake in wintertime when it cannot move its tail; for, after having warmed up in the sun, it will bring us great miseries and troubles."[193] On the other hand, it is equally true that the nomads may sometimes take advantage of the winter time to cross rivers on the ice and plunder neighbouring lands.

Earlier opinions maintained that only the transhumance of the Romanian shepherds in Transylvania was a rhythmic movement, on well-established routes, whereas that of the tribes in the Eurasian steppes was more chaotic.[194] This is contradicted by the fact that the movement of the nomads were neither accidental, nor irregular wanderings within the territory they controlled politically and militarily. On the contrary, their seasonal migrations occurred on previously fixed routes to avoid the risk of starvation for their flocks. It is not an accident that the late Turkic burial assemblages may be found on the same sites that earlier nomads (such as those of the Bronze-Age Yamnaia, Pit-Grave and Sruby cultures, as well as the Sarmatians) buried their dead.

Soon after the Mongols obtained supremacy in Desht-i Qipchaq, precise demarcations between the grazing grounds of each clan were

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[191] A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, trans. J. Crookenden (Cambridge, 1984), p. 52.

[192] *Лаврентіевская летопись*, in *PSRL*, I (St. Petersburg, 1846), pp. 121 and 176 (expeditions of 1109 and 1202); *Ip.let.*, pp. 136, 141 (expeditions of 1187 and 1192).

[193] Skylitzes, p. 459; Kedrenos, II, pp. 586–587.

[194] G. Vâlsan, "O fază în populareа ţărilor româneşti," in idem, *Opere alese*, ed. T. Morariu (Bucharest, 1971), p. 551.

established for all seasons.[195] It is certain that such boundaries were used also by the nomads moving in the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas before the Mongol invasion. It is also true that the repeated movements of peoples through the steppes disrupted the organization of tribal societies. Medieval sources often mention conflicts between different tribes, sometimes of one and the same confederacy. This created a relatively permanent state of tension and conflict over the control of the pasture lands. That several groups of Pechengs, Uzes, Berendei, and Cumans offered their services to neighbouring states is simply an indication that in the most of the case those nomads were losers in the struggle for grazing fields.

The nomadic way of life thus implied a fundamental contradiction between the need to impose rigorous rules for the distribution of lands, and the desire to increase those lands and the stock. Although in their essential characteristics, the Turkic communities of pastoralists in the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas may be regarded as nomads, elements of sedentism, including the cultivation of crops, are readily apparent. I will return shortly to this key change in the life of those communities. For the moment, it is important to note that the origin of such a semi-nomadic lifestyle may perhaps be the winter camps, which the nomadic communities occupied for an extended period of time. Unlike large grazing fields of the summer months, the wintering pasture lands were much more limited. While most of the clan returned to the north, it was likely that elderly or poor people remained behind to form permanent settlements. The consolidation and growth of such settlements were often curtailed by the invasion of new nomads.

Russian chroniclers often refer to the strongholds (*бежы*) of the Polovtsy / Cumans,[196] which were probably simple, fortified settlements, built for the purpose of wintering and for defense against attacks from Rus' or from their proxies, the Black Caps. In 1111 and 1116, the same sources mention the Cuman "towns" (*грады*) of Sharukan, Sugrov and Balin.[197] Those towns have not yet been unidentified, but are believed to have been somewhere in the region of the Northern Donets.[198] Sharukan and Sugrov were apparently named after two Cuman khans

[195] Rubruck, p. 172.
[196] *PVL*, I, p. 189; *Ip.let.*, pp. 129, 136, and 140.
[197] *Ip.let.*, pp. 2 and 7–8.
[198] K. V. Kudriashov, *Половецкая степь* (Moscow, 1948), pp. 91–95.

(Sharukan, Sugr), while Balin may be an altered form of the Turkish word for town, *baliq*.[199] It is not clear whether or not those "towns" were truly urban settlements, all the more so as the Cuman tribes, as it has already been proved, did not want to perpetuate the town-like life at Sarkel-Belaia Vezha after conquering it in the early twelfth century.[200] As for the Pechenegs and the Oghuz, the author of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* specifically notes that they had no towns.[201] By contrast, the unknown author of the Persian chronicle mentioned above knew that the Toquz-Oghuz confederacy near the borders of China had two towns.[202] During the second part of the eleventh century, Mahmud al-Kashghari wrote about the "towns" of the Oghuz in central Asia.[203] One century later, the Arab geographer Idrisi too had learned of Oghuz fortresses.[204] The existence of several urban centres in the territories occupied by the Pechenegs,[205] Oghuz[206] and Cumans[207] in central Asia is attested in other oriental sources as well, but their testimony cannot be entirely trusted. It is not clear whether the nomads had built those towns by themselves or had conquered them from some other peoples. In the territories dominated politically by the Cumans, there were several truly urban settlements, such as Sudak in Crimea and Saksin on the Lower Volga. Both were important trade centres, but the majority of the inhabitants were not Cuman.[208] In the east-Carpathian area, there is no evidence of either fortifications of Turkic nomads, or of towns.

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[199] S. A. Pletneva, *Кочевники средневековья* (Moscow, 1982), p. 59. In relation to this interpretation, see also Akhinzhanov, *Кипчаки* (see above, n. 179), pp. 138–143. For *balik* as "town," see Mahmūd al-Kāšrarī (see above, n. 17), I, p. 290; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 257–258.

[200] M. I. Artamonov, "Саркел-Белая Вежа," in *MIA*, 62 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1958), pp. 82–84.

[201] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), pp. 100–101; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 206 and 208.

[202] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 94; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 192.

[203] Maḥmūd al-Kāšrarī, I, pp. 329, 333, 352, 353, and 362.

[204] Édrisi, *Géographie* (see above, n. 22), II, p. 339.

[205] Ibidem, p. 437; Konovalova [ed. and trans.], *Ал-Идриси* (see above, n. 22), p. 128; Aboulféda (see above, n. 25), II, 1, p. 293.

[206] Iakut al-Khamavi, *Му'джам ал-булдан*, in *Материалы по истории Средней и Центральной Азии X–XIX вв.* (see above, n. 20), p. 81; S. P. Tolstov, "Города гузов," *Советская этнография* (1947), no. 3, pp. 52–102; idem, *По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1948), pp. 244–249; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Geneza miast u dawnych ludów tureckich (VII–XII w.)* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk, 1978), p. 87 ff.

[207] Édrisi, *Géographie*, II, pp. 398, 400, 401, and 435; I. G. Konovalova [ed. and trans.], *Ал-Идриси*, p. 119.

[208] Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 26 (Ibn el Asyr), 303 (Ibn Battuta); Shems ed-Dîn Abou-'Abdallah Moh'ammed de Damas, p. 381. See also J. Marquart, "Über das Volkstum"

Dwellings and their Annexes

Houses in native settlements are either above-ground buildings or sunken-floor features.[209] The above-ground buildings are houses either with ground-level floors or with slightly sunken floors, commonly by no more than 0.30–0.45 m.

The walls of the above-ground buildings were made of wattle-and-daub. It is very difficult, if not impossible in some case, to establish the contours of such houses, given that remains of daub and burnt soil have not always been discovered in coherent positions. However, judging from the existing evidence, it seems that such buildings were modest in size and were commonly of a rectangular plan. They were usually equipped with stone hearths of various sizes or of a circular rough cast surrounded by river stones. Such buildings have been found in relatively large numbers in Spinoasa and Băiceni (Iaşi county) (Romania), but only sporadically on other settlements of the Dridu and Răducăneni cultures. It is likely that the number of above-ground buildings on contemporary settlement sites was larger than that, but most were almost completely destroyed and thus left no traces in the archaeological record.

Above-ground buildings with slightly sunken floors, which are used nowadays as barns, kitchens and stables in the valleys of the Moldova and Siret rivers, were quite common on ninth- to thirteenth-century sites. All were rectangular and each had a single room with 2.5 to 5.0 m long walls. Holes for posts (used to support the walls and roofs) lined the contours of the buildings, but some may have also had wooden beams placed laterally. Where post holes have been found in the middle of the

(see above, n. 19), pp. 143 and 157; B. D. Grekov, A. Iu. Iakubovskii, *Золотая Орда и ее падение* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), pp. 23 and 29–31; V. Ciocîltan, *Mongolii şi Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV. Contribuţia Cinghizhanizilor la transformarea bazinului pontic în placă turnantă a comerţului euro-asiatic* (Bucharest, 1998), pp. 130–132.

[209] I. G. Hâncu, "Жилища на территории Молдавии в X–XVII вв.," in *Древнее жилище народов Восточной Европы* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 89–98; Teodor, *Teritoriul*, pp. 72–74, 105; I. Tentiuc, *Populaţia din Moldova Centrală în secolele XI–XIII* (Iaşi, 1996), pp. 26–50; C. Vârlan, "Locuinţele şi anexele gospodăreşti din sudul Basarabiei în secolele VIII–XI," in *Studii de istorie medievală şi premodernă. Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Edroiu, membru corespondent al Academiei Române*, ed. A. Andea (Cluj–Napoca, 2003), pp. 53–66; idem, "Câteva consideraţii privind cultura materială şi spirituală din sudul Basarabiei în secolele VIII–XI," in *Studii de istorie veche şi medievală. Omagiu Profesorului Gheorghe Postică*, eds. T. Arnăutu, O. Munteanu, S. Musteaţă (Chişinău, 2004), pp. 195–199; V. Pleşca, "Locuinţa medievală timpurie la est de Carpaţi," in ibidem, pp. 187–191.

building floor, it seems safe to assume that the posts served as supports for a gable or hip roof, which may have been covered with shingles or simply thatched. No traces of wooden floors have been found, but they may have existed at least in some of those houses with sunken floors. A few houses produced evidence of a sort of bench along the wall, fixed in the ground. Above-ground buildings with slightly sunken floors were equipped with open stone or clay hearths, with stone ovens of circular or rectangular plan and walls of stones bonded with clay mixed with pebbles, or with clay ovens of semi-oval or rectangular plan with vault, niches and front walls polished with gravel or broken glass and covered with clay. The number of such buildings with stone ovens is relatively larger in central Moldavia, on such sites as Băiceni (Iaşi county), Brăşăuţi (Neamţ county) (Romania), Calfa (Anenii Noi county), Lucăşeuca (Lucaşovca) and Orhei-"Petruha" (Orhei county) (Republic of Moldova), while sites in southern Moldavia such as Bârlăleşti, Epureni (Vaslui county) (Romania), and Hansca (Ialoveni county) (Republic of Moldova) have produced more clay ovens. Both ovens and hearths were commonly place in the corner opposite the entrance, and only rarely in the middle of the building.

Only a few sunken-featured buildings have so far been identified, and they are all similar in shape and size to above-ground buildings with slightly sunken floors. Sunken-featured buildings had the advantage over above-ground buildings of retaining heat longer in winter, as well as of offering a cool environment in the heat of the summer. Pits for sunken-featured buildings were dug to between 0.70 and 1.20 m from the ground level. The walls of such buildings must have reached above the ground. An exception to this is a sunken-floored building found in Lucăşeuca, the pit of which was 2 metres deep and was more than 31 square metres in size, being divided into two rooms.[210] All other sunken-floored buildings known so far are single-roomed, much like contemporary above-ground houses. Sunken-featured building produced no open hearths, but either clay ovens carved into one of the walls or stone ovens placed in a corner. The tradition of building sunken-featured or above-ground houses with slightly sunken floors, equipped with hearths or ovens goes back to the Neolithic Age and continues through the post-medieval period, in certain regions up to

[210] Hâncu, "Жилища на территории Молдавии," p. 95.

early twentieth century.[211] After visiting the Romanian Principalities in 1788, the Italian scholar Domenico Sestini aptly described the sunken-floored dwellings in villages in the lowlands, which had been stricken by povery, as having "a sad, miserable aspect." He wrote: "The houses are rather dense; they are dug in the ground and they are called pit-houses (*bordei*). From the distance you can see only the smoke coming out of chimneys and when you get closer you can notice the roofs only a little higher above the ground, made of pillars covered with earth on which the grass grows."[212]

Associated with clay ovens or hearths, archaeologists found in ninth- to tenth-century houses so-called "portable fireplaces," made of daub in the form of a square tray, with a flat bottom, 4–8 cm wide, and borders raised to 10 cm.[213] "Portable fireplaces" appear frequently on contemporary sites in eastern Europe.[214] Some of them are as much as 1 m long. One specimen of rectangular shape was found Brăşăuţi (Neamţ county), flanked by large river stones.[215] "Portable fireplaces" were commonly attached to the upper part of clay ovens by means of daub, an indication that they were not portable at all. However, there are also examples of large trays, which were certainly moveable, such as the round specimen found in Bârlad-"Prodana" (Vaslui county), with a wide opening in the middle and a back wall of the same height and thickness as the lateral one, through which smoke could pass without affecting the rest of the oven. This unique type of tray, without any parallels on any medieval sites in the extra-Carpathian area, is known in modern Oltenia as *cirimna* (or *ciripnea*), and is used for baking loaves of unleavened bread.[216] This strongly suggests that rectangular specimens may have also been used for baking bread or cereals.

Houses in ninth- to thirteenth-century settlements were often surrounded by baking clay or stone ovens, silos, and refuse pits. Silo pits

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[211] V. Butură, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 156), pp. 81–86; I. Praoveanu, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 156), pp. 66–67; M. I. I. Gorgoi, "Antropologia spaţiului," *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* 1 (2001), pp. 193–194.

[212] *Prin ţările române. Călători străini din secolul al XIX-lea*, ed. S. Vărzaru (Bucharest, 1984), p. 52.

[213] Teodor, *Teritoriul*, pp. 74–75.

[214] J. Kudrnać, "Cîteva date noi despre agricultura la slavi," *AM* 1 (1961), p. 232; J. Eisner, *Rukovět' slovanské archeologie. Počátky Slovanů a jejich kultury* (Prague, 1966), pp. 283–285.

[215] Spinei and Monah, "Aşezarea prefeudală" (see above, n. 79), p. 375.

[216] M. Bratiloveanu-Popilian, "Cirimna—o vatră portativă," *Revista muzeelor* 5 (1968), no. 6, pp. 554–555.

are known since the Neolithic Age, are mentioned in the Latin literature, and in certain parts of Romania are still employed. The walls of the silo pit were commonly fired for insulation and protection against rodents.[217]

Several ninth- to eleventh-century settlements produced evidence of clusters of two to three buildings within less than 5 metres from each other. Such clusters do not necessarily indicate the existence of different families, as has been suggested. They may rather represent compounds inhabited by two or three generations of the same kin group, with each generation inhabiting a separate house, and houses abandoned after the death of their owners being turned into barns. There are clear ethnographical analogies for such practices.[218] A family may have built several buildings at the same time for various purposes. Thus, buildings found next to each other may not all have been used at the same time. Rather, when one building was abandoned, another was built next to it. There is no evidence of stables, and judging from the ethnographic analogies, it is likely that animals (cattle and sheep) were kept either in open air or in corrals.[219]

The building style of the native settlements found within the entire region between the eastern Carpathians and the Dniester River, as well as the associated finds (Figs. 6–22), bespeak the sedentary character of their inhabitants.

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Equestrian nomadism has a strong influence upon the shape and function of buildings erected by pastoralists in the Eurasian steppes. Most contemporary authors with good knowledge of the nomadic lifestyle emphasize the absence of permanent, stable dwellings, the use of carts or wagons, and of tents, sometimes replaced by felt huts. Several Byzantine and Arab sources describe the Pechenegs as living in tents

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[217] R. O. Maier, "Gropile de păstrat bucate (cereale) în Dobrogea," *Revista muzeelor* 5 (1968), no. 3, pp. 278–279; V. Neamţu, *La technique de la production céréalière en Valachie et en Moldavie jusqu'au XVIII[e] siècle* (Bucharest, 1975), pp. 258–262.

[218] R. Vuia, "Curtea şi gospodăria," in *Etnografia Văii Bistriţei. Zona Bicaz*, gen. ed. R. Vuia (Piatra Neamţ, 1973), pp. 110–112.

[219] Ibidem, p. 116; Vlăduţiu, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 160), p. 254. That horses in sixteenth-century Moldavia were not kept in stables is specifically mentioned by A. M. Graziani. See *Călători*, II, p. 383.

and in wagons or carts.[220] Carts were also used for the protection of the camps, even during military campaigns.[221] There are also references to Oghuz life in felt huts[222] and to their crossing the frozen Volga on carts.[223] On the basis of earlier sources, Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi wrote in the early 1100s that some of the Ghuzz (= Oghuz) of central Asia "live in wastelands and deserts, having tents and felt-huts (*khargah*); their wastelands are on the border of Transoxiana and partly also of Khwarazm".[224] In the early 900s, a chronicler in Baghdad made the following remarks about the Qarluqs, the Toquz-Oghuz, the Turkash, the Kimak and the Oghuz of central Asia: "These Turkic populations had neither halting places nor fortification: they lived in Turkic tents, with rings whose straps are made of horse or ox skin, covered with felt, because the peoples are very skilful in making felt, as they used to make clothes of it".[225]

A French chronicler of the Fourth Crusade had similar things to say about the Cumans: "They are a wild people who neither plough, nor sow, nor have any cabin or house, but they have some felt tents, dwellings where they hide, and they feed on milk, cheese and meat" (*Ce sont une gent sauwage, qui ne arent ne sèment, ne n'ont borde ne maison, ains ont unes tentes de feutre, habitacles où il se mussent, et si vivient de lait et de fromage et de chair*).[226] This in turn dovetails an-Nuwairi's comments about Cumans under Mongol rule: "These [people] live in shelters not in houses, they do not have stable settlements, and they spend their summer in one place and the winter in another".[227] The illuminations of the *Radziwiłł Chronicle*, dated long after the conquest of Desht-i-Qipchak by the Mongols, show Cumans using, besides carts or wagons, some

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[220] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), p. 160; A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi*, p. 151; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 164 (Gardīzī), 215 (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*); Attaliates (see above, n. 130), p. 30; Psellos, II, p. 127; Skylitzes, p. 455; Kedrenos, II, p. 582; *FHDR*, III, pp. 84–85 (Anna Comnena), 222–223 (Zonaras); IV, pp. 32–33 (Psellos, *Discursuri*).

[221] Leonis Diaconi Caloensis *Historiae*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 157; Matthieu d'Édesse (see above, n. 132), p. 200; Matthew of Edessa (see above, n. 132), p. 155; Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, pp. 96–98, 107–109, 117, 119, 122, 141; Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. B. Adalbjarnarson, III (Reykjavik, 1951), p. 371.

[222] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 162), p. 19; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 100; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 206.

[223] Al-Mas'ûdî (see above, n. 33), p. 91; Marquart, "Über das Volkstum" (see above, n. 19), p. 26; Minorsky, *History of Sharvan* (see above, n. 162), p. 150.

[224] Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 29; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 242–243.

[225] Ya'kubi (see above, n. 30), p. 113.

[226] Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, in *Historiens et chroniqueurs du Moyen Age*, eds. A. Pauphilet, Ed. Pognon (Paris, 1952), p. 50.

[227] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 540.

rectangular or circular beehive-like structures as winter dwellings[228] That Cumans, like Mongols,[229] used tents[230] is repeatedly mentioned in several sources.

Even the Turkic and Mongol khans lived in cloth tents or felt yurtas called *orda* or *ürgä*. The latter were quite large, hundreds of people.[231] Évariste-Régis Huc, a nineteenth-century French traveller and missionary, describes similar tents in use among the nomads on the northern frontier of China: "The Mongol tent, about three feet from the ground, is cylindrical in form. It then becomes conical, like a pointed hat. The woodwork of the tent is composed below of a trellis-work of crossed bars, which fold up and expand at pleasure. Above these a circle of poles, fixed in the trellis-work, meets at the top, like the sticks of an umbrella. Over the woodwork is stretched, once or twice, a thick covering of coarse linen, and thus the tent is composed. The door, which is always a folding door, is low and narrow. A beam crosses it at the bottom by way of threshold, so that on entering you have at once to raise your feet and lower your head. Besides the door there is another opening at the top of the tent to let out the smoke. This opening can at any time be closed with a piece of felt fastened above it in the tent, which can be pulled over it by means of a string, the end of which hangs by the door".[232]

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[228] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 200.

[229] *The Travels of an Alchemist. The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan Recorded by his Disciple* Li Chih-ch'ang, trans. A. Waley (London, 1931; reprint Westport, Connecticut, 1976), p. 67; *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* (see above, n. 190), pp. 104–105 (*Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*); Guiragos, *Extrait*, in Éd. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens," *Journal Asiatique*, 5th Ser., 11 (1858), no. 4–5, p. 457; Tiesenhausen, I, p. 292 (Ibn Battuta); Marco Polo, *Il Milione* (see above, n. 190), p. 61; Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo (see above, n. 190), p. 186; C. Brunel, "David d'Ashby auteur méconnu des Faits des Tartares," *Romania* 87 (1958), no. 79, pp. 42–43. On the later period, see Nicolaie Milescu Spătarul, *Jurnal de călătorii în China*, ed. C. Bărbulescu (Bucharest, 1956), p. 86.

[230] *Tour du monde ou voyage du rabbin* Péthachia *de Ratisbonne dans le douzième siècle*, ed. E. Carmoly (Paris, 1831), p. 12; Rogerius, pp. 26 and 65; Hurmuzaki, I, p. 421.

[231] Ibn Fadlan, pp. 182–183 (commentary A. Z. V. Togan); Taki-Eddin-Ahmed Makrizi, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Egipt*, trans. [É. M.] Quatremère, I, [1] (Paris, 1837), p. 214; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (see above, n. 188), pp. 428–431; L. L. Viktorova, *Монголы. Происхождение народа и истоки культуры* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 51–58; P. A. Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types in the Middle East*, I, *Framed Tents*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1997), *passim*; idem, *Felt Tents and Pavilions. The Nomadic Tradition and its Interaction with Princely Tentage*, I (London, 1999), pp. 89–665; C. P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York, 2004), pp. 613–616.

[232] É.-R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, ed. H. D'Ardenne de Tizac, trans. W. Hazlitt (New York–London, 1927), p. 47.

John of Plano Carpini's description of the Mongol yurts, used both in peacetime and on campaign, points to tent-like round structures made of sticks and wattle. Each had an opening at the top for both light to come in and smoke to get out. The fireplace was located in the middle of the yurt. The walls, the roof and the doors were all covered with felt. The size of the yurt corresponded to the rank and wealth of the owner. Some of them were permanent, others could be carried around on wagons pulled by oxen; they could be transported as such or dismantled.[233] The details of this description are substantiated by the travelogue of William of Rubruck.[234] An eighteenth-century lithography shows Kalmuks still living in yurts similar to those described by John of Plano Carpini (Giovanni di Pian di Carpine).[235]

The felt huts of the Pechenegs, the Khazars and the Oghuz, which are mentioned by an anonymous Persian author of the tenth century,[236] were probably not much different from those of Mongols. Until very recent times, the kind of yurt described by John of Plano Carpini remained in use among the nomads of central Asia and the south of eastern Europe[237] (Fig. 60). Numerous other sources reveal that Mongols also lived in wagons.[238] The Moldavian chronicler Grigore Ureche

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[233] Plano Carpini, p. 35; idem (Giovanni di Pian di Carpine), *Storia dei Mongoli*, eds. P. Daffinà, C. Leonardi, M. C. Lungarotti, E. Menestrò, L. Petech (Spoleto, 1989), pp. 234–235 and 341–342; idem (Jean de Plan Carpin), *Histoire des Mongols*, trans. and eds. D. J. Becquet and L. Hambis (Paris, 1965), p. 34; idem (Johannes von Plano Carpini), *Kunde von den Mongolen, 1245–1247*, ed. F. Schmieder (Sigmaringen, 1997), p. 45.

[234] Rubruck, p. 172. See also B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols. Le féodalisme nomade*, trans. M. Carsow (Paris, 1948), pp. 49–51.

[235] W. Heissig, *Die Mongolen*, 2nd ed. (Munich–Nördlingen, 1978), p. 85.

[236] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), pp. 100 and 160; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 206 and 215.

[237] H. Haslund, *Tents in Mongolia (Yabonah). Adventures and Experiences among the Nomads of Central Asia* (New York, 1934); *Etnografia continentelor*, II, 2, eds. S. P. Tolstov, M. G. Levin, N. N. Cheboksarov (Bucharest, 1961), pp. 31, 51, 97, 278, 363, etc. On the typology of the yurts and felt huts used by Eurasian nomads, see also S. I. Vainshtein, "Problems of the history of the dwellings of the steppe nomads of Eurasia," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 18 (1979), no. 1, pp. 50–83; D. Couchaux, *Habitats nomades* (Paris, 1980), p. 83 ff.; E. E. Kuz'mina, V. A. Livshits, "Еще раз о происхождении юрты," in *Прошлое Средней Азии (Археология, нумизматика, эпиграфика и этнография)*, ed. V. A. Ranov (Dushanbe, 1987), pp. 243–250; N. Zh. Shakhanova, "The yurt in the traditional worldview of Central Asian nomads," in *Foundations of Empire. Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes*, ed. G. Seaman (Los Angeles, 1992), pp. 157–183; Andrews, *Nomad Tent Types*, I, 1, p. 3 ff.

[238] *The Travels of an Alchemist* (see above, n. 229), p. 67; *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* (see above, n. 190), pp. 104–105 (*Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*); Guiragos (see above, n. 149), p. 457; Laonic Chalcocondil, *Expuneri istorice*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958),

(c. 1590–1647) knew that the Tatars did not live in houses, but on carts,[239] and western travellers of the fourteenth to the seventeenth century confirm that the Tatars in the Bugeac were nomads who lived on carts or wagons.[240] When arranged in a circle and tied together, the carts formed a kind of corral.

For transport, the nomads of the first half of the second millennium used horses, oxen and sometimes camels. When large rivers were not frozen, and no fords were available, the nomads crossed crossed them on large, inflated skin bagss, on which both people and wagons were loaded. Horses were tied to such skins and they had to swim and pull them. The nomadic lifestyle and use of tents and wagons by the Turkic and Mongol populations continued the traditions of the nomads of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages (Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, and Avars). Many interesting written references about them have been preserved.[241]

The wagons were not only a shelter and a means of locomotion; they also had an important strategic role, as they could make up real mobile fortresses of the steppe tribes. During campaigns, they were arranged in a circle and tightly tied together, in order to protect the warriors, as well as their families, herds and wealth. During the battle on the Catalaunic Fields (Châlons-sur-Marne) in 451 Attila is said to have rescued his army from disaster by withdrawing to his camp encircled

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p. 94; N. Nicoloudis [ed.], Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *A Translation and Commentary of the «Demonstrations of Histories» (Books I–III)* (Athens, 1996), pp. 294–295.

[239] Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1955), p. 117.

[240] *Călători*, III, p. 179 (François de Pavie); VII, p. 516 (G. Levasseur de Beauplan).

[241] Herodotus, II, *Books III and IV*, trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1982), pp. 246–247 and 322–323; *FHDR*, I, pp. 30–31 (Herodot), 78–81 (Hipocrate), 182–183 (Salustiu), 210–213 (Horaţiu), 226–227, 242–243 (Strabon), 596–597 (Arian), 656–657 (Filostrat); II, pp. 102–103 (Scriitorii istoriei împăraţilor), 116–119 (Ammianus Marcellinus), 458–459 (Procopius din Caesarea, *Despre zidiri*), 508–509 (Menander Protector), 526–527 (Euagrios Scolasticul), 554–555 (Mauricius); IV, pp. 20–21 (*Chronicon Monembasiae*), 126–127 (Nicephoros Callistos Xanthopoulos); P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Despre originea şi ţara germanilor*, trans. T. A. Naum, in idem, *Opere*, I (Bucharest, 1958), p. 127; Theophylacti Simocattae *Historiarum libri octo*, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), p. 98; *Τὸ περί τῆς κτίσεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας χρονικόν / Cronica Monemvasiei*, trans. M. Alexianu and R. Curcă (Iaşi, 2005), pp. 86–87. See also A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, II, 2nd ed. (Hamburg, 1877), pp. 464–465; D. Braund, "The movement of Scythian nomads nuancing 'otherness'," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 10 (2000), nos. 1–2, pp. 21–30.

by wagons.[242] The same tactics was used by Khazars against Arabs,[243] by Pechenegs against Byzantines,[244] and by Mongols against all their enemies.[245] John Kinnamos mentions that during a battle with Emperor John II Comnenus in 1122–1123, the Pechenegs and their allies used wagons as battlements.[246] In this respect, moving the army flanked by the carts to the battlefield was a specifically nomadic tactic, much like fortifying the camp by surrounding it with carts. Such tactics wre also adopted by non-nomadic peoples, from Byzantines[247] and Sclavenes,[248] to the Cossacks,[249] Poles[250] and Hussite rebels in Bohemia.[251]

Agriculture

In the economic structure of the Romanian communities two traditional occupations prevailed during the tenth to thirteenth centuries: agriculture and stock breeding. Given the favourable environment, this economic profile was sufficient for subsistence and could occasionally produce a surplus for exchange.

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[242] Iordanes, *Getica* (*IIR*, XIV) (1939), pp. 59 and 130.

[243] M. I. Artamonov, *История хазар* (Leningrad, 1962), p. 207; Ludwig, *Struktur* (see above, n. 186), p. 217.

[244] Leonis Diaconi Caloensis *Historiae*, p. 157; Matthieu d'Édesse (see above, n. 132), p. 200; Matthew of Edessa (see above, n. 132), p. 155; Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, pp. 96–98, 107–109, 117, 119, 122, 141; Snorri Sturluson (see above, n. 221), p. 371; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga. Den store saga om Olav den Hellige*, I, eds. O. A. Johnsen and J. Helgason (Oslo, 1941), p. 633.

[245] S. A. Pletneva, "О построении кочевнического лагеря-вежи," *SA* (1964), 4, p. 139.

[246] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome* (see above, n. 4), p. 8; Choniates (see above, n. 143), p. 21; Michel le Syrien, III (see above, n. 58), p. 207.

[247] Mauricius, *Arta militară*, ed. H. Mihăescu (Bucharest, 1970), pp. 340–341 and 254–255.

[248] Theophylactus Simocatta, p. 272.

[249] *Călători*, VII, p. 517 (G. Levasseur de Beauplan); Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei de la Aron vodă încoace*, in idem, *Opere*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 145 and 155.

[250] *Călători*, II, p. 620 (Graziani); III, p. 646 (*Ziarul expediţiei lui Zamoyski în Moldova din anul 1595*); IV, pp. 413 (Ch. de Joppecourt), 455 (*Jurnal de campanie din 1620*), 464 (Anonim polon, 1620); D. Cantemir, *Viaţa lui Constantin Cantemir zis cel Bătrîn, domnul Moldovei* (Bucharest, 1959), p. 83.

[251] M. Dan, *Sub flamura Taborului. Mişcarea revoluţionară husită*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1964), pp. 171 and 250; J. Boulier, *Jean Hus* (Brussels, 1982), pp. 273–274; Z. Żygulski Jr., "The wagon laager," *Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae*, Łódź, 7 (1994), pp. 15–18.

One of the features of the Romanian rural economy is the absence of any contradiction between the two main occupations. On the contrary, they worked together and harmoniously completed each other almost everywhere in the Carpathian-Danube region. Tilling the fields requires animals, the food supply for humans depended not only on pastures, but also on the growing of various grassy species. Such a concord could not exist between the sedentary societies of agriculturists, on one hand, and nomadic or semi-nomadic societies specializing in pastoralism, because of disputes over land use. What a farmer may wish to use for the cultivation of crops, a shepherd may like to be turned into a grazing field. Such dissensions do not seem to have affected Romanian communities, whose rural economy was mixed but also autarkic. Each family combined the growing of the cereals and other crops with animal breeding, and sometimes with handicrafts that did not require too much specialisation. This subsistence economy was designed to produce everything necessary without resorting to exchange with other communities. Vegetables made the greatest contribution to the daily diet, especially since meat and dairy were prohibited by church canons for three days a week and another 95 days during Lent and other fasting periods before major holidays.[252]

The archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic evidence combined emphasize the role of agriculture in economy, even prior to the rise of the independent medieval states. The location of settlement sites next to some of the most fertile soil types is typical for a population of agriculturists. Finds from the settlements themselves confirm that conclusion: agricultural implements, querns, silos containing charred seeds. The implements come in a large variety of coulters, sickles (Fig. 7/10, 11, 15), hoes, billknives (Figs. 7/12, 13; 9/10) and scraping tools. In comparison to the previous period, ninth- to eleventh-century agricultural implements show a certain degree of technological progress. They have also been found in much larger numbers.[253] Hoards of

[252] Butură, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 156), p. 127; K. Heitmann, *Das Rumänenbild im deutschen Sprachraum, 1775–1918. Eine imagologische Studie* (Cologne–Vienna, 1985), pp. 142–143.

[253] N. Edroiu, "Despre apariţia plugului în ţările române," *Terra nostra* 2 (1971), pp. 109–113; D. Gh. Teodor, "Descoperiri arheologice în Moldova referitoare la agricultura din secolele VI–XI e.n.," *Terra nostra* 3 (1973), pp. 223–232; Şt. Olteanu, "Agricultura la est şi la sud de Carpaţi în sec. IX–XIV (I)," *Muzeul Naţional* 1 (1974), pp. 45–47 and 51–52; Neamţu, *La technique* (see above, n. 217), pp. 62–64, 69–79, 177–179, and 201; Gh. Postică, "Agricultura medievală timpurie în spaţiul Pruto-Nistrean," in *Studia*

agricultural implements and weapons are particularly relevant in this respect. Many such hoards have been found in the Carpathian Bend area of present-day Vrancea, in Răstoaca and Dragosloveni (Vrancea county) as well as Budeşti (Buzău county).[254] A large number of tools have been found on the settlement site at Gârbovăţ (Galaţi county)[255] (Fig. 7/5, 7, 11–15). The sharp increase in the number of agricultural implements ever since the last centuries of the first millennium is aclear sign of an increasing demand of food, which in turn signal significant demographic changes.

Given that agricultural implements in the Carpathian-Dniester region are very similar to those in other neighbouring areas,[256] it appears that at least from a technological point of view, communities of agriculturists in that region were not very different from others in central and eastern Europe. Until the eighteenth century, productivity in agriculture was very low, with relatively small yields, in spite of field and crop rotation, as well as the use of manuring. As it was very difficult to store, and no cereals could be imported, a year with a poor harvest must have had a catastrophic impact on local communities. Much like elsewhere in Europe at that time,[257] the local population was thus exposed to starvation in years of famine, a phenomenon which persisted in Moldavia during the subsequent centuries.

The paleobotanical analysis of charred seeds found on several sites dated to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century, has revealed that the main crops were several species of wheat and barley, as well as rye, oats, millet, and peas.[258] Many of them were known in the area since the

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in honorem Ion Niculiţă. Omagiu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani, eds. T. Arnăut, A. Zanoci, and S. Matveev (Chişinău, 1999), pp. 268–279.

[254] A. Paragină, "Un nou depozit de arme şi unelte din feudalismul timpuriu descoperit pe teritoriul judeţului Vrancea," *Studii şi comunicări* 2, Focşani (1979), pp. 41–44; A. Canache and F. Curta, "Depozite de unelte şi arme medievale timpurii de pe teritoriul României," *Mousaios* 4 (1994), no. 1, pp. 179–221.

[255] Excavations carried by Adrian C. Florescu. See D. Gh. Teodor, "Depozitul de unelte şi arme medievale timpurii de la Gârbovăţ, jud. Galaţi," *MA* 23 (2004), pp. 395–406.

[256] J. Henning, *Südosteuropa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Archäologische Beiträge zur Landwirtschaft des 1. Jahrtausends u.Z.* (Berlin, 1987), p. 42 ff.; F. Curta, "Blacksmiths, warriors, and tournaments of value: dating and interpreting early medieval hoards of iron implements in Eastern Europe," *Ephemeris Napocensis* 7 (1997), pp. 211–268.

[257] F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme (XV^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, I (Paris, 1967), p. 78 ff.; J. Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1967), p. 290 ff.

[258] Z. V. Ianushevich, *Культурные растения Юго-Запада СССР по палеоботаническим исследованиям* (Kishinev, 1976), pp. 86–89, 95, 101, 117, 129, 138, 142, 147, 151, 159, 165, and 172; Chebotarenko, *Калфа* (see above, n. 87), p. 82.

Neolithic Age,[259] an indication of a very long continuity of agricultural practices. Equally relevant for the long traditions established in agricultural occupations among Romanians are the many names of crops, tillage and harvesting, as well as gardening practices and tools., all of which are of Latin origin: *câmp* (Latin "campus") = field, *a ara* ("arare") = to plough, *a săpa* ("sappare") = to dig by means of a hoe, *a semăna* ("seminare") = to sow, *sămânţă* ("sementia") = seed, *a secera* ("sicilare") = to reap, *a treiera* ("tribulare") = to thresh, *a culege* ("colligere") = to gather, *a măcina* ("machinare") = to grind, *seceră* ("sicilem") = sickle, *sapă* ("sappa") = hoe, *furcă* ("furca") = pitchfork, *grâu* ("granum") = wheat, *secară* ("sicalem") = rye, *orz* ("hordeum") = barley, *spic* ("spicus") = corn ear, *pai* ("palium") = straw, *mei* ("milium") = millet, *in* ("linum") = flax, *cânepă* ("canapa" < "cannabis") = hemp, *legumă* ("legumen") = vegetable, *ceapă* ("cepa") = onion, and *varză* ("viridia") = cabbage.[260]

There are also a great number of Slavic loans in Romanian for all sorts of agricultural tools and techniques. It has long been noted that such a diverse terminology could not been adopted by speakers of Romanian, if indeed at the time of their linguistic contact with the Slavs, Romanians would not have already practiced an advanced agriculture that needed such a terminology.[261]

Many beliefs and ritual practices, some of clear pre-Christian origin, have been preserved in connection with agriculture. In fact, rituals connected with agriculture are among the most important in rural areas and reveal the enduring continuity of agricultural occupations in the areas populated by Romanians. Most significant in this respect is the fact that such rituals and magic practices concern the cultivation of wheat and not of maize, which has been introduced only in the seventeenth

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[259] Ianushevich, *Культурные растения, passim*; E. Comşa, "Betrachtungen über den Pflanzenanbau während der Jungsteinzeit auf dem Gebiet Rumäniens," *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 1 (1981), pp. 111–127.

[260] Al. Bocăneţu, "Terminologia agrară în limba română," *Codrul Cosminului* 2–3 (1925–1926), pp. 123–137; D. Ionescu-Sachelarie, "Despre viaţa păstorească şi agricolă din trecutul nostru," *Cercetări şi studii geografice*, 2nd Ser., 1 (1937–1938), pp. 146–147; S. Puşcariu, "Contribuţia Transilvaniei la formarea şi evoluţia limbii române," in idem, *Cercetări şi studii*, ed. I. Dan (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 420–421; D. Macrea, *Lingvistică şi cultură* (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 60–61; D. Rancu, "Terminologia românească de origine latină a uneltelor agricole din Banatul roman," *Tibiscum (Studii şi comunicări de etnografie-istorie)*, Caransebeş, 11 (2003), pp. 285–292. See also E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica. Sprach- und Siedlungsgeschichte der Germanen auf dem Boden des alten Römerreichs*, II (Berlin–Leipzig, 1935), p. 241.

[261] Ivănescu, *Istoria* (see above, n. 1), p. 259.

century. Most such practices revolve around the concept of fertility, for which people used to make various invocations in order to bring the rain, to stop or prevent the hail, to protect the cattle, or to secure the regeneration of crops.[262]

The data mentioned above show how wrong those arewho continue to assert the idea that the Romanians were a people almost exclusively of shepherds in the early Middle Ages, with only secondary agricultural occupations, which they supposedly adopted from their Slavic and Hungarian neighbours, after the foundation of national states. Such ideas are based exclusively on the situation in the mountain region of northern and central Balkans, where transhumant pastoralism was the major economic strategy of communities of Vlachs. However, in the lands north of the Lower Danube the environment, as well as the social and political circumstances were different, and consequently no parallels can be drawn between Vlachs in the Balkans and Romanians in the Romanian lands.

The relation between agriculture and cattle breeding must have been different from that of the modern period, given that grazing fields were larger than cultivated fields. By 1850, the latter spanned an area that was only half of that of the the pastureland in the Romanian Principalities. In addition, forests, which occupied a much larger area in the past, were also used for grazing.[263] One must also keep in mind that while the profits of cattle breeding were relatively speaking the same, the adoption of technological innovations and new practices increased yield in agriculture, which encouraged the growth of cultivated fields at the expanse of pastureland. The use of marginal areas with less fertile soils led to their rapid exhaustion, a phenomenon that was much faster than if the fields would been used as pastureland. With fields left fallow, productivity rapidly declined. The threat of crop failure or famine thus compelled local communities to be more flexible and adopt a mixed economy, with an equal emphasis on cattle breeding.

Just as in modern times, the importance of agriculture and stock-breeding in the peasant farming of the Middle Ages was not the same

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[262] Gh. Iordache, *Ocupaţii tradiţionale pe teritoriul României*, I (Craiova, 1985); Al. Popescu, *Tradiţii de muncă româneşti în obiceiuri, folclor, artă populară* (Bucharest, 1986); D. Pop, *Obiceiuri agrare în tradiţia populară românească* (Cluj–Napoca, 1989).

[263] P. P. Panaitescu, "Producţia şi viaţa economică," in V. Costăchel, P. P. Panaitescu, A. Cazacu, *Viaţa feudală în Ţara Românească şi Moldova (sec. XIV–XVII)* (Bucharest, 1957), pp. 16–23; Iordache, *Ocupaţii*, I, pp. 69–72.

for all the regions of Moldavia. Close to the mountains, in marginal areas with poor soils and harsh weather, the cultivation of crops was not particularly profitable. Instead, local communities relied on the breeding of small horned cattle. Dimitrie Cantemir claimed that during his lifetime, people in the in hilly districts of Vrancea and Câmpulung Moldovenesc had no idea what a plough was, their main occupation being cattle breeding.[264] By contrast, in the lowlands with fertile soils the cultivation of crops was comparatively much more important.

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Since they were nomads, the Pechenegs, the Uzes / Oghuz, and the Cumans were not interested in agriculture. Most authors insist that they had an exclusively pastoralist economy. Otto of Freising specifically mentions Pechenegs and Cumans neighbouring Hungary, who did not till the soil.[265] With different words, Robert de Clari nonetheless confirmed Otto of Freising's earlier account.[266] However, Abd ar-Rashid al-Bakuvi insisted that the Pechenegs ate millet.[267] This bit of information, though from an early fifteenth-century geography, must not be dismissed, for it most certainly is of an earlier date. Accoring to Abul-'Abbas Ahmed Yak'ubi, millet was the only crop cultivated in Turkestan, among the Qarluqs, the Toquz-Oghuz, the Turkash, the Kimaks, and the Oghuz.[268] Recent archaeological studies have confirmed the existence of agricultural practices among the Huns, the Avars and the Bulgars.[269] That the same must have been true about late Turkic groups Rabbi Pethachia from Ratisbona (modern Regensburg), Desht-i Qipchaq in the twelfth century, noticed the existence of sown fields and the fact that the *Kedars*—a Biblical name used in reference to the

[264] Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 302–303.

[265] Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), pp. 192–193; Otto of Freising and his continuator, Rahewin, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. and ed. C. C. Mierow, with the collab. of R. Emery (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1994), p. 66.

[266] Robert de Clari (see above, n. 226), p. 50.

[267] Al-Bakuvi (see above, n. 35), p. 102.

[268] Ya'kubi (see above, n. 30), p. 113.

[269] M. Beranová, "Die Archäologie über die Pflanzenproduktion bei den Hunnen, Awaren und Protobulgaren," *Památky archeologické* 76 (1986), pp. 81–103.

Cumans—prepared a meal of rice and millet, but, as confirmed by other contemporary sources,[270] they did not eat bread.[271]

The diet of the Turkic-Mongol population of Desht-i Qipchaq, as described by travellers crossing the region after the invasion of 1236–1242, contained millet, barley, rice and beans.[272] As most cereals were not baked, but used in the preparation of drinks, it follows that the harvest was rather poor. Moreover, this is a situation shortly after the rise of the Golden Horde, when the economic and social configuration in the steppe had changed. Under Mongol rule, the Cumans were surely deprived of their herds, and maybe some of them were forced to learn how to work the land. Judging from the existing ethnographical analogies, most scholars agree that pastoralists do not adopt agricultural occupations, unless constrained by poverty.[273]

Speaking about the sowing of millet and wheat by the "Scythian people" (*γένος τι Σκυθικὸν*) who attacked the Byzantine Empire in 1086 and concluded an alliance with the rulers of the Paristrian towns,[274] those people cannot be considered to have been Pechenegs, as some specialists believe.[275] By the above-mentioned designation, Anna Comnena must have meant the natives, who had joined the nomads, because it is not conceivable that the latter practised tillage themselves during a plunder expedition.

Between the tenth and the thirteenth century, agriculture played only a secondary role in the pastoralist economy of the Turkic tribes, as their way of life did not allow them to take care for cultivated fields.

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[270] Heinrici *Chronicon Lyvoniae*, ed. W. Arndt (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit*) (Hannoverae, 1874), p. 181; Heinrici *Chronicon Livoniae* / Heinrichs *Livländische Chronik*, 2nd ed., recognoverunt L. Arbusov and A. Bauer (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*) (Hannover, 1955), p. 186.

[271] *Tour du monde ou voyages du rabbin* Péthachia *de Ratisbonne dans le douzième siècle*, ed. E. Carmoly (Paris, 1831), pp. 10–13.

[272] Rubruck, p. 175; Ibn Batoutah, II (see above, n. 48), p. 364; Al-'Umari (see above, n. 167), p. 137.

[273] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 188; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 199.

[274] Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, p. 82.

[275] C. A. Macartney, "The Petchenegs," *The Slavonic (and East European) Review* 8 (1929–30), p. 353 with n. 2; M. Gyóni, "Zur Frage der rumänischen Staatsbildungen im XI. Jahrhundert in Paristrion (Archaisierende Volksnamen und ethnische Wirklichkeit in der 'Alexias' von Anna Komnene)," *AECO* 9–10 (1943–1944), pp. 168–169 and 179–183; E. Tryjarski, "Pieczyngowie," in K. Dabrowski, T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, and E. Tryjarski, *Hunowie europejscy, Protobulgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk, 1975), p. 527.

Animal Husbandry

The second important occupation of the local communities, animal husbandry, also has old roots in the whole Carpathian-Danube area. Consequently, it is no wonder that the general pastoral terminology retains great number of words of Geto-Dacian origin: *baci* (= chief shepherd), *balegă* (= dung), *brânză* (= cheese), *cârlan* (= yearling), *cârlig* (= hook), *ghioagă* (= club), *mânz* (= colt), *strungă* (= sheepfold), *ţap* (= billy goat), *ţarc* (= corral), *urdă* (= cheese obtained by boiling whey), *zăr* (= whey).[276] The great extent to which that occupation was practised and the movements of Romanian shepherds into neighbouring lands led to the adoption in Czech, Polish, Russian, Slovak and Ukrainian, of many words of Romanian origin, which refer to pastoralism.[277]

Zooarchaeological studies of faunal assemblages found on settlement sites show the importance of cattle breeding and the various ratios of domestic animals. Bone assemblages found in Bârlăleşti (Vaslui county), Iaşi-"Nicolina" (Iaşi county) (Romania), Calfa (Anenii Noi county), Hansca (Ialoveni county), Orhei-"Petruha" (Orhei county) (Republic of Moldova), Krinichnoe (Odessa region) (Ukraine), etc. indicate the breeding of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and horses, with ratios between those animal species varying from one settlement to another.[278] Zoo-

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[276] I. I. Russu, *Etnogeneza românilor* (Bucharest, 1981), pp. 217–218. See also N. Dunăre, "Forme de viaţă pastorală," in *Ţara Bîrsei*, I, gen. ed. N. Dunăre (Bucharest, 1972), pp. 242–243; G. R. Solta, *Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Substrats und des Balkanlateinischen* (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 39–44; Gr. Brâncuş, *Vocabularul autohton al limbii române* (Bucharest, 1983), p. 31 ff.; idem, *Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române* (Bucharest, 1995), pp. 18–47; H. Mihăescu, *La romanité dans le sud-est de l'Europe* (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 311–314; G. Mihăilă, "Les plus anciennes attestations des mots roumains autochtones (X^{e} siècle—1520)," *Thraco-Dacica* 17 (1996), nos. 1–2, pp. 29–41; M. Sala, *De la latină la română* (Bucharest, 1998), pp. 82–83.

[277] D. Scheludko, "Rumänische Elemente im Ukrainischen," *Balkan-Archiv* 2 (1926), pp. 113–146; S. Lukasik, *Pologne et Roumanie* (Cracow, 1938), pp. 158–187; A. Walaschofsky, "Einflüsse des Hirtenleben auf die Entwicklung von Volk und Staat in Rumänien," *Südostdeutsche Forschungen* 3 (1939), no. 4, p. 815; D. Krandžalov, "Rumänische Einflüsse in der slawischen Hirtenterminologie und Toponomastik in den Karpaten," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 10 (1965), no. 3, pp. 354–366; D. Macrea, *Studii de lingvistică română* (Bucharest, 1970), pp. 14–16.

[278] G. B. Fedorov, in *AO 1967 G* (1968), p. 287; I. G. Hâncu, *Поселения XI–XIV веков в Оргеевских кодрах Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1969), p. 50; idem, "Археологические исследования" (see above, n. 88), p. 178; idem, "Результаты археологических раскопок" (see above, n. 88), pp. 194–195; Chebotarenko, *Калфа* (see above, n. 87), p. 82; S. Haimovici, "Studiul materialului paleofaunistic din aşezarea datînd din secolele X–XI e.n. de la Bîrlăleşti (jud.Vaslui)," *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis* 5–6 (1983–1984), pp. 205–212; L. Bejenaru, "Date arheozoologice privind unele tipuri de animale domes-

archaeological studies have revealed that some species were used for work in the fields or for transportation, others as a source of meat and dairy products. That remains of domestic animals were found inside houses substantiates the idea of a mixed economy. This further confirms that the forms of pastoralism practiced by local Romanian communities were directly associated with the cultivation of crops and were not linked to the practice of transhumance beyond the limits of any individual community.

By contrast, near the mountains, herds may have indeed been sent for the summer to high-altitude pastures in the company of temporarily hired shepherds. During their stay in the mountains, shepherds may have built temporary sheepfolds, where they prepared the dairy producte and sheared the sheep. In more recent times, shephers and their flocks remained in the mountains until September 14 (the feast of the Elevation of the Cross), when the sheep were returned to their owners. For the duration of the autumn, until the first snow, the sheep grazed on the communal fields, guarded by shepherds. During winter, each owner kept his own sheep close to home, until the following spring. Communal sheepfolds were occasionally built in the fields or even in the mountains, where haystacks were brought well in advance.[279]

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tice existente în evul mediu pe teritoriul României," *Arheologia Medievală* 3 (2000), pp. 255–262; eadem, *Arheozoologia spaţiului românesc medieval* (Iaşi, 2003), pp. 53–138; eadem, *Arheozoologia Moldovei medievale* (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 14–15, 29–30 and 36–38; S. M. Stanc, *Relaţiile omului cu lumea animală. Arheozoologia secolelor IV–X d.Hr. pentru zonele extracarpatice de est şi de sud ale României* (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 91–94 and 100–101.

[279] On cattle breeding in Moldavia, and Romanian pastoralism in general, see P. Cancel, "Păstoritul la poporul roman," *Convorbiri literare* 47 (1913), no. 9, pp. 851–875; A. Veress, "Păstoritul ardelenilor în Moldova şi Ţara Românească (până la 1821)," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 7 (1927), pp. 127–230; L. Someşan, "La transhumance des bergers transylvains dans les provinces roumaines," *Revue de Transylvanie* 1 (1935), no. 4, pp. 465–476; T. Herseni, *Probleme de sociologie pastorală* (Bucharest, 1941); Panaitescu, "Producţia şi viaţa economică" (see above, n. 263), pp. 16–28; R. Vuia, *Tipurile de păstorit la români* (Bucharest, 1964); D. Krandžalov, "Zur Frage des Ursprungs des Hirtenwesens und seines Wortschatzes in den Karpaten," in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur. Ethnographische Studien*, ed. L. Földes (Budapest, 1969), pp. 220–243; Dunăre, "Forme de viaţă pastorală" (see above, n. 276), pp. 157–244; idem, "Typologie des traditionellen Hirtenlebens in karpato-balkanischen Raum," *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 11 (1975), no. 2, pp. 5–39; idem, *Civilizaţie tradiţională românească în Curbura Carpatică Nordică* (Bucharest, 1984), pp. 68–142; idem, "Types traditionnels de vie pastorale dans les régions carpatiques de pâturages et de fenaisons (Roumanie, Ukraine, Pologne, Tchécoslovaquie, Hongrie)," in *Acte du Colloque International "L'élevage et la vie pastorale dans les montagnes de l'Europe au moyen âge et à l'époque moderne"* (Clermont–Ferrand, 1984), pp. 55–68; Vlăduţiu, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 160), p. 250 ff.; I. Donat, "La vie pastorale chez les Roumains et ses problèmes," *Dacoromania. Jahrbuch für Östliche Latinität*, Freiburg-Munich, 1 (1973),

Ethnographic studies show that a different form of cattle breeding was practised on a large scale in densely forested mountain and hilly regions, and in major river everglades, as well as in the Danube Delta. In all those areas, cows, pigs, and horses roamed freely, sometimes for as long as an entire season.[280]

Such an archaic system may not have been too profitable, given the relatively large numbers of animals who may have fallen prey to predators or who may have turned feral and consequently could not have re-captured. On the other hand, sedentary grazing required large quantities of hay to be stored for the winter. To this end, the majority of the the population in the mountain region moved for almost a month to areas rich in grass, which members of the community mowed, gathered, stocked, and turned into hay for transport. This activity, of utmost importance for the economy, known as "the migration of hay,"[281] has a long tradition in Romania, where it is widespread and well organized.

No information exists on Romanian transhumant pastoralism on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Until several decades ago, flocks of Transylvanian shepherds could still be descending from the pastures in the eastern Carpathians to spend the winter in the lowlands of southern Moldavia, by the Danube and the sea lakes, in southern Bugeac, in the Danube Delta, next to the marshy areas on both sides of the river Danube, along the sea coast of Dobrudja, or and even on the left bank of the Dniester River. Contrary to a widespread misconception, transhumant pastoralism is not nomadism, because the shepherds are not accompanied by their families, who in this case remained home, in Translyvania.

The movements of shepherds and flocks were not chaotic, but followed well-known routes to the pastures in the Carpathian Mountains, and then to the lowlands in winter. Transhumance was also not a system of generalised grazing. Instead, it appears to have been limited to a small number of rich Transylvanian families. Most animals were bred on the farm, within the limits of the village, and did not travel at

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pp. 78–103; Butură, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 156), pp. 201–242; Iordache, *Ocupaţii*, I (see above, n. 262), II (Craiova, 1986), pp. 7–179; Praoveanu, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 156), pp. 116–129; I. A. Goia, "A methodology for the study of Romanian shepherding," *Transylvanian Review* 10 (2001), no. 1, pp. 24–35.

[280] Vlăduţiu, *Etnografia*, pp. 253–254.

[281] N. Al. Rădulescu, *Vrancea. Geografie fizică şi umană* (Bucharest, 1937), pp. 115–116.

any great distances. When the Turkic nomads entered the Bugeac and the Romanian Plain, they must have disrupted the seasonal moving of flocks to the plain along the Danube and the Black Sea, as Romanian shepherds were now exposed to raids by nomads using the same areas to spend the winter season.

The diet of the local population was complemented with game and fish from the rich forests and rivers of Moldavia. Both hunting and fishing seem to have been practised, according to techniques that were both archaic and somewhat rudimentary. In addition, hunting was practised for the procurement of furs or the control of the predator population, in order to protect cattle and people. The zooarchaeological analysis of faunal remains from Bârlăleşti, Calfa, Hansca, and Orhei-"Petruha" revealed the presence of wild animals such as stags, roebucks, wild boar, aurochs, elks, rabbits, and foxes.[282] Hunting seem to have been practised more by bow and arrow than by traps. Several types of arrow-heads found in archaeological assemblages may have been used excusively for hunting.

By contrast, little archaeological evidence exists of fishing, which, however, does not in any way indicate that it was not practised. Calfa, for example, was located on the shore of Lake Bâc, at the confluence of the Bâc and Dniester rivers. If fishing implements are rare in the archaeological record, faunal remains often include bones and scales of carp, pike, sheatfish, and other species.[283] Fish bones were found in Krinichnoe,[284] a settlement located on the shore of Lake Ialpug. The Lower Danube was apparently sufficiently rich in fish to attract fishermen from other neighboring countries. Galician fishermen are mentioned on the Lower Danube in the mid-twelfth century.[285] Except on settlements located next to the Danube or to lakes, fish, much like venison, does not seem to have ever been a major component of the local diet, which relied heavily on agricultural products, on meat, and dairy products.

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[282] See above, n. 278.
[283] Chebotarenko, *Калфа*, p. 83.
[284] G. B. Fedorov, in *AO 1967 G* (1968), p. 287; idem, in *AO 1968 G* (1969), p. 391.
[285] *Ip.let.*, pp. 83–84; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 68.

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Both before and after the Mongol invasion, all Turkic communities in the southern regions of eastern Europe were pastoralist. Since the practised the cultivation of crops only occasionally, their diet was mostly of meat and dairy products. In addition, cattle breeding provided hides for clothing, saddles, and trade goods. Consequently, large numbers of animals were necessary, for the breeding of which itinerant grazing was not sufficient, hence the adoption of a nomadic lifestyle. Contemporary sources point out the great number of animals, which the nomads owned and the nature of food required for maintaining such a large livestock. The Pechenegs owned cattle and sheep[286] (in other sources, horses[287] and sheep)[288] and they were known for engaging in business with cattle, horses, and sheep.[289] Likewise, the Oghuz owned horses, cows, and sheep.[290] At the time of its separation from the tribal confederacy of the Oghuz, the Seljuks had a great number of horses, camels, sheep, and oxen.[291] Ibn Fadlan claims that rich Oghuz / Uzes who owned up to 10,000 horses and 100,000 sheep.[292] The unknown author of the Persian geography of 982 describes the Kimaks (the western tribe of whom were called Qipchaqs, i.e., Cumans) as people who live "in felt-huts and in both summer and winter wander along grazing-grounds, waters, and meadows. Their commodities are sable-martens and sheep. Their food in summer is milk, and in winter preserved meat."[293] This account is substantiated by the information provided by Gardizi[294] and al-Marvazi. The latter adds that Kimaks are "a people without villages or houses, who possess woods, water, and pastures; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but they have no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt, except

[286] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), p. 160; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 215.
[287] Al-Bécri (see above, n. 162), p. 15; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 222.
[288] A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 152; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 165 (Gardīzī), 250 (al-Marwazī). That Pechenegs had many sheep is also mentioned in the first half of the fifteenth century by Ahmed of Tus (See Hammer, *Sur les origines russes* [see above, n. 27], p. 33), who most likely relied on much earlier Persian sources.
[289] *DAI*, I, pp. 50–51.
[290] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 100; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 206.
[291] Gregory Abû'l-Faraj, *The Chronography, 1225–1286*, I, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), p. 195.
[292] Ibn Fadlan, p. 33.
[293] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 99–100; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 203.
[294] *Orient.Ber.*, p. 112. See also Ia. A. Fedorov, G. S. Fedorov, *Ранные тюрки на Северном Кавказе* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 224–225.

what may be imported by merchants, who for a heap of it obtain a fox and sable skin. In summer they live on the milk of mares, in winter on jerked meat."[295]

Cumans in their turn owned very large flocks. When the Rus' armies plundered their settlements or camps in 1095,[296] 1103,[297] 1111,[298] 1165,[299] 1170,[300] 1183,[301] 1184,[302] 1185,[303] 1190,[304] 1191,[305] or 1193,[306] they always took as booty many horses, sheep, oxen, and camels.[307] Some years later, when Kotian (Kuthen) and other Cuman princes came to Galicia and to other Rus' courts in 1223 to ask for assistance against the Mongols, their gifts included Rus' horses, camels, buffaloes, and young female slaves.[308] In their migration to Hungary and to the Balkans the Cumans moved together with their herds.[309]

Following the rise of the Golden Horde, the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas continued to impress foreign travellers with the richness of the herds, most of which had most likely been captured by the Mongols from the Cumans. Pointing out the great number of camels, oxen, sheep, goats, and especially horses, which the Mongols had in large numbers than all other peoples taken together, John of Piano Carpini noticed at the same time the scarcity of pigs.[310] Such an observation should not surprise, given that pigs are not suitable for a nomadic lifestyle. John of Piano Carpini's remark reminds one of Herodotus noting that Scythians had no pigs.[311] Al-'Umari described

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[295] Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 32; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 249.
[296] *PVL*, I, p. 149; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 219.
[297] *PVL*, I, p. 185; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 255.
[298] *PVL*, I, p. 192; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 268.
[299] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 525.
[300] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 540.
[301] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 625.
[302] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 636.
[303] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 637.
[304] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 669.
[305] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 673.
[306] *Ip.let.-2*, col. 677.
[307] T. S. Noonan, "Rus', Pechenegs, and Polovtsy: economic interaction along the steppe frontier in the Pre-Mongol era," *Russian History* 19 (1992), nos. 1–4, pp. 311–312.
[308] *NPL*, p. 62; *Летописный сборникъ именуемый Тверскою летопись*, in *PSRL*, XV (St. Petersburg, 1863), col. 339; *Новгородская летопись по списку П. П. Дубровского*, in *PSRL*, XLIII, ed. A. Koshelev (Moscow, 2004), p. 85.
[309] Rogerius, pp. 23–24, 26, 62, and 65; *FHDR*, III, pp. 404–405 (Akropolites), 440–441 (Teodor Skutariotes).
[310] Plano Carpini, p. 36.
[311] Herodotus, II (see above, n. 241), pp. 260–261.

the situation in Desht-i Qipchaq under Özbäg Khan as following: "The population of his empire consists mainly of nomads, who live on herds of horses, oxen and small cattle […] Meat is very cheap here, and horses are slaughtered very often, but the nomads do not buy and sell meat among themselves. Their food consists mostly of venison, milk, butter and millet."[312] Such remarks echo the account of the Song envoys sent to Mongolia in the early thirteenth century.[313] In recording the great number of livestock that the Tatars had, Hethum listed cows and mares.[314] John Kinnamos wrote about the Seljuqs of Asia Minor that they did not know how to do agriculture, but consumed instead milk and meat.[315]

Very revealing in this respect are the words, which the author of the Mongol chronicle *Altan tobchi*, writing during the second half of the seventeenth century, put in the mouth of Jöchi, the oldest son of Chingis Khan: "To me the greatest pleasure is found in herding our animals and finding the best area for pasture, in determining the best place for the royal camp to settle and in having all our people there together with a great feast, this is the best".[316]

The animals, which the nomads were grazing in the steppes, were strong and sturdy, perfectly adapted to the continental climate in the area. Travellers through the steppe repeatedly noted that, for example, during winter, the sheep of the Oghuz[317] or the horses of the Mongols[318] rummaged in the snow with their hooves to find grass. The camels and the cattle of the Tatars in the Bugeac were equally adapted to harsh winters.[319] The pastoralist economy provided nomads with large quantities of milk and dairy products. *Kumys* (*kymys*), a drink typical for the Turkic populations and the Mongols, which was prepared by

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[312] Al-'Umari (see above, n. 167), p. 137. For this issue, see also Ibn Batoutah, II (see above, n. 48), p. 264; Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 286–287.

[313] *Meng-ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* (see above, n. 190), pp. 58 (*Meng-ta pei-lu*), 110, and 112 (*Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*).

[314] Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient / Flos historiarum terre Orientis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, II (Paris, 1906), pp. 217 and 338.

[315] Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome* (see above, n. 4), p. 9; John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenos* (see above, n. 4), p. 17.

[316] S. Jagchid, P. Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder, Col.-Folkestone, 1979), p. 20.

[317] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 162), p. 33.

[318] Plano Carpini, p. 104.

[319] *Călători*, VIII, p. 288 (M. Eneman).

the fermentation of mare milk,[320] is still consumed in central Asia and Siberia.[321] The *kumys* was not only a daily drink for common nomads; it was also offered during the diplomatic ceremonies at the courts of the Mongol khans[322] and of the Mamluk sultans.[323]

At the time the steppe lands had not yet been turned to agriculture, the diet of the nomads in Desht-i Qipchaq included also venison.[324] As they were excellent archers, hunting must have posed no problems to them. Fishing, on the other hand, appears to have been less important for both Turkic populations and Mongols. William of Rubruck even claimed that the Mongols did not know how to fish.[325] His observation is probably right, as fishing seem to have been associated more often with sedentary populations.

Crafts

Crafts and household industrial activities played an important part in the economy of the local communities. They confined themselves to the manufacturing of objects and tools for household and personal use, and to the preparation of food and clothing for their own families. The tasks were gender-specific. As for craftsmen proper (i.e., people specialised in trades that were not available to all members of the village community), they produced more than was necessary for their own households; and thus they also marketed the results of their work in the whole village, or even in some other localities.

Ironworking was one of the most important crafts, as it involved not just smelting, but also the production of tools and weapons. Since no iron ores exist in the region east of the Carpathian Mountains, looking for iron resources required great efforts to trace and explore the

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[320] Guiragos, p. 249; Rubruck, p. 175; Ibn Batoutah, II, p. 365; *Ip.let.*, p. 133. See also Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (see above, n. 188), pp. 439–440; J. Masson Smith, Jr., "Dietary decadence and dynastic decline in the Mongol empire," *Journal of Asian History* 34 (2000), no. 1, pp. 37–39 and 42–46; Th. T. Allsen, *Conquest and Culture in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 128–129; A. Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century. Encountering the Other* (Helsinki, 2001), pp. 113–117.

[321] *Etnografia continentelor*, II, 2 (see above, n. 237), pp. 52, 291, 308, 362, etc.

[322] Makrizi (see above, n. 175), p. 215; *Ip.let.-2*, col. 807.

[323] *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selection from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk of* Ibn al-Furat, 2, eds. U. and M. C. Lyons (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 166–168.

[324] Rubruck, p. 180; Al-'Umari, p. 137.

[325] Rubruck, p. 197.

sporadic accumulations of iron in various deposits.[326] The efforts to obtain metal were however absolutely essential for the production of numerous agricultural tools and other things, because the demographic growth of the population required better crops, which could guarantee its subsistence. Signs of the extent of smelting, such as iron blooms and slag, may be found in most ninth- to twelfth-century settlement sites, on which investigations have gone beyond the stage of trial excavation. Of course, the evidence for ironworking consists of the very tools and weapons found on the same settlement sites.

Pottery production was the second most important craft, for which there is now evidence of considerable progress beginning with the ninth century. It is at that time that the handmade pottery, as well as that produced on a tournette (slowly revolving wheel), which had been present in every sixth- to eighth-century ceramic assemblage, was gradually replaced with wheel-made pottery. The adoption of that advanced, foot-activate type of wheel coincided in time with a significant improvement of the fabric, tempered now by sand, not by crushed potsherds, as well as of firing. The range of forms was relatively limited. Most vessels found in Dridu-type sites are pots (Figs. 11; 12/1–11; 13; 15; 16/1, 3) or bowls (Fig. 12/12). Settlement sites attributed to the Răducăneni culture produced pots (Figs. 16/2, 4; 17/1, 2, 4, 6, 7; 18/3, 5–7, 9), bowls, and clay kettles (Figs. 17/3, 5, 8; 18/1, 2, 4, 8), while those of the twelfth and thirteenth century produced only pots (Figs. 19; 20/3–10). Besides the pottery of brick-red fabric, with combed decoration, Dridu pottery assemblages produced also fine pottery of grey or yellow fabric, with burnished decoration (Fig. 12/1), the origin of which is still debated. Part of the grey or yellow pottery with burnished decoration may have well been produced locally, but such pottery was certainly produced also in Bulgaria, south of the Danube. Clay kettles appear in large quantities in Răducăneni ceramic assemblages, but are not very common on sites attributed to the Dridu culture. Conversely, the grey or yellow pottery cannot be dated later than the second half of the eleventh century. Much like the pots of brick-red fabric with combed

[326] Şt. Olteanu, V. Cazacu, "Condiţiile economice şi social-politice ale dezvoltării ştiinţei şi tehnicii medievale," in *Istoria gîndirii şi creaţiei ştiinţifice şi tehnice româneşti*, I, ed. Şt. Pascu (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 276–281.

decoration, clay kettles appear in the entire Carpathian-Danube area, as well as in neighboring regions.[327]

While numerous finds of querns bespeak the practice of the household production of flour, spindle whorls (Fig. 9/5) indicate the equally household-based production of textiles. There is little evidence for any other crafts, although it is only natural to surmise that cart-making, for example, played a key role in the local economy. However, judging by the existing evidence, it appears that crafts had already become independent, seprate activities within rural communities.

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As far as crafts in communities of Turkic nomads, narrative sources are less conclusive, as precise data are practically absent. William of Rubruck's account of nomadic occupations during the Mongol rule may also apply to the previous centuries. According to the French king's envoy, household occupations were gender-specific, except the guarding and milking of cattle. Men built houses and carts, made bows and arrows, harnesses and saddles, prepared the *kumys* and tanned hides, while women cooked and made clothes, footwear, or bedclothes.[328] That the Pechenegs[329] and the Oghuz[330] had a great number of weapons and other implements is mentioned in various Arab sources. Gardizi noted that "these Pechenegs' are the possessors of [great] wealth […]. They have many gold and silver vessels (or utensils). They have many weapons. They have silver belts. They have flags and pennants which they raise up in the battle, [as well as] bugles [made] from the horns of oxen which they sound in battle".[331] Obviously, most weapons and implements must have been manufactured by Pecheneg smiths. Much

[327] I. Fodor, "Der Ursprung der in Ungarn gefundenen Tonkessel," *ActaArchHung* 29 (1977), nos. 3–4, pp. 323–349; Spinei, "Consideraţii cu privire la populaţia locală" (see above, n. 110), pp. 181–194; M. Takács, *Die arpadenzeitlichen Tonkessel im Karpatenbecken* (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica) (Budapest, 1986); *Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, ed. C. Bálint (Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, III) (Budapest, 1990); Postică, *Românii* (see above, n. 88), *passim*.

[328] Rubruck, p. 184.

[329] Al-Bécri (see above, n. 162), p. 15; A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 152; Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 33; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 165 (Gardīzī), 222 (al-Bakrī), 250 (al-Marwazī); Shükrüllakh, in Hammer, *Sur les origines russes* (see above, n. 27), p. 46.

[330] *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above, n. 42), p. 100; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 206.

[331] A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi*, p. 152; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 165.

like other related tribes of central Asia, the Oghuz made their own arrow-heads of bone,[332] because iron was not easy to procure.

The artefacts found in burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads illustrate the abilities of their craftsmen. The relative uniformity of the panoply of such artefacts demonstrates that most of them were made by the nomads themselves. This is certainly true for weapons, horse gear, as well as some household items made of metal, antler, or bone. Burial assemblages have produced relatively large numbers of sabres, lance- and arrow-heads, daggers, knives, axes, stirrups, buckles, scissors, flint steels, ear- and lock-rings, bronze, silver and gold rings, kettles, pendants, bronze mirrors, wooden bows with bone or antler reinforcement plates, as well as bone or antler arrowheads and buttons (Figs. 24–42, 44–56). The quality of some of those artefacts is by no means inferior to that of similar specimens known from the steppe lands farther to the east. Given that the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas are devoid of bog iron deposits, the question of how did nomads procure the metal for their weapons and horse gear remains unanswered. It is nonetheless clear that the smiths were also responsible for finding the ore.[333]

The vocabulary of the *Codex Comanicus* pertaining crafts and specific products[334] can be of only partial assistance in illuminating this aspect of nomadic society, given that such terms may have also referred to non-nomadic craftsmen or to imported artefacts. However, the absence of any word for *pottery* may not be an accident. Judging by the archaeological evidence, Turkic nomads do not appear to have used the potter's wheel. All the pottery found in assemblages attributed to them, except of course the imported pottery, is handmade[335] (Figs. 38/9; 39/9; 40/6; 56/18). Nothing can currently substantiate the idea the wheel-made clay kettles with combed decoration (Figs. 17/3, 5, 8; 18/1, 2, 4, 8) were made by Turkic nomads. The clay kettle was a ceramic form widely spread within the valley of the Lower and Middle Danube. That the form itself may have been of eastern origin has no implications for its supposed production by nomads.

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[332] Ya'kubi (see above, n. 30), p. 113.

[333] O. Lattimore, "The Nomads and South Russia," *Ἀρχεῖον πόντου* 35 (1979), p. 196.

[334] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, pp. 189–190.

[335] Eadem, "Средневековая керамика Таманского городища," in *Керамика и стекло древней Тмутаракани*, gen. ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1963), p. 10 ff.

Most crafts practised within nomadic communities were household-based, each tribal community providing by its own means most of the products necessary for the household and for other activities.

Trade

Despite the autarkic tendencies of their domestic economy (*Hauswirtschaft*), Romanian rural communities were not isolated from the outside world. They had commercial exchanges with their neighbours, even if only to supplement the needs of everyday life. In fact, even the most primitive societies, despite the secluded character of their subsistence economies, never lived in complete isolation from other tribal communities.[336] Total separation from other populations existed only in exceptional cases imposed by special geographical conditions. The Romanian communities had various relationships with other, similar communities in the east-Carpathian region. That communities in southern Moldavia shared so many cultural features, from house construction and pottery to tools and dress accessories, could not be explained without such contacts, in other words without the existence of a network of communication. Such communication was not restricted to southern Moldavia, but extended also to other neighboring regions inhabited by Romanians and other ethnic groups.

Though no hard evidence exists in that respect, it is likely that Romanian communities may have offered for exchange largely the same goods as available at the time of the medieval states: horned cattle, horses, sheep, cheese, fish, honey, wax, hides, furs, cereals and salt. Most, if not all those goods appear consistently in later medieval sources.[337] Some appear also in the list given by Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel in the early 1700s.[338] Animals seem to have been preferred

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[336] V. G. Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London, 1939); C. S. Chard, *Man in Prehistory* (New York, 1969); J. Lichardus, M. Lichardus-Itten et al., *La Protohistoire de l'Europe. Le Néolithique et le Chalcolithique entre la Méditerranée et la mer Baltique* (Paris, 1985); H. Parzinger, *Studien zur Chronologie und Kulturgeschichte der Jungstein-, Kupfer- und Frühbronzezeit zwischen Karpaten und Mittlerem Taurus*, I (Mainz am Rhein, 1993); idem, *Die frühen Völker Eurasiens. Vom Neolithikum bis zum Mittelalter* (Munich, 2006); *Handel, Tausch und Verkehr im Bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa*, ed. B. Hänsel (Südosteuropa–Schriften, 17) (Munich–Berlin, 1995), *passim*.

[337] Al. I. Gonţa, *Legăturile economice dintre Moldova şi Transilvania în secolele XIII–XVII*, ed. I. Caproşu (Bucharest, 1989), pp. 46–64.

[338] *Călători*, VIII, p. 349.

for foreign trade, both because of the numbers, and because flocks did not require any special means of transportation. Exchange relations existed with communities in the northern Balkans, as well as in the east-Slavic regions. The return of Byzantium to the Lower Danube and the revival of city life in the centres of Paristrion marked an intensification of the exchange contacts with the Balkans. As the archaeological discoveries indicate, ceramic and metal artefacts (such as simple and double crosses; Figs. 9/12 and 21/1) were brought from Byzantium. Other double crosses originated in Rus'[339] (Fig. 21/2).

An accurate way to gauge the intensity of trade contacts is to look at coin circulation. Besides Byzantine coin, which circulated outside the Empire within the entire east-Carpathian region, there are also a few ninth- to tenth-century Islamic coins. During the the last quarter of the first millennium, Islamic coins enjoyed a special prestige not only in the East, but also in eastern and central Europe. Impressive amounts of dirhams, often associated with dress accessoires of eastern origin, have been found in the Scandinavia and in the Baltic countries, as well as in the east-Slavic regions.[340] The Carpathian-Dniester region felt

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[339] V. Spinei, "Les relations de la Moldavie avec Byzance et la Russie au premier quart du IIe millénaire à la lumière des sources archéologiques," *Dacia*, NS, 19 (1975), pp. 228–240; idem, "Piese de cult din regiunile carpato-dunărene în secolele X–XV," *Teologie şi viaţă*, NS, 3 (69) (1993), nos. 4–7, pp. 67–83; D. Gh. Teodor, *Creştinismul la est de Carpaţi de la origini pînă în secolul al XIV-lea* (Iaşi, 1991), pp. 91–93 and 99–102; figs. 18/1, 2, 6; 24–32; I. Tentiuc, "Some considerations regarding Byzantine influences in the East of the Carpathians in the 10th-13th centuries," in *Exchange and Trade in Medieval Europe. Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference*, 3, eds. G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (Zellik, 1997), pp. 15–22; S. Pivovarov, *Християнські старожитності в межиріччі Верхнього Пруту та Середнього Дністра* (Chernivtsi, 2001), pp. 61–92; G. F. Korzukhina, A. A. Peskova, *Древнерусские энколпионы. Нагрудые кресты-реликварии XI–XIII вв.* (St. Petersburg, 2003), pp. 43–45, 51–53, 62, 66, 72, 74–75.

[340] G. F. Korzukhina, *Русские клады IX–XIII вв.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954); V. V. Kropotkin, "Новые находки сасанидских и куфических монет в Восточной Европе," *Нумизматика и Эпиграфика* 9 (1971), pp. 76–97; C. Bálint, "Einige Fragen des Dirhem-Verkehrs in Europa," in *ActaArchHung* 33 (1981), nos. 1–4, pp. 105–131; T. S. Noonan, "Why dirhams first reached Russia: the role of Arab-Khazar relations in the development of the earliest Islamic trade with Eastern Europe," *AEMA* 4 (1984), pp. 151–282; idem, "Khazaria as in intermediary between Islam and Eastern Europe in the second half of the ninth century: the numismatic perspective," *AEMA* 5 (1985), pp. 179–204; idem, "Viking-age dirham hoards from Eastern and Northern Europe," in *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990–1995*, gen.eds. C. Morrisson, B. Kluge (Berlin, 1997), pp. 751–759; A. Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs (9th–11th Centuries)* (Warsaw, 1998), p. 225 ff.; S. Brather, "Frühmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatz- und -Einzelfunde im südlichen Ostseeraum. Die Anfänge der Gewichtsgeldwirtschaft bei den Westslawen," in *Archäologie als Sozialgeschichte. Studien zu Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 60. Geburtstag,*

the effects of the trade networks established between Scandinavia and the Muslim markets in the south by Vikings, Khazars, Volga Bulghars, Slavs, and others. Several dirhams discovered in the region illustrate those effects.

Islamic coins have so far been found primiarly on settlement sites. A silver coin struck for Nasr II ibn Ahmad (914–943) and an imitation of a kufic dirham, struck around 947/948 in Suvar or Bulgar, were found in Alcedar (Şoldăneşti county, Republic of Moldova).[341] Two anonymous bronze coins, struck under the rule of Marwan II (747–750) are known from Bosia (Iaşi county, Romania).[342] From Echimăuţi (Rezina county, Republic of Moldova): no less than nineteen kufic dirhams are known, which were minted for the Samanid emirs Ismail ibn Ahmad (in a.H. 291 and 293, i.e., A.D. 903/904 and 905/906), Ahmad ibn Ismail (in a.H. 296 or A.D. 908/909), Nasr II ibn Ahmad (914–943, in a.H. 314 [A.D. 926/927], 322 [A.D. 933/934], and an unknown year).[343] A dirham struck for the Buyid emir Adud al-Dawla (949–983) in a.H. 363 (A.D. 973/974) in Arradjan has been found in Iacobeni (Vlădeni commune, Iaşi county).[344] A still unidentified Islamic coin is said to have been found in Şcheia (Iaşi county).[345] Finally, seven dirhams, issued between a.H. 140 (A.D. 757/758) and a.H. 190 (A.D. 805/806) during the Abbassid caliphs Al-Mansur (754–775), Al-Mahdi (775–785) and Harun al Rashid (786–809) (one from each of the former caliphs, and five from Harun al-Rashid) have been found in a hoard assemblages, in Răducăneni-"Bazga" (Iaşi county), together with silver, bronze, and billon dress accessories (earrings, pendants, beads, bracelets, appliqués),

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eds. S. Brather, C. Bücker, and M. Hoeper (Rahden/Westf., 1999), pp. 179–197; S. Musteaţă, "Răspândirea monedei islamice timpurii la nordul Dunării de Jos în secolele VIII–X," in *Monedă şi comerţ în sud-estul Europei / Coin and Commerce in the South-East of Europe*, gen. ed. C. Munteanu (Sibiu, 2007), pp. 165–182.

[341] Kropotkin, "Новые находки," p. 91; A. A. Nudel'man, *Топография кладов и находок единичных монет* (*АКМ*, 8) (1976), pp. 89–90.

[342] O. Iliescu, "Însemnări privitoare la descoperiri monetare," *SCN* 1 (1957), 462.

[343] Kropotkin, "Новые находки," pp. 91–92; Nudel'man, *Топография*, p. 90; idem, *Очерки истории монетного обращения в Днестровско-Прутском регионе* (Kishinev, 1985), pp. 84–86; R. A. Rabinovich, "Дирхемы на территории Молдовы: культурно исторический контекст," *Stratum plus* (1999), no. 6, pp. 263–275.

[344] E. Nicolae, "Un dirhem din secolul al X-lea descoperit la Iacobeni, com. Vlădeni, jud. Iaşi," in *Simposion de numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima Unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Chişinău, 28–30 mai 2000*, gen. ed. E. Nicolae (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 95–96.

[345] Zaharia, etc., *Aşezări*, p. 333.

as well as silver ingots.[346] One of the richest hoards of dirhams in eastern Europe, which includes some 400 coins (368 of which have been identified) minted in the central Asian towns in the late 800s and early 900s, was found in an unknown location (not in Hust/Huszt, as it was supposed in the past) in the neighoring region of Maramureş (either in the Maramureş county of Romania, or the trans-Carpathian region of Ukraine),[347] i.e. in another region inhabited by Romanians.

After a period of sharp decline in the Byzantine coin circulation within the territory north of the Danube, which was primarly caused by the settlement of Slavs and Bulgars in the northern Balkans and by economic crisis, a revival is visible beginning with the late tenth century, especially after emperors John I Tzimiskes and Basil II took northern Balkans from the Bulgars. From Southern Moldavia not only stray, hoard finds are known (Dolheşti and Paşcani surroundings, Iaşi county, Romania; Goian, Chişinău municipality, Republic of Moldova; Arciz surroundings, Ismail, Reni and Suvorovo, all in the Odessa region of Ukraine). Most known specimens are of bronze, a clear indication that they were used as coins, and not selected for their intrinsic value. The so-called anonymous *folles* were struck in the early eleventh century, the period during which the lands on the left bank of the Danube witnessed the highest degree of monetization.

By contrast, coins struck for the Comnenian emperors are rare in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains. It is of course possible that that is the result of the current stage of research. A true decrease in the number of Byzantine coins in the region took place only after the rebellion of the Vlachs and Bulgar, the rise of the Second Bulgarian Empire and the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders.[348] Following those dramatic developments, the Byzantine

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[346] D. Gh. Teodor, "Tezaurul de la Răducăneni-Iaşi," *SCIVA* 31 (1980), no. 3, pp. 403–423; Nicolae, "Un dirhem din secolul al X-lea," pp. 99–101.

[347] A. V. Fomin, L. Kovács, *The Tenth Century Máramaros County ("Huszt") Dirham Hoard* (Budapest, 1987); L. Kovács, "A Máramaros megyei («husztí») dirhemkincsről," in *Honfoglalás és Árpád-kor* (Ungvár, 1997), pp. 234–244. See also A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries* (Budapest, 1975), pp. 114–115. The hoard was certainly not found in Hust/Huszt, as previously thought.

[348] On tenth- to twelfth-century Byzantine coins in the Carpathian-Dniester region, see C. Preda, "Circulaţia monedelor bizantine în regiunea carpato-dunăreană," *SCIV* 23 (1972), no. 3, pp. 375–415; idem, "The Byzantine coins—an expression of the relations between the Empire and the populations north of the Danube in the 6th–13th centuries," in *Relations*, pp. 229–233; Nudel'man, *Топография*, pp. 81–89; idem, "Некоторые наблюдения над находками византийских монет в Карпато-Днестровском

coins appeared only sporadically in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains. When they do, they now tend to be not bronze, but gold coins, specifically hyperpyra struck for the Nicaean emperors. The name of those gold coins, which re-established the prestige of the Byzantine currency, was also adopted in Romanian as *perper*. Both Byzantine and Genoese merchants were responsible for the spread of hyperpers in Black Sea and Caspian regions.[349]

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The movement of the Turkic nomads into the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas disturbed the trade routes previously established through those lands by Khazars, Vikings, Arabs, and Byzantines. The lack of a centralized political organization, the periodical migration and the endemic warfare made any crossing of the steppe lands from north to south or viceversa impossible. However, exchange relationships did not disappear. The great rivers of eastern Europe,

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регионе (общчие закономерности и локалные особенности проникновения)," in *AIM v 1977–1978 gg.* (1982), pp. 27–53; idem, *Очерки*, pp. 58–84 and 171–175; Spinei, *Moldova*, pp. 96–99; idem, "Monede bizantine din spaţiul est-carpatic," *SCN* 8 (1984), pp. 77–83; R. D. Bondar, S. A. Bulatovich, "К находкам византийских монет в Орловке," in *Северное Причерноморье* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 145–148; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Numismatic and historical remarks on the Byzantine coin hoards from the 12th century at the Lower Danube," *RESEE* 30 (1992), nos. 1–2, pp. 41–60; E. S. Stoliarik, *Очерки монетного обращения Северо-Западново Причерноморья в позднеримское и византийское время (конец III-начахо XIII в.)* (Kiev, 1992), pp. 50–71; A. Paragină, "Piese din secolele XI–XIV descoperite în zona de curbură a Carpaţilor," *Mousaios* 4 (1994), no. 1, pp. 223–228; G. Custurea, *Circulaţia monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (secolele IX–XI)* (Constanţa, 2000), pp. 169–202; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Societate, economie şi politică—Populaţiile de pe teritoriul Moldovei şi lumea sud-est europeană în secolele IV–XIV în lumina descoperirilor monetare," *Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional al Bucovinei* 36–37–38 (1999–2000–2001), pp. 329–353; Gh. Mănucu-Adameşteanu, *Istoria Dobrogei în perioada 969–1204. Contribuţii arheologice şi numismatice* (Bucharest, 2001), pp. 22–30 and 189–199; A.-M. Velter, *Transilvania în secolele V–XII. Interpretări istorico-politice şi economice pe baza descoperirilor monetare din bazinul Carpatic, secolele V–XII* (Bucharest, 2002), pp. 71–112.

[349] O. Iliescu, "L'hyperpère byzantin au Bas-Danube du XI[e] au XV[e] siècle," *RESEE* 7 (1969), no. 1, pp. 109–115; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "From *perperi auri 'ad sagium Vicine'* to *părpăr*—Money of account of Byzantine-Balkan origin in Wallachia (thirteenth to nineteenth centuries)," in *130 Years since the Establishment of the Modern Romanian Monetary System* (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 97–182; idem, "Les hyperpères de type Jean III Vatatzès—classification, chronologie et évolution du titre (à la lumière du trésor d'Uzun Baïr, dép. de Tulcea)," in *Istro-Pontica. Muzeul tulcean la a 50-a aniversare, 1950–2000. Omagiu lui Simion Gavrilă la 45 de ani de activitate, 1955–2000*, eds. M. Iacob, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, F. Topoleanu (Tulcea, 2000), pp. 499–562.

the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Danube, continued to be used as avenues for trade.[350] Those rivers solidly maintained the traffic of goods, given that, even though they had no ability or interest in sailing along the rivers, like most nomads,[351] the late Turkic populations of the Eurasian steppes were nonetheless interested in protecting transiting of goods—slaves, fur, silk, animals, etc.—through territories they had conquered or controlled.[352]

Although they had no tradition in engaging in long-distance trade, Turkic nomads took advantage from the exchange of goods. The narrative sources claim that the Pechenegs sold to the Rus' horned cattle, horses, sheep, and (at Chersones) furs and wax. In exchange, they received fine textiles, pepper, furs from the East, and other goods.[353] The Pechenegs even traded the prisoners captured during expeditions against neighbouring peoples.[354] In return, the Pechenegs also suffered from their neighbours' incursions, especially from those of the Khazars, who not only plundered, but also to took prisoners.[355] In addition, the Khazars bought Slavic slaves from the Rus' (Varangians).[356] The Hungarians, who had controlled the steppe lands north of the Black Sea before the Pechenegs, also conducted raids against the Slavs and the Rus'. They too sold their prisoners on the markets in Byzantium.[357] According to told local traditions, the trade with prisoners captured

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[350] Grekov, Iakubovskii, *Золотая Орда* (see above, n. 208), pp. 23–27; V. P. Dashkevich, "К истории торговых связей Древней Руси," *KS* 138 (1973), pp. 93–103; Tryjarski, "Pieczyngowie" (see above, n. 275), pp. 541–545; J. Shepard, "The Russian steppe-frontier and the Black Sea zone," *Ἀρχεῖον πόντου* 35 (1979), pp. 218–237.

[351] L. Febvre, *La Terre et l'évolution humaine. Introduction géographique a l'histoire* (Paris, 1938), pp. 329–330.

[352] A. Babkine, "La culture matérielle des Qipčaqs d'après les sources de l'époque," *Études Slaves et Est-Européenne* 18 (1973), pp. 96–104; P. B. Golden, "Aspects of the nomadic factor in the economic development of Kievan Rus'," in *Ukrainian Economic History. Interpretive Essays*, ed. I. S. Koropeckyj (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 67–72; A. C. S. Peacock, "Black Sea trade and the Islamic world down to the Mongol period," in *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future*, eds. G. Erkut and S. Mitchell (London–Istanbul, 2007), pp. 65–72.

[353] *DAI*, I, pp. 50–53 and 286–287.

[354] *Hudūd al-ʾĀlam* (see above, n. 42), p. 160; *Orient.Bex.*, p. 215.

[355] A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 151; *Orient.Bex.*, pp. 164–165.

[356] A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi*, p. 154 and 167; *Orient.Bex.*, pp. 164–165, 167, and 180.

[357] Ibn Dasta [Ibn Rusta] (see above, n. 40), p. 27; A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi*, pp. 161–162; Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 35; *Orient.Bex.*, pp. 73–74 (ibn Rusta), 177 (Gardīzī), and 252 (al-Marwazi); Hammer, *Sur les origines russes* (see above, n. 27), pp. 47, 65, and 71; B. N. Zakhoder, *Каспийский свод сведений о Восточной Европе*,

from neighboring communities continued to flourish under the Tatar rule in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea.[358]

The Cumans exchanged goods with the Byzantines in Chersones.[359] From Sudak they bought cloth and sold female and male slaves, furs of black-fox, beaver and squirrel.[360] The main trade centre for the Oghuz of central Asia during the tenth century was the town of Djurdjaniya, situated in a region under Khwarazmian control.[361] The Oghuz used to trade with merchants from Khorasan, where the fine wool of their sheep was highly appreciated.[362] It has also been noted that the Oghuz/Uzes of the Volga region were visited by many merchants.[363]

The evidence of the written sources shows that the late Turkic populations traded almost the same commodities as the Khazars before them,[364] including slaves captured from the neighbouring peoples, furs of hunted animals, and especially the animals they bred. The fact that they wanted luxury goods in exchange is an indication of social differentiation, with a tribal elite striving to obtain foreign or "exotic" items. Grave goods from assemblages attributed to Pecheneg, Uzes, and Cuman warriors reveal the existence of weapons and dress accesssories of foreign origin. Before entering the archaeological record, they must have been obtained either through booty or be means of commerce.

Particularly illustrative in this respect is the very rich grave goods found in a "princely grave" in Zamozhnoe (Zaporozhie region, Ukraine), on the Chingul river. Among such goods was a mantle adorned with

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II, *Булгары, мадьяры, народа Севера, печенеги, русы, славяне* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 55–56.

[358] Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (see above, n. 188), pp. 384–386; Ch. Verlinden, "Esclavage et ethnographie sur les bords de la mer Noire (XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles)," in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen Univeritatis Catholicae in oppido Lovaniensi iam annos XXXV professoris*, I (Brussels–Paris, 1947), pp. 247–298; idem, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, II (Gent, 1977), pp. 220–227, 456–473, and 484; L. Tardy, *Sklavenhandel in der Tartarei. Die Frage der Mandscharen* (Szeged, 1983); Spinei, "La genèse des villes" (see above, n. 151), pp. 225–228; M. Balard, "Esclavage en Crimée et sources fiscales génoises au XV^{e} siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996), pp. 9–17; P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 307–308.

[359] Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, p. 191.

[360] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 26 (Ibn el Asyr); *Extrait* d'Ibn-Alathir, in [Ch. F.] Defrémery, *Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie Méridionale* (offprint from *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser., 13, 1848; 14, 1849) (Paris, 1849), p. 80.

[361] Ibn Hauqal (see above, n. 34), II, p. 460.

[362] Ibidem, p. 437.

[363] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 100; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 206.

[364] Ibn Hauqal, pp. 382 and 385.

pieces of golden sheet, two vessels with enamel decoration, a chalice with a lid, a gilded silver belt kit of West European origin, an old Rus' helmet, and many other dress accessories made of precious metals.[365] The Cumans benefited from trade in Crimea and along the Volga, two regions on which they imposed their political control, especially on flourishing urban centres such as Sudak and Saksin.[366]

Judging from the archaeological evidence, monetary exchanges in pre-Mongol Turkic societies played a less important role than barter. The number of coins deposited in graves increased considerably in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, an indication of an increased monetization of nomadic society. That, however, does not seem to have trickle down to the lower strata of society, but remained restricted to the elites.[367] The fact that most of such coins were not of bronze, but of silver substantiates the idea of a limited monetization. So far the only burial assemblages in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains, which produced coins are those excavated in Suvorovo (Ismail district, Odessa region, Ukraine; with thirteen late twelfth-century Byzantine scyphates)[368] (Fig. 38/1, 2, 5–8), Pârteştii de Jos (Suceava county, Romania; late thirteenth-century Mongol coin),[369] and Grădeşti (Reni district, Odessa region, Ukraine; with a groat struck in Prague in the 1300s).[370]

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[365] V. V. Otroshchenko, Iu. Ia. Rassamakin, "Гробницы царей находятся в Геррах," *Знание-сила* (1982), no. 6, pp. 16–17; idem "Половецький комплекс Чингульського кургану," *Археологія* 53 (1986), pp. 14–36; L. S. Geras'kova, "Культура середньовічних кочівників," in *Історія української культури*, 1, *Історія культури давнього населення України*, eds. P. P. Tolochko (gen. ed.), D. N. Kozak, R. S. Orlov, S. V. Smirnov, V. V. Otroshchenko, S. D. Krizhits'kii, S. S. Bessonova, R. V. Terpilovs'kii (Kiev, 2001), pp. 1024–1025 and figs. pp. 1023, 1026–1028, 1030, and 1034.

[366] Grekov, Iakubovskii, *Золотая Орда* (see above, n. 208), pp. 29–31; Pritsak, "Polovcians" (see above, n. 16), p. 371; J. Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness. The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 24–27, 47, and 188; Noonan, "Rus', Pechenegs, and Polovtsy" (see above, n. 307), pp. 316–317 and 320–323.

[367] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 214–216.

[368] A. O. Dobroliubskii, O. S. Stoliarik, "Візантійські монети у кочівницькому похованні XII ст. у Дністро-Дунайському межиріччі," *Археологія* 43 (1983), pp. 71–75.

[369] O. Iliescu, "Însemnări privitoare la descoperiri monetare," *SCN* 1 (1957), p. 463.

[370] A. O. Dobroliubskii, L. V. Subbotin, S. P. Segeda, "Золотоордынское погребение у Дуная (К истории кочевого населения Северо-Западного Причерноморье в XIV в.)," in *Днестро-Дунайское междуречье в I-начале II тыс. н.э.* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 89–91.

Social and Political Life

The basic structure of the social and political organization of the local population in the Carpathian-Dniester region was the rural village community (*obştea*). Its structure was outlined as early as prehistory and survived with remarkable vigour almost into modern times. Territorial communities derive from pre-existing social formations based on kinship. There is yet no agreement as to the way in which Romanian villages appeared. However, there is no need of a single scenario: in some cases, the inhabitants of a village could indeed have had common ancestors, but not in other cases. Because until the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, the only communities in existence in the east-Carpathian area were exclusively rural, no influence existed from urban comunities. The understanding of the social relations in existence prior to the rise of the medieval state of Moldavia is still at an incipient stage. The structure of the village communities of the late Middle Ages and the modern period have the been the subject of a number of high-quality studies.[371] However, because of the complete absence of any written sources, reconstructing the defining features of the rural communities of the early Middle Ages remains hypothetical. Some analogies may be advanced from the late medieval period or from even from the ethnographic record of relatively recent communities, either in Romania or elsewhere in Europe. But the most important source of direct information is still archaeology.

There is no evidence so far of wealth differentials within the local communities in the region to the east from Carpathian Mountains. Moreover, a certain homogeneity has been noted in the grave goods associated with burial assemblages dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century. The only indications of sharp differences in wealth are hoards of coins and dress accessories. Petre P. Panaitescu described

[371] H. H. Stahl, *Contribuţii la studiul satelor devălmaşe româneşti* (Bucharest), I (1958); II (1959); III (1965); V. Costăchel, "Obştea sătească," in V. Costăchel, P. P. Panaitescu, and A. Cazacu, *Viaţa feudală în Ţara Românească şi Moldova (sec. XIV–XVII)* (Bucharest, 1957), pp. 79–108; Şt. Pascu, "Cristalizarea relaţiilor feudale şi apariţia primelor formaţiuni politice pe teritoriul ţării noastre în secolul al X-lea şi la începutul secolului al XI-lea," in *Ist.Rom.*, II, pp. 34–42; P. P. Panaitescu, *Obştea ţărănească în Ţara Românească şi Moldova. Orînduirea feudală* (Bucharest, 1964); D. M. Dragnev, P. V. Sovetov, "Основные этапы развития и разложения общины в Молдавии (до начала XIX в.)," in *Славяно-волошские связи*, ed. N. A. Mokhov (Kishinev, 1978), pp. 64–114; L. L. Polevoi, *Раннефеодальная Молдавия* (Kishinev, 1985), pp. 32–68; Al. I. Gonţa, *Satul în Moldova medievală. Instituţiile* (Bucharest, 1986).

the rural village community as a community of labor, "that is a community performing labor directed by the community and having communal rights to land use. Indeed, the essential aspect for defining a village community is labor and its organization, not possession of land."[372] Panaitescu's sharp distinction appears to suggest that access to farming lands or pastures played only a secondary place in the organization of rural communities. However, ethnographic analogies show that quite is true: the entire structure of the community was dictated by rights of access to land. Most typical in that respect was the communal use of pastures, forests, as well as courses or bodies of water. The land under cultivation was periodically divided between individual families by means of drawing lots. There is in fact no evidence that within Romanian village communities in existence before the rise of the medieval state, landed property had already become hereditary and was therefore not divided periodically any more.[373] Following his two visits to Moldavia in 1633 and 1639, respectively, Friar Niccolò Barsi from Lucca described local villages as following: "No one, townsman or villager, can say: 'This land is mine, and that is yours.' At sowing time all townsmen go out in the fields, where the *şoltuz* (judge) and the *pârgar* (member of the town council, syndic) divide and distribute the lands in keeping with the members of the family: if there are eight people in the family, they give eight plots; if there are ten, they give the same number of plots. They are so numerous that people can never sow them all, so they sow one part in two years, then in the other part in the next two years".[374]

The Italian monk described communities in towns, but the situation cannot have been much different in the countryside, either at that time or centuries earlier. Barsi insisted on the availability of arable land, a phenomenon duly noted by other travellers to medieval Moldavia as well.[375] A periodical redistribution of lands among members of the village community is a practice, which survived well into the early modern period in Transylvania. During the sixteenth-century, several princes

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[372] P. P. Panaitescu, *Introducere în istoria culturii româneşti* (Bucharest, 1969), p. 157.

[373] An idea advanced by E. Zaharia, *Populaţia românească din Transilvania în secolele VII–VIII (Cimitirul nr. 2 de la Bratei)* (Bucharest, 1977), pp. 112 and 116.

[374] *Călători*, V, p. 80 (N. Barsi).

[375] *Călători*, IV, p. 575 (G. Botero).

of Transylvania issued regulations concerning the proportion and the means for the distribution of lands under cultivation.[376]

Village communities (*obşti*) were independent social and political units. They had economic, as well as administrative, juridical and fiscal functions. Communal meetings were not regular, but summoned as needed. The village community as a whole was involved in all aspects of life, including family affairs. The village community was taxed collectively by both rulers of medieval states and by the nomads. It also had juridical freedom in criminal cases involving members of the community or crimes committed within the community boundaries, irrespective of the status or origin of the persons involved. A village community consisted of several groups of people, all with equal rights, who were also members of the same kin group, i.e., were descendants of the same ancestor.[377]

The internal stability of village communities was dramatically altered by the emergence of wealth differentials and of the private property of the family. To regulate activity within such communities, a council of "good and old people" was selected from among experienced and respected heads of households, whose prestige was often based on wealth. In time, members of the council transformed their position into one of power, as they became the mediators between village communities and the nomads. They collected the tribute and enforced the prestation of corvées imposed by the new rulers. It has long been noted that that position of power turned such men into leaders of later village confederacies.

The structure of the Romanian village community bears some resemblance to the village community known to have been in existence in Byzantium. This is especially true for the balance between communal and individual property, as well as for composition and prerogatives of the rural elite.[378] During the second half of the first millennium, in some villages of the Prôtomeria district, a council of old people was in existence, a body known as the "elders who held the main offices," led by "a chief of the old people" (πρωτοπρεσβύτερος). Other village

[376] D. Prodan, "Domeniul cetăţii Ciceu la 1553," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj* 8 (1965), p. 77; Şt. Imreh, I. Pataki, "Contribuţii la studiul agriculturii transilvănene (1570–1610)," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 4 (1967), pp. 158–159.

[377] Stahl, *Contribuţii* (see above, n. 371), I, pp. 55, 169; II, pp. 152–174; Panaitescu, *Obştea* (see above, n. 371), p. 50.

[378] V. Al. Georgescu, *Bizanţul şi instituţiile româneşti pînă la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest, 1980), pp. 61–71.

leaders were also noted at the same time in other regions of the Empire under different names, but it is not known whether or not they were recruited from among elders.[379] The "old people" or "good and old people" (люди добри и стари) are also mentioned in sixteenth- and eighteenth-century documents relating to several towns in Moldavia.[380] They were often consulted in matters of administration, which were of concern for all members of the community.[381] Their summons followed an old custom going back, without any doubt, to the period before the rise of the medieval town and state in the region between the eastern Carpathians and the Dniester River.

The perimeter of every village community was clearly demarcated by boundaries often in the form of pillars or stones. Several medieval charters refer to "boundaries" (*hotar*) in existence "for centuries." The bounded perimeter included not only the houses, but also the arable land, the pastures, and the forest collectively owned by the community.

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[379] M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris, 1992), pp. 198–200.

[380] L. T. Boga, *Documente basarabene*, V, *Hrisoave şi cărţi domneşti (1507–1594)* (Chişinău, 1929), no. XXX, pp. 44–45; idem, *Documente basarabene*, VII, *Hrisoave şi cărţi domneşti (1604–1653)* (Chişinău, 1929), no. XXXIX, p. 41; no. XLII, p. 45; no. XLIV, p. 47; I. Antonovici, *Documente bârlădene*, IV (Bârlad, 1924), no. XVII, p. 32; no. XXVI, p. 48; no. XXVII, p. 50; etc.; *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, I, *Acte interne (1408–1660)*, eds. I. Caproşu and P. Zahariuc (Iaşi, 1999), nos. 21, 171, 267, 276, 327, 349, 357, 421, 494; Ibidem, II *(1661–1690)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2000), nos. 89, 142, 183, etc.; Ibidem, III *(1691–1725)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2000), nos. 32, 51, 61, etc.; Ibidem, IV *(1726–1740)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2001), nos. 63, 105, 224, etc.; DRH,A, VI, no. 127; XVIII, nos. 8, 65, 155, etc.; XIX, nos. 61, 91, 344 etc.; XXII, nos. 18, 33, and 105; XXIII, nos. 2A, 2B, 56; XXIV, nos. 16, 39, 52, etc.; XXV, nos. 6, 12, 49, etc.; XXVI, nos. 42, 49, 62, etc.; XXVII, nos. 191, 215, 226, etc.; *Documenta Catholicorum Moldaviae, A. Documente româneşti, I. Fondul Episcopiei Romano-Catolice Iaşi*, 1 (*1627–1750*), eds. S. Văcaru and A. Despinescu (Iaşi, 2002), nos. 4, 7, 72, 80, etc.; *Documente privitoare la istoria Ţării Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea, 1751–1774. Cărţi domneşti şi zapise* (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, IX), eds. L. Svetlicinâi, D. Dragnev, E. Bociarov, co-ord. D. Dragnev (Chişinău, 2004), nos. 109, 159, and 185; *Documente privitoare la istoria Ţării Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea (1775–1786). Cărţi domneşti şi zapise* (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, X), eds. L. Svetlicinâi, D. Dragnev, E. Bociarov, co-ord. D. Dragnev (Chişinău, 2005), nos. 24, 98, 130, and 162; D. Agache, *Hrisoave inedite de la Ştefan cel Mare şi destinul unor sate din Moldova* (Iaşi, 2006), nos. II, 5, 9; and III, 10, etc.

[381] N. Grigoraş, *Instituţii feudale din Moldova, I. Organizarea de stat pînă la mijlocul sec. al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest, 1971), pp. 248–252; A. I. Galben, *Из истории феодального право Молдовы XVIII—начала XIX в. (турецко-фанариотский период)* (Kishinev, 1998), pp. 180–189; Şt. Ştefănescu, "Aspecte ale civilizaţiei rurale româneşti în evul mediu. Factori afectivi şi dinamici ai vieţii sociale," in *Studia historica et theologica. Omagiu Profesorului Emilian Popescu*, eds. C. C. Petolescu, T. Teoteoi, A. Gabor (Iaşi, 2003), pp. 617–619.

Maintaining the boundary depended upon the success of the cyclical redistribution of land among members of that community.[382]

Following the appearance of social stratification—much earlier than the rise of the medieval state—the institution of the local lord (knez) was introduced. Knezes are mentioned not only for Romanians in Moldavia, but also for those in the western Balkans, Transylvania, and Wallachia. In Moldavia, knezes and judges (*iudices*) first appear in charters during the first half of the fifteenth century. In Romanian, the word for knez (*cneaz*) is of Slavic origin, that for judge (*jude*) of Latin origin. A village normally had only one knez (only exceptional cases are known of villages with two or three knezes), and his office appears to have been hereditary from the very beginning. In Romanian villages of the Galician territories annexed by the Polish Crown in 1349, which were organized according to the "Romanian law" (*jus Valachicum*), villagers had to work for several days on the estates of their knezes.[383] The office of knez, which is the equivalent to what was known in western Europe as *comes*, appears also among southern, eastern, and western Slavic peoples, with varying attributions.[384]

The community as a whole was supposed to approve any levy of goods and the acceptance of foreigners within the community. Such prerogatives were abrogated only when there was no a protective political organism. Foreigners were sometimes allowed to live the village, but without the priviledges, which other, regular members of the community enjoyed.[385] An indication of an enclave of foreigners within a local village community may be detected in the cemetery at Hansca-"Limbari". Anthropological studies have indicated a sharp distinction between dolicocephalic females and brachycephalic males, some of them with Mongoloid features. This has been interpreted as evidence of a group of newcomers from the eastern Europe, who shared a number of forensic features otherwise typical for cemeteries attributed to Alans

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[382] A. I. Galben, *Din "obiceiul pământului" al Moldovei feudale (sec. XVIII-prima jumătate a sec. XIX)* (Chişinău, 1986), p. 15 ff.

[383] I. Bogdan, "Despre cnejii români," in idem, *Scrieri alese*, ed. G. Mihăilă (Bucharest, 1968), pp. 180–206; R. Rosetti, *Pământul, sătenii şi stăpînii în Moldova*, I, *De la origini până la 1834* (Bucharest, 1907), p. 23 ff.; I. A. Pop, "Statutul social-economic al cnezilor din Ţările Române în secolele XIV–XV (I)," *AIIA* 25 (1988), no. 1, pp. 19–20; idem, *Instituţii medievale româneşti. Adunările cneziale şi nobiliare (boiereşti) din Transilvania în secolele XIV–XVI* (Cluj–Napoca, 1991), pp. 36–57.

[384] K. Kadlec, *Introduction à l'étude comparative de l'histoire du droit public des peuples slaves* (Paris, 1933), pp. 37–38, 54, 93, 99, 133, 200, and 302–304.

[385] Stahl, *Contribuţii* (see above, n. 371), II, pp. 164–170 and 232–256.

and to Bulgars within the Saltovo-Maiaki culture.[386] As the graves with male skeletons displaying the above-mentioned anthropological features do not cluster anywhere within the territory of the cemetery, but instead appear among other graves of men, women, or children, this can only mean that the immigrants were quickly integrated within the local community. A rather similar situation was discovered in the medieval cemetery at Dinogetia-Garvăn (Tulcea county) (Romania), where, except for some inhumations with anthropological features indicating a group of foreigners, which have been buried on the cemetery fringes, all other graves with similar skeletal remains have been found among graves of the native population.[387]

Members of the village community had to perform a number of communal activities, from the cleaning of the forest and the pastures of briers and weeds to the fencing of plots. To elude such duties could have led to penalties consisting primarily in the suspension of the right of access to communal lands.[388] Several late medieval and early modern sources show that even priests cultivated their respective plots by themselves, and sometimes went to the forest to fell trees.[389] This strongly suggests, on one hand, that the performing of the liturgy and of other ritual celebrations did not bring to any priest a sufficient income to survive, and, on the other hand, that members of the village communities had no obligation to work on the lands of the parish. That the clergy had no special privileges within the village community and that they had to perform the same kind of work as the other members of that community is strikingly similar to the situation in Byzantium after the tenth century. Some priests were even ranked lowest in the local hierarchy, for they were *paroikoi*, dependant, not free people.[390] Perhaps

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[386] M. S. Velikanova, *Палеоантропология Прутско-Днестровского междуречья* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 114–138; Chebotarenko, *Население* (see above, n. 100), p. 54.

[387] E. Comşa, "Cimitirul," in Gh. Ştefan, I. Barnea, M. Comşa, E. Comşa, *Dinogetia*, I, *Aşezarea feudală timpurie de la Bisericuţa-Garvăn* (Bucharest, 1967), pp. 369–371; G. Bakó, "Despre organizarea obştilor săteşti ale epocii feudale timpurii din sud-estul României," *SCIVA* 26 (1975), no. 3, p. 375.

[388] C. Cihodaru, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea obştii ţărăneşti în Moldova," *Studii şi cercetări ştinţifice, Istorie*, Iaşi, 7 (1956), no. 1, p. 21.

[389] *Călători*, V, p. 78 (N. Barsi); *Kurtze Beschreibung von denen moldauischen Ländern*, in N. Iorga, "O nouă descriere a Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea de un suedez," *Revista istorică* 16 (1930), nos. 4–5, p. 91; Al. P. Arbore, "Informaţiunile unor călători străini şi alte însemnări răzleţe despre Focşani şi vecinătăţile lui," *Milcovia* 1 (1930), no. 2, p. 133.

[390] Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 202–203 and 228–229; G. T. Dennis, "Popular religious attitudes and practices in Byzantium," *Proche Orient Chrétien* 43 (1993), nos. 3–4, pp. 285–286.

because they were involved sometimes too much in gaining their own bread, those priests are said to have neglected their duty as priests, which caused the intervention of emperor Alexius I in 1107.[391]

In short, the situation of the Orthodox clergy in the Romanian lands during the first centuries of the second millennium could not have been better than that of the Byzantine clergy at that same time. In Galician villages of south-eastern Poland, which were organized according to *jus Valachicum*, there were significant wealth differences between the priests. Some grew rich through trade and had mills and ponds with fish on lease. Others were poor and tilled their own fields, which were exempt from taxes. They had to pay for cultivating the parochial plots. The lack of education had serious consequences on the quality of the liturgical service.[392] Following the rise of the medieval state of Moldavia, priests had landed property, and commonly worked their own fields,[393] a situation which apparently was hindered their priestly duties. As most of them were of peasant origin, and, before modern times, with no access to formal education, local priests and monks were completely ignorant of theological subtleties and sometimes of questionable moral behaviour. Another impediment in assimilating the ecclesiastical dogma was the Old Church Slavonic language, which most clergymen did not master. They must have known it only to a degree sufficient for performing the liturgy.[394] Nothing indicates that priests had any privileged position prior to 1300. In medieval Moldavia, clergymen of all ranks were not just ministers in the altar, but also men with juridical competence, who also assumed responsibilities in guiding social and family life. At the same time, both priests and monks benefited from individual fiscal exemptions, and sometimes from donations from the prince.[395]

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[391] P. Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *Revue des études byzantines* 31 (1973), pp. 165–201.

[392] Th. Holban, "Jus Valachicum în Polonia," *Studii şi cercetări istorice*, Iaşi, 18 (1943), pp. 326–333.

[393] B.-P. Maleon, *Clerul de mir din Moldova secolelor XIV–XVI* (Iaşi, 2007), pp. 306–307.

[394] N. Djuvara, *Le pays roumain entre Orient et Occident. Les Principautés danubiennes au début du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1989), pp. 144–146; I. Ţighiliu, *Societate şi mentalitate în Ţara Românească şi Moldova. Secolele XV–XVII* (Bucharest, 1998), pp. 172–190.

[395] Ţighiliu, *Societate*, pp. 190–194; B.-P. Maleon, "Clerul ortodox din Moldova medievală. Între credinţa populară şi disciplina ecleziastică", in *Etnie şi confesiune în Moldova medievală*, ed. I. Toderaşcu (Iaşi, 2006), pp. 43–46 and 81–83; idem, *Clerul de mir*, pp. 308–311, 327–329, 360–369, and 386–387.

Many Romanian historians still endorse Dimitrie Cantemir theory, according to which the regions of Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Vrancea, and Tigheci were "republics" of sorts, as remnants of political entities pre-dating the rise of the medieval state.[396] The Moldavian scholar claimed that, in spite of paying tax to the prince, the inhabitants of those regions enjoyed great freedom and had their own laws and judges.[397] Like many other parts of Moldavia, the three regions in question may have preserved a number of features of a self-governing body most typical for village community confederacies. That, however, is no indication of their status prior to the rise of the medieval state. It has been demonstrated that Cantemir's description of the Câmpulung Moldovenesc region contains a number of inaccuracies and contradictions, especially when compared to data from diplomatic sources. For example, there is no evidence whatsoever that the inhabitants of the Câmpulung Moldovenesc region were able, as Cantemir claimed, to depose the officials whom the prince had delegated to their region. Nor is there any evidence that they were eager to accept the Polish rule. Cantemir's odd statement must be interpreted in the light of the conflict between his father, Constantin Cantemir (1685–1693), and the townsmen of Câmpulung Moldovenesc, which had taken place shortly after a brief occupation of Northern Moldavia by Polish troops. Dimitrie Cantemir collapsed the two events and thus gave a spin to the story, which had no relation to what had actually happened. Moreover, his idea of the Câmpulung Moldovenesc region being independent is in sharp contradiction to the existence of no less than two officials and to the collection of tax from the region for the treasury.[398] There is therefore no serious reason to put any trust on the idea of so-called "republics." This information, like many other passages in the *Descriptio Moldaviae*, a work Cantemir wrote in his Russian exile, is simply inaccurate, written when the author was far away from his native land, has proven to be accurate. The privileges of the inhabitants of the Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Vrancea, and Tigheci regions resulted instead from their military

[396] A. D. Xenopol, "Întemeierea Ţărilor române (I şi II)," *Revista pentru istorie, archeologie şi filologie* 3 (1885), 5, no. 1, pp. 6–7; idem, *Istoria românilor*, I (see above, n. 14), pp. 436 and 439; C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, I, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1935), p. 319; S. Columbeanu, *Cnezate şi voievodate româneşti* (Bucharest, 1973), pp. 128–130; N. Grigoraş, "Românii la est de Carpaţi şi organizarea lor pînă la întemeierea statului românesc al Moldovei," *CIs*, SN, 8 (1977), pp. 270–271.

[397] Cantemir, *DM*, pp. 300–303.

[398] T. Bălan, *Din istoricul Cîmpulungului Moldovenesc* (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 25–29.

duties. Câmpulung Moldovenesc was near the Polish border, not far from the most important road across the Carpathian Mountains, from Northern Moldavia and Transylvania. The region of Vrancea, which next to the Oituz Pass, bordered on Wallachia, while the woodlanders of Tigheci were neighbours of the Tatars of the Bugeac.

Rejecting the idea that Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Vrancea, and Tigheci were pre-state political structures does not imply excluding the possibility of such structures having actually been in existence in the lands east of the Carpathian Mountains before the fourteenth-century "dismounting" (*descălecat* = state formation established by the coming of an external elite) of Dragoş and Bogdan. Important historical sources in fact support such an idea. At the basis of those political structures were confederacies of village communities, whose presence was determined by the internal evolution of the native communities and by the need to protect them against both Turkic nomads and neighbouring medieval states.

There must have been a pre-state political structure in the region of the Carpathian Bend, in which a papal letter of 1234 located the Romanian "pseudo-bishops," given what is known about the link established in the Middle Ages between bishoprics and secular political organization. Without any doubt, that political structure must have appeared before the Teutonic Knights and the Cuman bishopric gained privileged positions outside the Carpathian Mountains. A "duke Râmunc of Wallachia" (*herzoge Râmunc ûzer Vlâchen lant*) is mentioned in the *Nibelungenlied*,[399] an indication that by 1200, the latest date which can be assigned to the last stage in the composition of the Old German epic, there was Romanian political entity—duchy or otherwise—somewhere in the Carpathian region. That that entity may have been located to the east from the Carpathian Mountains results from another passage in the epic, in which Wallachians are associated with Rus', Greeks, Poles, and Pechenegs, all ethnic groups in the vicinity of Moldavia. In addition, *Eymundar páttr / saga* mentions east-Carpathian Romanians (*Blökumenn*) among the participants in the conflicts between the princes of Rus' who attempted to take over Kiev in the early eleventh century. Again, the military assistance provided under such circumstances

[399] *Das Nibelungenlied nach der Handschrift C*, ed. U. Hennig (Tübingen, 1977), p. 212; *Das Nibelungenlied, mitttelhochdeutsch / neuhochdeutsch*, eds. D. Buschinger and W. Spiewok (Amiens, 1991), pp. 312–313.

indirectly points to a social and political structure capable of sustaining that military organization. The increasing military power of the local society is otherwise illustrated by the great number of weapons found in the archaeological record: axes, maces, arrowheads, and coats of mail. Along with an increasing quantity, an improvement of earlier types of weapons is also visible.[400]

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At the basis of nomadic society was the patriarchal clan made up of several related families. Such a structure is represented by the Mongol clan (*oboq* or *oboh*), with a common ancestor (*äbügä*).[401] That clan practised exogamy, blood-revenge, and levirate.

Conspicuous wealth differentials within clans manifest themselves in burial assemblages. While some were devoid of both grave goods and horse skeletons, many grave goods have been found in others. Rich burial assemblages have been found in Balabanu (Taraclia county, Republic of Moldova; Fig. 25/3–6), Bădragii Vechi (Edineţ county, Republic of Moldova; Fig. 27/11), Fridensfeld (Mirnopole), Limanscoe-"Fricăţei," Pavlovca, Plavni, Sărata, and Tuzla (Fig. 38/3; 4) (all in the Odessa region of Ukraine). Each produced golden rings and other luxury artifacts. Golden mounts have been found in Pogoneşti (Vaslui county, Romania; Figs. 28/7, 8; 55/1, 2), which were part of a belt kit. The burial assemblage found in Moscu (Galaţi county, Romania) included an iron helmet with gilded silver decoration, while that from Seliţte (Orhei county, Republic of Moldova) produced small silver plates with Arabic inscriptions (Fig. 37/7) and several other artifacts (Fig. 37). Forty years ago, between 17 and 18 percent of all burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads of the pre-Mongol era had one or several grave goods made of gold. Once the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas were under the control of the Golden Horde, there no more golden artefacts in any burial assemblages attributed to the nomads.[402]

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[400] Spinei, *Moldova*, pp. 103–104; idem, "Incipient forms of statal organisation with the Romanians East of the Carpathians," *Transylvanian Review* 5 (1996), no. 2, pp. 44–54.

[401] Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social* (see above, n. 234), p. 56.

[402] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 220.

When noting that the Pechenegs were rich and had gold and silver, weapons, adorned belts and flags, al-Bakri[403] certainly had in mind not all Pechenegs, but just the rich ones. Both the large number of cattle, which wealthy Oghuz are said to have owned, and conspicuous display of wealth in ceremonies of Cuman chiefs bespeak the remarkable wealth differentials in nomadic society. Domestic animals, especially horses and camels, were not just an economic asset, but also a way to show off and compete for status.[404]

Several clans made up a tribe. The number of Turkic tribes varied over time. In the mid-tenth century, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus knew that the Pechenegs were divided into eight "themes" (θέματα), by which he certainly meant "tribes," each further subdivided into five smaller "districts" (clans). Four of these themes / tribes, namely *Giazichopon*, *Kato Gyla* (= Lower Gyla), *Charaboi* and *Iabdiertim* (Γιαζιχοπόν, κάτω Γύλα, Χαραβόη, Ἰαβδιερτίμ), were on the right bank of the Dnieper River, with the other four on the left bank: *Kuartzitzur, Syrukalpei, Borotalmat* and *Bulatzopon* (Κουαρτζιτζούρ, Συρουκάλπεη, Βοροταλμάτ, Βουλατζοπόν).[405] The original names are thought to have been Jazi-Qapon, Jula, Qara-Baj, Javdi-Ertim, Küerči-Čur, Suru-Külbej, Boro-Talmač and Bula-Čaban.[406] A Hungarian scholar even tried to associate *Bulatzopon* and the name *Buila zoapan* (zhupan-? Chaban-?) (ΒΟΥΗΛΑ ΖΟΑΠΑΝ) from the Greek inscription on the golden cup from the Sânnicolau Mare hoard (Timiş county) (Romania).[407]

The number of the tribes is confirmed by Mas'udi's account, while Bruno of Querfurt has only four Pecheneg tribes,[408] perhaps because he knew nothing about those to the east from the Dnieper River. Mas'udi gives the following names for the Pecheneg tribes: *Ärtim, Čur, Jyla, Kulpej,*

[403] Al-Bécri (see above, n. 162), p. 15. See also A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 152; Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 33; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 165 (Gardīzī), 222 (al-Bakrī), 250 (al-Marwazī); Zakhoder, *Каспийский свод сведений* (see above, n. 357), p. 74 ff.

[404] F. Kussmaul, "Das Reiternomadentum als historisches Phänomen," in *Nomadismus als Entwicklungsproblem* (Bielefeld, 1969), p. 33.

[405] *DAI*, I, pp. 168–169.

[406] G. Györffy, "Sur la question de l'établissement des Petchénègues en Europe," *AOH* 25 (1972), nos. 1–3, p. 289.

[407] Németh, *Die Inschriften* (see above, n. 51), pp. 9–14 and 31–33.

[408] *Epistola* Brunonis *ad Henricum regem*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, I, ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1864), p. 225.

Charawoj, Talmač, Chopon and Čopon.[409] These may be closer to the original names. The Pechenegs of three of the themes mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus—Javdi-Ertim, Küerči-Čur, and K'abukšyn-Jula (Χαβουξιγγυλά)—are said to have been called *Kangar* (κάγγαρ) because of being the most valiant and powerful of all Pechenegs.[410] The names of the Pecheneg tribes have been explained as referring either to personalities or to horses. For example, K'abukšyn Jula is translated as "the tribe of Jula, who had bark-coloured horses," while *Giazichopon* (= jazy K'apan) is "K'apan's tribe."[411] According to some, the term of *Giazi* (probably *jazy*) means "flat land" or "steppe."[412]

For the themes to the west of the Dnieper River, the emperor-chronicler tries a general localisation: the province of Jazi-Qapan bordered on Bulgaria, Jula on Turkey (= Hungary), Qara-Baj on Rus', and Javdi-Ertim on the country of the Ultinians, Dervlenians and Lenzenians (that is Ulichians, Drevlianians and Poles). Elsewhere in the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus claims that *Patzinakia* is only a half-day's walk away from Bulgaria, a whole day's walk from Rus', and four days from "Turkey."[413] The understanding of the precise location of the Pecheneg tribes depends upon the coordinates of Emperor Constantine's account, especially on the rivers mentioned in his work and on their neighbours. Thus, Jazi-Qapon must have been in the Romanian Plain, Jula between the Siret and the Dniester, Javdi-Ertim between the Dniester and the Bug, and Qara-Baj between the Bug and the Dnieper. All the tribes mentioned above occupied only the steppe lands on the lower courses of those rivers. It is doubtful that the Kato Gyla tribes were located north of Giazichopon, on the

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[409] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 65. See also A. N. Kurat, *Peçeneg tarihi* (Istanbul, 1937), pp. 52–53; Golden, *Introduction* (see above, n. 12), p. 266.

[410] *DAI*, I, pp. 170–171.

[411] J. Németh, "Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10 (1930), p. 33. See also Shcherbak, "Знаки" (see above, n. 49), p. 383; G. Györffy, "Monuments du lexique petchénègue," *AOH* 18 (1965), nos. 1–2, pp. 76–77.

[412] K. H. Menges, "Etymological notes on some Päčänäg names," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), p. 266; Shcherbak, "Знаки," p. 383; G. Vörös, "Relics of the Pecheneg language in the works of Constantine," in *The Turks*, 1, *Early Ages*, eds. H. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz, O. Karatay, chief of the ed. board Y. Halaçoğlu, ed.advisor H. Inalcik (Ankara, 2002), p. 626. For the etymology of the Pecheneg tribal names mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, see also N. A. Baskakov, "Этнонимы и антропонимы печенегов в исторических источниках," in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, eds. A. Gallotta, U. Marazzi (Napoli, 1982), pp. 15–20.

[413] *DAI*, pp. 168–169.

same river courses, i.e. in southern Moldavia, as maintained by many scholars.[414] Turkic nomads did not share the steppe lands with anyone, and their direction of their transhumant movements was from south to north, not from east to west.

A century after emperor Constantine's account, the Pechenegs driven away from the steppe between the Dnieper and the Danube by the Uzes, are said to have been divided into thirteen tribes, eleven under Tyrach and another two under Kegen.[415] Although those tribes eventually moved to the Balkans in 1046–1047, the Byzantines experienced two more Pecheneg invasions, in 1086 and 1122–1123, respectively. This goes against the idea that by 1050, there were only thirteen Pecheneg tribes. No doubt, there were many more, which escaped the attention of the Byzantine authors, because of not getting involved in Balkan affairs.

The number of Oghuz / Uzes tribes also varied in time. During the second half of the eleventh century, Mahmud al-Kashghari knew 22 groups: Qiniq, Qayigh, Ba'yundur, Iwa, Salghur, Afshar, Baktily, Bukduz, Baya't, Yazghir, Aymur, Qr'bulk (Qara bölük), 'Lqa'buluk (Alqa bölük), Ikdiar, Urakir, Tuvtirq, Uvla'yundlugh, Tuvkar, Bajanak, Juvuldar, Jabny and Jaruqlugh.[416] In addition, two other branches, made up of the Khalaj, had long separated from the Oghuz confederacy. Mahmud al-Kashghari's information is partly confirmed by Rashid al-Din, who listed 24 Oghuz tribes at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[417] Of these, 21 had names similar to those mentioned above. The Persian scholar (a Jewish convert to Islam) in all probability wrote on the basis of sources dating back to Mahmud al-Kashghari's time.

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[414] G. Csebe, "Turco-byzantinische Miszellen," *Körosi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921), no. 3, p. 216; A. Decei, "Românii din veacul al IX-lea pînă în al XIII-lea în lumina izvoarelor armeneşti," in idem, *Relaţii româno-orientale*, ed. M. Popa (Bucharest, 1978), p. 64; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, p. 35 with note 83; Pritsak, "Pečenegs" (see above, n. 15), pp. 13–14.

[415] Skylitzes, pp. 455–456; Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, trans. B. Flusin, red. J.-C. Cheynet (Paris, 2003), pp. 377–378; Kedrenos, II, pp. 581 and 583; Ioannis Zonarae *Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, III, *Libri XIII–XVIII*, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), pp. 641–642.

[416] Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī (see above, n. 17), I, pp. 101–102. See also M. Th. Houtsma, "Die Ghuzenstämme," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 2 (1888), pp. 221–226; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, III (Leiden, 1962), pp. 109–111.

[417] Rashid-ad-din, *Сборник*, I, 1 (see above, n. 173), p. 83; Rachid-Eddin, "Extraits de l'Histoire des Mongols" (see above, n. 148), pp. 519–520; Jahn, *Die Geschichte* (see above, n. 173), p. 46; Rashiduddin Fazlullah (see above, n. 148), I, p. 25.

During the first half of the twelfth century, almost a century after the group led by Seljuk had separated from the Oghuz confederacy, al-Marvazi knew of only twelve Oghuz tribes.[418]

The information about the number of the Cuman tribes is contradictory, with the most trustworthy testimony being written in the 1300s. Shams al-Din Dimashqi lists eight main Qipchaq tribes—Bärgü, Toqsapa, Itapa, Barat, Il-äris, Burğ-oglu, Mingür-oglu, Jimak—to which he adds six smaller ones: Tog-Jašqut, Qumangü, Buzangi, Bäčänä, Qara böklü and Uzu čartan.[419] In his encyclopaedia, an-Nuwairi lists eleven Turkic tribes from the "Northern countries" (the Golden Horde), most likely on the basis of the information obtained from Rukn al-Din Baibars: Toksoba, Ieta, Burdžogly, Burly, Kangogly (or Kangarogly), Andžogly, Durut, Karabarogly, Džuznan, Karabirkli and Kotian.[420] Ibn Khaldun has the same tribal names, with slight differences of spelling.[421] However, these lists can hardly be accurate or complete. For example, during the pre-Mongol period, the Qara böklü (more precisely the Qara börklü) or Karabirkli, that is the Black Caps (*черные клобуки*) of the Rus' chronicles were subjects of the Kievan princes, and as such they fought against other Cumans. Moreover, it appears that the lists are based on information pertaining to the mid-thirteenth-century situation, given that they list the Kotian tribe (so called after the Kotian Khan) as under the Golden Horde rule.

Judging from the map and the accompanying text written of Idrisi's geography written in 1154, as well as from several Hungarian and Italian chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it appears that both the White and the Black Cumania were north of the Black Sea.[422] Beyond that, the descriptions are too imprecise to allow for

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[418] Marvazi (see above, n. 21), p. 29; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 241.

[419] Marquart, "Über das Volkstum" (see above, n. 19), p. 157. See also P. B. Golden, "Cumanica IV: The tribes of the Cuman-Qipčaqs," *AEMA* 9 (1995–1997), pp. 109–113, 115–116, 118–119, and 121.

[420] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 541. In the recently re-evaluated text of Rukn al-Din Baibars, the 11 tribes appear as follows: Tuqsubā, Ītubā, Burj-ūghlī, Albarlī / al-Barlī, Qanghar-ūghlī, Ūnajughlī, Dūrut, Qul-ābā-ūghlī, Jurtān, Qarā Burklī and Kutan. See D. Korobeinikov, "A broken mirror: the Kipçak world in the thirteenth century," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta (Leiden–Boston, 2008), pp. 402–403.

[421] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 541; C. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, I (Amsterdam, 1852), p. 339.

[422] Édrisi, *Géographie*, ed. A. Jaubert, II (*Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, 6) (Paris, 1840), pp. 400–401; J. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, I (Breslau, 1852), pp. LVII, 92–106, 192–199; Konovalova [ed. and trans.], *Ал-Идриси*, pp. 118, 119, 121, and 219–221;

more detail. Some believe that the two names refer to two separate tribal confederacies living on the right and left bank of the Dnieper, respectively.[423]

The examination of the Rus' chronicles produces yet another classification of the twelfth-century Cuman tribes. The chroniclers knew of several distinct groups living in the steppe lands along the bend of the Black Sea (*lukomorskie / лукоморские*) and on the Danube, on the Dnieper, in Orel, near the Sea of Azov, on the Donets and on the Don.[424] Several other groups are mentioned: on the Volga, north of the Caucasian Mountains, and in Crimea.[425] According to other opinions, the Cumans were divided into five autonomous groups, situated in central Asia, between the Ural and the Volga, between the Volga and the Dnieper (with power centres on the Don and the Donets), on the right of the Lower Dnieper, and on the Lower Danube.[426] More recently, the idea of eleven Cuman groups has been put forward. They were located on the Volga, the Don, the Donets, on the left bank of the Dnieper, the Dnieper meadows, around the Sea of Azov, Crimea, right bank of the Dnieper, Kiev-Korsun, the Bug, *lukomorskie*, and the Danube.[427]

Any attempt to establish a precise number of Cuman tribal confederacies will stumble upon the problem of instability and continuous merging and splitting according to the changing political and military circumstances. Sometimes the Cumans of the Bugeac and the Bărăgan enjoyed autonomy, while at other times they were under the rule of the tribal confederacies in the Dnieper region. Their loss of autonomy seems to date back to the period during which the nomads gathered

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Simon de Keza, pp. 146, 148, and 165; *CPict*, pp. 6–7 and 119–120; Andreae Danduli *Chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46–1280 d.C.*, ed. E. Pastorello, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, NE, XII (Bologna, 1938), p. 53.

[423] B. A. Rybakov, "Русские земли по карте Идриси 1154 года," *KS* 43 (1952), pp. 36 and 42–44; S. A. Pletneva, *Половецкие каменные изваяние* (*ASAI*, E 4–2) (Moscow, 1974), p. 23; Fedorov, Fedorov, *Ранные тюрки* (see above, n. 294), p. 235; I. O. Kniaz'kii, *Русь и степь* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 47–53; I. G. Konovalova, *Восточная Европа с сочинении ал-Идриси* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 179–189.

[424] Kudriashov, *Половецкая степь* (see above, n. 198), pp. 130–138.

[425] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 147–150; Pletneva, *Половецкие каменные изваяние*, pp. 18–19; A. Pálóczi-Horváth, "A kunok megtelepedése Magyarországon," *Archaeologiai értesitő* 101 (1974), no. 2, p. 248; idem, *Hagyományok, kapcsolatok és hatások a kunok régészeti kultúrájában* (Karcag, 1994), pp. 35–41.

[426] D. Rassovsky, "Половцы, III, Пределы 'Поля Половецкаго'," *SK* 10 (1938), pp. 166–175.

[427] Pritsak, "Polovcians" (see above, n. 16), pp. 342–368.

their forces on the Lower Danube in preparation for raids into the Balkans.

On the basis of the classification of stone statues—which were found primarily in the region between the Ingulets and the Volga rivers—, as well as due to an uncritical use of information culled from chronicles, some authors believed that the Cumans lived only between the Ingulets and the Volga. According to those authors, nomads in the steppe lands north of the Danube were in fact Pechenegs and Uzes subject to the Cumans.[428] That groups of Pecheneg and Uzes remained behind under Cuman rule cannot be denied. However, there is no reason to believe that the Cumans would have stopped at the Ingulets. In fact, all available information, both from chronicles (including Rus' ones) and from archaeological excavations proves the contrary.

The evidence strongly suggests that no political unity existed in the lands inhabited by Pechenegs, Uzes and Cumans. Wilhelm Barthold (V. V. Bartol'd) once wrote that "under normal circumstances, no nomadic people strives for political unity," because of customary law and its resulting application for the settlement of disputes among individuals, clans, and tribes.[429] Barthold's remark obviously applies to all nomadic population and not tribal elites, whose interests converged towards the organization of centralized states in order to control the intensification of social conflicts among various classes, or to oppose any threats from the outside. There is some evidence that it was not only the Huns and the Mongols who dreamt of world domination, but the late Turkic populations as well, particularly the Cumans and the Uzes, as can be seen in the *Oghuznâme*.[430]

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[428] Pletneva, *Половецкие каменные изваяние*, pp. 275–276; eadem, "Половецкая земля," in *Древнерусские княжества X–XIII вв.*, eds. L. G. Beskrovnyi (gen. ed.), V. A. Kuchkin, V. T. Pashuto (Moscow, 1975), pp. 275–276; eadem, *Кочевники южнорусских степей в эпоху средневековья IV–XIII века. Усобное пособие* (Voronezh, 2003), pp. 175–176.

[429] W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1945), p. 8. See also P. B. Golden, "The Qipčaqs of medieval Eurasia: an example of stateless adaptation in the steppes," in *Rulers from the Steppe. State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, eds. G. Seaman and D. Marks (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 138–139.

[430] O. Turan, "The ideal of world domination among the medieval Turks," *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955), pp. 77–90; P. B. Golden, "Imperial ideology and the sources of political unity amongst the pre-Ginggisid nomads of Western Eurasia," *AEMA* 2 (1982), pp. 37–76; S. Koca, "The state tradition and organization among ancient Turks," in *The Turks*, 1, *Early Ages* (see above, n. 412), pp. 698–701.

Each tribe had a specific grazing area with well-established routes of seasonal migration, and collective sharing of lands. If during peacetime the centrifugal tendencies of the tribes or regional tribal unions were obvious, when external dangers appeared, elements of these political organizations merged. The greatest threats to any nomadic community did not come from sedentary societies, but from other nomads coveting their flocks and pastures. That is why the association and the solidarity of the main groups of Pechenegs was shown when the Uzes arrived; those of the Uzes when the Cumans arrived; and those of the Cumans at the same of the Mongol invasion.

The growth in power of the Rus' principalities encouraged attempts at political consolidation by several Cuman tribes, especially the confederacies led by Boniak and Tugorkan west of the Dnieper, that of by Sharukan east of river, and later on that led by Konchak, which was the closest to a state formation. Because of their leaders' personalities, their energy and appetite for war, such tribal confederacies were weak and short-lived. The lack of political centralization in Desht-i Qipchaq is obvious in Pethachia's estimation, according to which the Cumans did not have a "king", but only "princes and noble families."[431] Sometimes, great expeditions, such as those against Byzantium organized by the Uzes in 1064–1065, or by the Pechenegs in 1122–1123, were not led by a single leader but by several, and they did not always act in concert.

Intra-tribal strife seems to have virulent and did not decrease even at times of great threats from the outside. The confrontation between Tyrach and Kegen during the Uzes attack is significant in that respect. The same is true about the less known conflict between the Cuman tribes Durut and Toksoba, the leaders of which, following the battle of Kalka, called for Mongol military arbitration between them in an astounding show of political myopia.[432] Such dissension prevented the Turkic tribal unions from reaching the level of state organization, achieving the political unity of all the nomads, maintaining the authority of the khans, and developing an efficient administrative and fiscal system.

The high official tribal titles became the attribute of aristocratic families and precise rules concerning succession were issued. With the Pechenegs, the position of chief was hereditary, but was passed not to

[431] Péthachia (see above, n. 271), p. 10.
[432] Tiesenhausen, I, pp. 541 (an-Nuwairi), 542 (Ibn Khaldun).

sons or brothers, but to cousins and their sons.[433] When the Cumans settled in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, the position of khan was hereditary, but it was transmitted not from the father to the son, but to the brother or the nephew. Therefore, after the death of Sharukan the Elder, who was the oldest in his family, power passed onto his brother Sugr, then to Sugr's nephew and Sharukhan's son, Syrchan, who in turn passed the title of khan to his brother, Atrak (Otrok).[434] In the early thirteenth century, along with other social changes, the hereditary rules changed too and the son could inherit power directly from his father, as with Iurii Konchakovich, Konchak's son and follower.[435]

The council of elders, which was made up of representatives of the tribal aristocracy, checked the power of the khan. Decisions concerning the most important problems of tribal communal life were made by that body. When several tribes gathered for common incursions, their chiefs made decisions together and chose a single leader. This was the case with the expedition against the Byzantine town Walandar reported by Mas'udi as having taken place in a.H. 320 (= January 13 to December 31, 932),[436] which most likely took place however in 934.[437] When the khan disregarded the interests of the tribe, the tribe sometimes disregarded his commands. For example, in 1103, the majority of the Cumans disagreed with the passivity of khan Urusoba towards the Rus', and appointed Altunopa chief of the tribal union. Urusoba still had to take part in the disastruous campaign against the Rus'.[438] Most Pechenegs also opposed their chiefs' decisions to kill the prison-

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[433] *DAI*, I, pp. 166–167. According to Aboulféda's (see above, n. 25) (II, 1, p. 293) statement, the rank of khan was hereditary with the Pechenegs.

[434] Fedorov, Fedorov, *Ранные тюрки* (see above, n. 294), pp. 236–239.

[435] According to Akhinzhanov (*Кипчаки* [see above, n. 179], p. 139) the hereditary succession to power in Sharukan's family had been etablished before Konchak, the succession being Osen-Sharukan-Konchak-Iurii.

[436] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies* (see above, n. 33), II, pp. 61–62; idem, *Le Livre* (see above, n. 162), pp. 244–245; Al-Mas'ûdî (see above, n. 33), p. 103.

[437] Theophanes continuatus, *Chronographia*, in Theophanes continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus, ed. Im. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), pp. 422–423; Symeonis Magistri *Annales*, in ibidem, p. 746; Georgii Monachi *Vitae imperatorum recentiorum*, in ibidem, pp. 913–914; Skylitzes, p. 228. See also P. T. Antonopoulos, "Byzantium, the Magyar raids and their consequences," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), no. 2, pp. 258–259.

[438] *PVL*, I, p. 184; *Nïk.let.*, I, pp. 138–139. See also Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 195; eadem, "Половецкая земля" (see above, n. 428), p. 274; P. B. Golden, "Cumanica III: Urusoba," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*, III, *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, June 19–25, 1987*, ed. D. Sinor (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), pp. 33–35.

ers captured in battle against Byzantium, for they hoped they would obtain a good ransom for each one of them.[439]

Besides freemen, there were slaves in the Turkic society, but their number was small and their economic role unimportant. The slaves were actually prisoners captured during raids against the neighbouring peoples. Such prisoners were an important source of income, to the extant that they could be ransomed,[440] or sold into slavey in Sudak[441] or on other markets in Crimea or on the Volga. Some were kept as domestic servants. That in 1103, the princes of Kiev took a great number of slaves from the Cuman camps they had raided shows that there were slaves among the Cumans.[442] The Turkic populations may have compelled stronger prisoners to accompany them on their expeditions, as the Hungarians were known to do.[443]

When large territories were occupied, vassalage relations were established between the conquerors and the conquered. As the attacked tribes ran away to other regions, the conquereing nomads demanded their return, as people were needed within the newly conquered territory. In a similar way, Cumans chose to attack the Rus' simply because they had refused to expel the Torki (= Uzes) and the Pechenegs.[444] One of the main accusations targeted at the Hungarian king by the Mongols, in order to offer a pretext for war—*casus belli*—was that he had offered shelter to Cuman refugees, whom the Mongols regarded as their "servants" (*servi*).[445]

Relationships of a different nature were established between the nomads and their neighbours with limited military power. More often than not, a tribute payment was imposed on those populations. Even the Byzantines paid annual stipends to the Turkic populations, in order to buy the peace. There is also evidence of Cumans forcing towns and fortresses in Crimea to pay tribute.[446] Before the arrival of the later

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[439] Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, p. 103.

[440] Psellos, II, p. 127; Skylitzes, p. 375; Kedrenos, II, p. 486.

[441] Tiesenhausen, I, p. 26 (Ibn el Asyr); *Extrait* d'Ibn-Alathir, in [Ch. F.] Defrémery, "Fragments de géographes" (see above, n. 360), p. 80.

[442] *PVL*, I, p. 185.

[443] Simon de Keza, p. 192.

[444] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 229–230.

[445] H. Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1956), no. 1, p. 176 (Iulianus).

[446] Rubruck, p. 171. See also A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 136–139.

Turkic populations, the Khazars had forced several eastern Slavic tribes into paying tribute.[447] Later, the Mongols established an improved system of collecting periodical taxes, employing specialised officials and conducting the census of the subject population.[448]

The needcessity to protect the flocks against raids from other tribes, as well as the nomadic lifestyle in general may explain the existence of special military rules among the Turkic populations. Nomads rarely dismounted, especially when watching over their herds. Acquiring riding skills at an early age was therefore a key requirement. Nomadic armies consisted of horsemen, with no pedestrians. Sparingly equipped, but with several horses in tow, troops of nomads were highly mobile and capable of covering long distances in a relatively short time, which enabled them to take their enemies by surprise and to withdraw without serious losses in case of failure. Noticing that the plunder incursions could be great sources of wealth, the Turkic nomads raided periodically the territories of their sedentary neighbors. Simon of Keza showed a deep understanding of nomadic life when estimating that the sources of income for both Hungarians and Cumans were stockbreeding and raids.[449] Contemporary sources show how regular and devastating such raids could be.

Michael Psellos' idea that the Pechenegs fought chaotically, without any knowledge of military art,[450] is obviously unsubstantiated. Actually, such a remark shows Psellos' inability to understand a different warfare style. The Turkic populations, as well as the Mongols and some Iranian tribes, employed a decimal organization of their armies, that is to say military units consisted of 10, 100, 1,000 or 10,000 people.[451] The decimal system was maintained in the army of the Crimean Tatars until the second half of the second millennium.[452] When enemy forces

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[447] *PVL*, I, pp. 16, 18, and 20.

[448] H. F. Schurmann, "Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), pp. 304–389; Ch. J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 33–39, 77–79, and 84–85; D. Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols. Cross-cultural influences on the steppe frontier, 1304–1589* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 36–45.

[449] Simon de Keza, p. 192.

[450] Psellos, II, p. 125.

[451] Vernadsky, "The Eurasian nomads" (see above, n. 65), p. 407 ff.; H. Göckenjan, "Zur Stammesstruktur und Heeresorganisation altaischer Völker," in *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 51–86.

[452] L. J. D. Collins, "The military organization and tactics of the Crimean Tatars, 16th–17th centuries," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds. V. J. Parry

prevailed, the nomads pretended to withdraw, so that the enemies break formation and disband their troops. The nomads carried out long expeditions on carts, also used as camps, as already shown. They were less skilled in attacking fortresses, and they preferred to lay siege to them until the people inside either died of starvation or surrendered. However, the nomads sometimes initiated daring attacks, such as the Cuman raid on Kiev in 1096,[453] or that against Adrianople in 1050, when the Pechenegs filled the trenches of the fortress with stones and branches.[454] The nomads failed before the walls of the famous city of Thrace, but they succeeded when attacking the timber forts of the Tivertsians between the Răut and the Dniester rivers.

The nomads avoided battles in narrow places unsuitable for their light cavalry charges. Referring to the Tatars, who generally had the same manner of fighting as the Turkic populations, some late sources estimated that they "do not love narrow places and mountains and fire arms,"[455] and that they were afraid of crossing forests.[456]

The most typical weapon for the nomads was the bow with arrows, and contemporary sources insist on the nomads being excellent archers.[457] In fact, most narrative sources mention that the only weapons that Turkic horsemen employed were arrows. By contrast, spears, sabres and axes are rarely mentioned.[458] However, burial assemblages

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and M. E. Yapp (London, 1975), p. 258. See also Giles Fletcher, "Of the Russe Commonwealth," in *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom. Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers*, eds. L. E. Berry and R. O. Crummey (Madison, Milwaukee–London, 1968), p. 196.

[453] *PVL*, I, p. 151; *Nik.let.*, I, p. 125.

[454] Skylitzes, p. 470; Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs* (see above, n. 415), p. 388; Kedrenos, II, p. 601.

[455] N. Chiparissa, *Cronicul*, in *Cronicarii greci care au scris despre românі în epoca fanariotă*, ed. C. Erbiceanu (Bucharest, 1888), p. 84.

[456] *Călători*, III, p. 528 (D. Galán).

[457] Matthieu d'Édesse (see above, n. 132), p. 200; Matthew of Edessa (see above, n. 132), p. 155; Péthachia (see above, n. 271), p. 12; *FHDR*, III, pp. 340–341 (Choniates, *Cuvîntări şi scrisori*).

[458] For the Pechenegs, see *Epistola* Brunonis (see above, n. 408), p. 225; Psellos, II, pp. 125–126; Attaliates (see above, n. 130), p. 30; Anne Comnène (see above, n. 18), II, pp. 97, 99, and 101. For the Cumans, see Choniates (see above, n. 143), p. 124; Thomas Tusci *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*, ed. E. Ehrenfeuchter, in *MGH, SS*, XXII, ed. G. H. Pertz (1872), p. 526; *Chronicon Colmariense, 1218–1303*, in *Fontes rerum Germanicarum*, ed. J. F. Boehmer, II (Stuttgart, 1845), p. 86; Robert de Clari (see above, n. 226), p. 51; *Crusaders as Conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. H. E. Lurier (New York–London, 1964), p. 98; *Versione italiana inedita della cronaca di Morea*, in Ch. Hopf (ed.), *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. 420; *CPict*, pp. 56, 176.

attributed to nomadic warriors have proved to contain helmets and coats of mail.[459]

The society of the Turkic nomads was highly militarized, with all able adults being animal breeders and warriors at the same time. The transhumance of a group of pastoralists meant the movement of a group of soldiers, always ready to protect their families, flocks and wealth, and at the same time to plunder anyone who could have happened to be in their way Such an aggressive behavior was a real calamity for the neighboring sedentary communities. The dreaded and much hated military force of the Pechenegs, Uzes, and Cumans was nonetheless highly appreciated by European and Asian rulers, who often established alliances with the nomads, asking for their assistance in expeditions to Rus', Byzantium, Hungary, Georgia and the Second Bulgarian Tsardom.

Religious Life

The Romanian population living in the lands east of the Carpathian Mountains was almost entirely Christian. Both archaeological discoveries and the ecclesiastical terminology of Latin origin reveal the antiquity of Christianity in the region north of the Danubian River.[460] Various object of cult, as well as artefacts with Christian symbols, have been found on numerous sites in the Carpathian-Danube region.[461] As neither

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[459] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 22–36; A. O. Dobroliubskii, *Кочевники Северо-Западного Причерноморья в эпоху средневековья* (Kiev, 1986), pp. 23–46; V. A. Ivanov, V. A. Kriger, *Курганы кыпчакского времени на Южном Урале (XII–XIV вв.)* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 7–14 and 25–41; W. Świętosławski, *Uzbrojenie koczowników Wielkiego Stepu w czasach ekspansji mongołów (XII–XIV w.)* (Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia, 40) (Łódź, 1996), pp. 21–27; idem, *Arms and Armour of the Nomads of the Great Steppe in the Times of the Mongol Expansion (12th–14th Centuries)* (Łódź, 1999), pp. 29–39; G. N. Garustovich, V. A. Ivanov, *Огузы и печенеги в евразийских степях* (Ufa, 2001), p. 66 ff.

[460] C. C. Giurescu, D. C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, 1 (Bucharest, 1975), pp. 142–144; M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe române*, 1 (Bucharest, 1980), p. 51 ff.; P. Ş. Năsturel, "Le christianisme roumain à l'époque des invasions barbares," *BBR* 11 (15), SN (1984), pp. 217–266; E. Popescu, *Christianitas Daco-Romana* (Bucharest, 1994), *passim*; L. Trofin, *O istorie a creştinismului la nordul Dunării de Jos până în secolul al XIII-lea* (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 71–98.

[461] I. Barnea, *Arta creştină în România*, 2, *Secolele VII–XIII* (Bucharest, 1981); G. Coman, "Mărturii arheologice privind creştinismul în Moldova secolelor VI–XII," *Danubius* 5 (1971), pp. 75–83; N. Gudea, I. Ghiurco, *Din istoria creştinismului la români. Mărturii arheologice* (Oradea, 1988); Teodor, *Creştinismul* (see above, n. 339), pp. 82–98 and 160–175; E.-M. Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului dintre Carpaţi şi Dunăre. Nord-*

the Slavs nor other migratory tribes were converted to Christianity, it is natural to acknowledge that all those objects belonged to a Romanised population, the only Christians in the area.

Because of the informal character of Christianity in Dacia and the spread of vulgar Latin, some words in classical Latin were given a different meaning. Following the settlement of both Slavs and Bulgars in the northern Balkans, and the subsequent dismantling of the church organization in the area, most terms pertaining to that organization were forgotten. Only terms referring to the most important objects of cult have been preserved.[462] By contrast, following the conversion of Bulgaria in the late ninth century and the adoption by Romanians of the Slavonic liturgy, numerous terms of South Slavic origin were adopted, such as *amin* (= amen), *apostol* (= apostle), *arhanghel* (= archangel), *a se căi* (= to repent), *călugar* (= monk), *chilie* (= cell), *clopot* (= bell), *colac* (= ritual round bread), *colindă* (= Christmas carol), *colivă* (= koliva, boiled wheat with honey and nuts, which is distributed at funerals in memory of the deceased), *cristelniţă* (= baptismal font), *dascăl* (= psalm reader), *diacon* (= deacon), *diavol* (= devil), *duh* (= soul, spirit), *duhovnic* (= father confessor), *egumen* (= father superior of a monastery), *greşeală* (= mistake, blemish, sin), *heruvim* (= cherub), *iad* (= hell), *icoană* (= icon), *iconostas* (= iconostasis), *ispită* (= temptation), *liturghie* (= liturgy), *milă* (= pity), *mir* (= unction, chrism, holy oil), *a se pocăi* (= to penance), *pomană* (= alms, charity, funeral feast), *popă* (= pope, parson), *post* (= fasting), *praznic* (= funeral repast, wake), *rai* (= paradise), *Rusalii* (= Whitsuntide), *schit* (= hermitage, small and secluded convent), *serafim* (= seraph), *sfeşnic* (= candlestick), *sfânt* (= saint), *a se smeri* (= to humble oneself), *smirnă* (= myrrh), *stareţ* (= abbot, superior), *taină* (= mystery, sacraments), and *troiţă* (= roadside crucifix). Some of those words are undoubtedly of Greek origin, but they entered Romanian through South Slavic.[463] Others, such as *colindă* (= Christmas carol), *Rusalii* (Whitsuntide), and *troian* (= snow drift) were borrowed by the Slavs from the Latin-speaking population of Dacia or

estul Munteniei şi sud-vestul Moldovei în veacurile IV–XI d.Hr. (Buzău–Bucharest, 1999), pp. 116–130 and 246–260.

[462] Ivănescu, *Istoria* (see above, n. 1), pp. 92, 169–171, and 241.

[463] Ivănescu, *Istoria*, p. 421. See also Al. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române*, III, 4th ed. (Bucharest, 1962), p. 61; Z. Wittoch, "L'image de la culture chrétienne et de la mythologie des Slaves, conservée dans le lexique de la langue roumaine," in *Das heidinische und christliche Slaventum. Acta II Congressus internationalis historiae Slavicae Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis anno 1967 celebrati* (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 158–164; Mihăescu, *La romanité* (see above, n. 276), p. 331.

Moesia, and then re-adopted by speakers of Romanian, with a different meaning.[464] Lexical borrowings from other areas took place at the same time as the ones mentioned above.

The Slavic liturgy and the Christian vocabulary borrowed by speakers of Romanian from the South Slavic language are dated by most specialists to the tenth century.[465] However, there are reasons to believe that, far from being complete in the tenth century, the process was had just started at that time.[466]

The understanding of the ways in which Christianity survived within local communities of the Carpathian-Danube region in the course of the early Middle Ages is not possible without the analysis of burial assemblages dated between the fifth and the thirteenth century. The traditional interpretation maintained that during the last half of the first millennium most local communities practiced cremation, and that the number of inhumations began to increased only at the end of that millennium.[467] By that time, inhumation had been long adopted by Christian communities in the northern Mediterranean and in Western Europe. The problem, therefore, is to explain why was cremation adopted by the population living north of the Danube River. The change from cremation to inhumation took place in the ninth and tenth centuries, with both types of burial coexisting in some cemeteries. Then during the tenth and eleventh centuries, cremation or mixed cemeteries disappeared and only inhumation was practised. It is the task of future studies to refine this chronology and to explain the specific changes in burial style in comparison with similar developments in neighbouring

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[464] Ivănescu, *Istoria*, p. 384.

[465] D. Onciul, "Originile Principatelor Române," in idem, *Scrieri istorice*, I, ed. A. Sacerdoţeanu (Bucharest, 1968), pp. 588–590 with n. 24; Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, I (see above, n. 14), pp. 342–350; S. Reli, *Istoria vieţii bisericeşti a românilor*, I (Cernăuţi, 1942), p. 136; R. Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale româneşti (secolele X–XIV)* (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 125–126; M. Ruffini, *Aspetti della cultura religiosa ortodossa romena medievale (Secoli XIV–XVIII)* (Rome, 1980), pp. 8–9.

[466] K. Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewusstsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 30–31; M. Şesan, "Organizaţia bisericească veche carpatică," *Mitropolia Ardealului* 4 (1959), nos. 5–6, pp. 365–366.

[467] Fiedler, *Studien*, 1, 2 (Bonn, 1992) (see above, n. 70), *passim*; Tentiuc, *Populaţia* (see above, n. 209), pp. 153–192; A. Madgearu, *Continuitate şi discontinuitate culturală la Dunărea de Jos în secolele VII–VIII* (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 120–129; C. Luca, D. Măndescu, *Rituri şi ritualuri funerare în spaţiul extracarpatic în secolele VIII–X* (Brăila, 2001), pp. 9–88; S. Musteaţă, *Populaţia spaţiului pruto-nistrean în secolele VIII–IX* (Chişinău, 2005), pp. 89–106; L. Trofin, *Romanitate şi creştinism la Dunărea de Jos în secolele IV–VIII* (Bucharest, 2005), pp. 197–225; E. Corbu, *Sudul României în evul mediu timpuriu (secolele VIII–XI). Repere arheologice* (Brăila, 2006), pp. 46–68.

areas. The data so far available strongly suggests that such developments took place at the same time within a very large area of eastern and south-eastern Europe, after the last major successes of the Byzantine missions in those regions.

Although inhumation was generally adopted by all European and near-eastern Christian communities after the Church was granted freedom in the early fourth century, it is not altogether impossible that, in remote and isolated regions, Christianity incorporated a number of pre-Christian practices.[468] In the Carpathian-Danube area, there are many cases of cremations, which could have belonged to a Christian population. Such is the cross-shaped grave pit found in the cemetery I in Bratei (Sibiu county), dated to the fourth or fifth centuries; the urn cremation with glass phylacterion placed in a little silver box, found in Sărata Monteoru (Buzău county) (Romania); the urn cremation with an urn with a cross-shaped potter mark on the bottom from the seventh- to eighth-century cemetery II in Bratei.[469] Even more compelling is the case of a cremation urn found in Preslav, which contained a Byzantine reliquary cross. The burial was part of a small mixed cemetery on the northwestern side of the palace of the tenth-century rulers of Bulgaria, The cemetery included four inhumations mand and two cremations dated to the second half of the eleventh century. There can be no doubt that all those grave were of Christians.[470]

Isolated cremations are known from practiced in Merovingian Gaul, but it is not altogether clear if cremation was practised there by the few remaining pagans or, occasionally by (newly converted) Christians.[471] A prohibition agains the cremation of the dead was imposed on the Saxons by Charlemagne at the Paderborn council in 785,[472] an indication

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[468] V. Spinei, "Observaţii privind ritul incinerării în regiunile carpato-dunărene în a doua jumătate a mileniului I d.Hr.," in Arhimandrit Roman Braga, *Pe drumul credinţei* (River Junction, Mi., 1995), pp. 82–100; idem, "Pratiques funéraires dans l'espace carpato-danubien dans la seconde moitié du Ier millénaire ap. J.-C.," in *Aspects of Spiritual Life in South East Europe from Prehistory to the Middle Ages*, eds. V. Cojocaru and V. Spinei (Iaşi, 2004), pp. 259–301.

[469] Zaharia, *Populaţia* (see above, n. 373), pp. 32, 98–99 and figs. 14/2a = 26/7.

[470] T. Totev, "Проучвания в гробишчата на Преслав през 1963 и 1964 г.," *Известия на Народния Музей-Шумен* 5 (1972), p. 43.

[471] É. Salin, "Les survivances de l'incinération en Gaule mérovingienne," in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 636–640; idem, *La civilisation mérovingienne d'après les sépultures, les textes et le laboratoire*, II, *Les sépulture* (Paris, 1952), p. 1 ff.

[472] Ch.-J. Héfélé, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, V, trans. [O.] Delarc (Paris, 1870), p. 53.

that even after the forceful conversion to Christianity, cremation was still practised. The archaeological evidence also shows that cremation persisted for many decaded after the conversion of the Rus' to Christianity under Prince Vladimir (St Vladimir).[473] Neither the Saxon, nor the Rus' case can be relevant to the discussion of cremation in the Carpathian-Dniester region, because in both cases cremation may be interpreted as a lingering tradition of pre-Christian times.

The political troubles in the region brought a considerable delay to the organization of church structures among Romanians in the lands north of the Danube River. This explains why the Romanian clergy was for a long while under the jurisdiction of either Bulgarian or Galician bishops and metropolitans. Indeed, in Moldavia, Byzantine encolpia (Fig. 21/1) coexisted with specimens produced in Rus' (Figs. 9/12; 21/2) between the eleventh and the thirteenth century. During the rule of the Asen dynasty over the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, close contacts were maintained with with the centers of Orthodox Christianity in the Balkans, where most of the liturgical literature originated. Such contacts also existed with the Kievan and Galician churches, which provided books of Orthodox cult as well. There are signs that the Holy Scripture and various Slavonic and Greek religious writings did not only circulate, but were also transcribed or translated in the Carpathian-Danube region. Such works had a great contribution to enriching the Christian vocabulary and to the development of Christian morality.[474] The oldest and most reliable proof that a church hierarchy existed among Romanians in the region of the Carpathian Bend is the papal letter of 1234 mentioning Romanian "pseudo-bishops". As for the so-called metropolitan church of Keltzinia, which is said to have had canonical jurisdiction over the region outside the Carpathian Mountains,[475] no evidence exists that that see may be located anywhere in the Romanian lands.

After the foundation of a Bulgarian Church in *ca.* 870, its head was elevated to the rank of archbishop, subsequently proclaimed patriarch in 918. The authority of the Bulgarian Church extended over the lands

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[473] V. V. Sedov, *Восточные славяне в VI–XIII вв.* (Moscow, 1982), *passim*.

[474] N. Vornicescu, *Primele scrieri patristice în literatura noastră, sec. IV–XVI* (Craiova, 1984), pp. 98–122. See also V. V. Muntean, *Bizanţul şi românii. Cercetare comparativă privind organizarea mănăstirilor* (Iaşi, 2005), pp. 192–195.

[475] Reli, *Istoria* (see above, n. 465), pp. 172–186; M. Şesan, "Mitropolia Celţiniei şi importanţa sa," in *De la Dunăre la Mare. Mărturii istorice şi monumente de artă creştină*, 2nd ed. (Galaţi, 1979), pp. 146–148.

to the north of the Danube River. Following the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria, the patriarchate was abolished and an archbishopric created under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, with suffragan sees in which Greek was used as liturgical language along with Old Church Slavonic.[476] During the second half of the eleventh century, an episcopal see was set up in Axiopolis in the immediate vicinity of the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains.[477] The success of the Vlach and Bulgarian rebellion leading to the rise of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom naturally led to the restoration of the Bulgarian archbishopric in Tărnovo, which became patriarchate in 1235, following its temporary recognition of papal primacy. The influence of the Bulgarian church in the lands north of the Danube Delta collided with that of Kievan Rus' church, which had been organized in the aftermath of the conversion to Christianity in 988. The expansion to the west of the Kievan church was enhanced by the creation of an episcopal see of Galych in the mid-twelfth century (first mentioned in 1157).[478]

Faced with ideological pressure both from the pagan nomads and from Catholic proselytism, the church in the Carpathian-Dniester region backed the local political forces, thus contributing to the strong connection between ethnic identity and religious affiliation among Romanians.

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[476] A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 155 ff.; P. Georgiev, "L'Église bulgare à la fin de X^{e} et au début de XI^{e} siècle," in *Das Christentum in Bulgarien und auf der übrigen Balkanhalbinsel in des Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. V. Gjuzelev and R. Pillinger (Miscellanea Bulgarica, 5) (Vienna, 1987), pp. 241–246; P. Diaconu, "Despre organizarea ecleziastică a regiunii Dunării de Jos (ultima treime a secolului X—secolul XII)," *Studii teologice*, 2nd Ser., 42 (1990), no. 1, pp. 103–120; idem, "Sur l'organisation ecclésiastique dans la région du Bas-Danube (dernier tiers du X^{e} siècle–XII^{e} siècle)," in *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, II, eds. E. Popescu, O. Iliescu and T. Teoteoi (Bucharest, 1991), pp. 73–89; J. Kłoczowski, "La 'nouvelle chretienté' au XII^{e} siècle: de la Scandinavie aux Balkans," in *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, V, *Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054–1274)*, ed. A. Vauchez ([Paris,] 1993), pp. 657–663; S. Pirivatrić, "Between the East and the West. The Bulgarian Church in the time of Samuilo (cca. 971–1018). Facts and interpretations," in *Средновековна християнска Европа: Изток и Запад. Ценности, традиции, общуване / Medieval Christian Europe: East and West. Tradition, Values, Communications*, eds. V. Gjuzelev, A. Miltenova ([Sofia,] 2002), pp. 499–508.

[477] E. Popescu, "Ştiri noi despre istoria Dobrogei în secolul al XI-lea: Episcopia de Axiopolis," in *Monumente istorice şi izvoare creştine*, ed. A. Nica (Galaţi, 1987), pp. 125–147; V. Iorgulescu, *Le sud-est européen entre Byzance et Occident aux X^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles. Le cas des Roumains* (Iaşi, 2005), pp. 66–68.

[478] *Let. Voskr.*, p. 66.

According to some early medieval sources, the nomads had no religion whatsoever.[479] Such claims were of course based on the idea that only the world religions deserved to be regarded as such. Other authors preferred to call the Turkic nomads *pagan*.[480] In fact, according to such accounts, the nomads worshiped natural elements of both uranic and chthonian nature: the heavenly bodies, the earth, the waters. The most important god was Tängri, the ruler of the cosmic and terrestrial order. His name meant "god" or "sky."[481] Shamanic practices involving a complex hierarchy of spirits was also widely spread. Such practices were based on the idea that in order to protect the community and its herds, the shaman engages in battle against evil spirits. The shaman was also expected to bring luck to hunters, and to guide the dead and the living persons' souls. The shaman in fact combined the attributes of a theologian, a magician and a physician. Religious ceremonies involved worshipping holy places and the celestial bodies.[482] Michael

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[479] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 162), p. 20; Johannis Euchaitorum metropolitae *Quae in codice*, p. 144; Al-'Umari (see above, n. 167), p. 138. See also L. S. Chekin, "The godless Ishmaelites: the image of the steppe in eleventh-thirteenth-century Rus'," *Russian History* 19 (1992), nos. 1–4, pp. 9–28.

[480] Ya'kubi (see above, n. 30), p. 113; *Epistola* Brunonis (see above, n. 408), p. 224; Michel le Syrien, III (see above, n. 58), pp. 155, 207; *PVL*, I, pp. 112, 148, and 150; *Ip.let-2*, pp. 156, 217, and 220; *Nik.let.*, I, pp. 94, 125, etc.; *Постниковский, Пискаревский, Московский и Бельский летописцы*, in *PSRL*, 34, eds. V. I. Buganov, V. I. Koretskii (Moscow, 1978), p. 83 (*Пискаревский летописец*); *Устюжские и Вологодские летописи XVI–XVIII вв.*, in *PSRL*, 37 (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 29 (*Устюжская летопись, Список Мациевича*), 69 (*Устюжская летопись, Архангелогородский летописец*), 164 (*Вологодские летописи*); *Gesta principum Polonorum / The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, trans. and eds. P. W. Knoll and F. Schaer (Budapest–New York, 2003), pp. 154–155; Jacobus de Vitriaco, Tusculanus episcopus, *Sermones vulgares Tusculani episcopi*, in *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis, Altera continuatio*, II, *Tusculana*, ed. Johannes Baptista cardinalis Pitra (Tusculum, 1888), p. 405; Heinrici *Chronicon Livoniae* / Heinrichs *Livländische Chronik*, p. 186; *Appendix*, in Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto *Vitae fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert (*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, I) (Romae–Stuttgardiae, 1897), pp. 306–307 (Svipert); Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. Th. Kaeppeli (*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, XXII) (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1949), pp. 26–27; S. Tugwell, "Notes on the life of St Dominic," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 68 (1998), pp. 88–90 (Svipert), 93 (Dietrich of Apolda), 95 and 96 (Bernard Gui); Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus*, I, ed. J. H. Bridges (Oxford, 1897), p. 360; Hermanni Altahensis *Annales*, in *Fontes rerum Germanicarum*, II, p. 504; Ioannis de Vtino *Brevis narratio de regibus Hungariae*, in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. F. Toldy, I (Pesthini, 1862), p. 79.

[481] Motahhar ben Tâhir el-Maqdisî (see above, n. 185), I, ed. Cl. Huart (Paris, 1901), p. 57.

[482] Al-Bécri (see above, n. 162), p. 15; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 222 (al-Bakrī); Aboulféda (see above, n. 25), II, 1, p. 291. See also Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, pp. 205–207; B. E. Kumekov,

Psellos' claim that the Pechenegs believed that "death is the end of any existence"[483] is contradicted both by narrative sources and by the archaeological evidence, which show that Pecheneg burial customs implied a belief in the afterlife.

During the first centuries of the second millennium, the competition Christiany and Islam continued in the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas. Much like in the Near East and in the Iberian Peninsula at that same time, Christianity was on the offensive, and that not only because of the political crisis in the Caliphate, but also because of Rus', Hungarian, and Byzantine missions. If one belives al-Bakri on such matters, then it would seem that all Pechenegs had converted to Islam.[484] In fact, much like other nomads in the east-European steppe lands, the Pechenegs were not very receptive to outside religious influences, a fact confirmed by the continuation of their burial customs well after the rise of the Golden Horde. A stronger influence on the Turkic nomads could be exercised by outside religious systems only when they were hired as a military force of auxiliary troops, when taking refuge in other countries, or for specific political reasons. The thirty people or so, whom Bishop Bruno is said to have converted during five months of preaching the word of God among the Pechenegs bespeaks the indifference of the nomads towards Christianity.[485] On the other hand, it appears that Cumans were much more willing to adopt the form of Christianity expanding from the kingdom of Hungary into the lands outside the Carpathian Mountains. A special bishopric was created for

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Государство кимаков IX–XI вв. по арабским источникам (Alma–Ata, 1972), pp. 109–113; E. Tryjarski, "Pieczyngowie" (see above, n. 275), pp. 583–593; idem, "Les religions des Petchénègues," in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques* (Paris, 1972), pp. 139–148; *Shamanism in Siberia*, eds. V. Dioszegi and M. Hoppál (Budapest, 1978); N. A. Alekseev, *Ранные формы религии тюркоязычных народов Сибирии* (Novosibirsk, 1980); M. Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, 3, *From Muhammad to the Age of Reforms*, trans. A. Hiltebeitel and D. Apostolos-Cappadona (Chicago–London, 1985), pp. 1–22; *Shamanism in Eurasia*, ed. M. Hoppál, I, II (Göttingen, 1984); J.-P. Roux, *La religion des Turcs et des Mongols* (Paris, 1984); idem, "La religion des peuples de la steppe," in *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari* (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXXV), II (Spoleto, 1988), pp. 513–532; H. Güngör, "The religion of ancient Turks," in *The Turks*, 1, *Early Ages* (see above, n. 412), pp. 777–783; Spinei, *Great Migrations*, I, pp. 154–161, 249–256; II, pp. 350–362; V. Veit, "Schamanismus in der Zeit Čingis Chaans," in *Чингис Хаан хийгээд тууний өв. Монголчуудын дэлхийн их гурэн / Čingis Chaan und seine Erbe. Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, ed. U. B. Barkmann (Ulaanbaatar, 2007), pp. 329–341.

[483] Psellos, II, p. 126.

[484] Al-Bécri, p. 15; *Orient.Ber.*, pp. 222–223.

[485] *Epistola* Brunonis, pp. 223–228.

them in that region with the support of both Hungary and the Holy See. Numerous Cumans in the service of the rulers of Georgia are also known to have converted in the course of the twelfth century to Christianity.[486] Pockets of Cuman Christianity, to which they had been converted by the Rus', the Byzantines, the Hungarians, or the Georgians, survived in the Eurasian steppes long after the Mongol conquest.[487]

Turkic religious beliefs included many various cosmological accounts of the creation of the world, the birth and division of tribes, or the directions of expansion. The myths about Oghuz Khan, the hero who gave his name to the Oghuz, were widely known. Oghuz Khan and his army were believed to have been guided in their expeditions by a miraculous wolf.[488] This story appears in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, but Oghuz Khan is replace with the Seljuq Turks and the wolf with an animal resembling a dog.[489] Both accounts appear to be variation of a widely spread myth about animals of divine origin guiding human groups to their own homelands or heroic exploits. Variations of that myth were known among Huns, Hungarians, Romanians, and Lithuanians.[490]

Little is known about the religious practices of the Turkic nomads, except what archaeology has revealed in terms of burial customs. The deceased were often buried in pre-existing barrows, sometimes on river promontories. Newly built barrows appear to have been a privilege of the tribal chiefs. Alberic (Aubry) de Trois Fontaines gives a description of the funeral of a Turkic leader, Ionas, a Cuman "king" who had been an ally of the Latin Empire and who died in 1241 in Constan-

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[486] *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX siècle*, I, trans. [M. F.] Brousset (St. Petersburg, 1849), p. 363 (Wakhtang); *Life of David, King of Kings*, in *The Georgian Chronicle. The Period of Giorgi Lasha*, ed. S. Qaukhchishvili, trans. K. Vivian (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 20; *The History of David, King of Kings*, in *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, ed. R. W. Thomson (Oxford, 1996), pp. 327–328.

[487] Rubruck, p. 217; Tiesenhausen, pp. 279 and 306; Ibn Batoutah, II (see above, n. 48), p. 357. See also I. Vásáry, "Orthodox Christian Qumans and Tatars of the Crimea in the 13th–14th centuries," *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1988), pp. 260–271 (reprint in idem, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries* [Variorum Collected Studies Series] [Aldershot–Burlington, 2007], no. XVI); P. B. Golden, "Religion among the Qipčaqs of Medieval Eurasia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42 (1998), no. 2, pp. 180–237.

[488] R. Nour, *Oughouz-namé* (Alexandria, 1928), pp. 52–53.

[489] Michel le Syrien, III (see above, n. 58), p. 153.

[490] M. Eliade, *De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan* (Paris, 1970), pp. 135–138; G. Györffy, "Erfundene Stammesgründer," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.–19. September 1986*, I (= *MGH, Schriften*, 33, 1) (Hannover, 1988), pp. 443–446.

tinople. The ceremony included the killing of eight Cuman warriors, who—the chronicler claimed—sacrificed themselves voluntarily, as well as the slaughter of 26 horses. A large barrow was then erected on top of the grave.[491] Another description of the funeral of a Cuman chief appears in Joinville's chronicle. The Cuman leader is said to have been placed on a throne inside a large pit, and his best warrior and his favourite horse being buried alive next to him. The grave pit was then covered with planks, and then a "mountain" of stones and earth was raised on it.[492]

Human and horse sacrifices on the occasion of a leader's were also known to the Mongols.[493] In fact, the practice is already attested by Herodotus for the Scythians, and his description matches much later accounts pertaining to the medieval nomads.[494] William of Rubruck also confirms that barrows were erected on top of Cuman graves. Kumys and meat were ritually deposited in the grave pit, while parts of the horse gear were hung on poles.[495] The custom of severing the head and the legs of a sacrificed horse and depositing them together with the harness in the grave pit was widely spread among nomads of central Asia up to the 1800s.[496] The same Franciscan emissary also noted that the belonging of the dead were placed in the grave pit as well, and that huts for the guards were built next to the tombs of the rich. Despite the threat of harsh penalties, tombs were frequently robbed.

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[491] *Chronica* Albrici monachii Trium Fontium, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in *MGH, SS*, XXIII, ed. G. H. Pertz (1874), p. 950.

[492] Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, in *Historiens* (see above, n. 226), p. 312; idem, *Vie de Saint Louis*, trans. and ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1998), pp. 246–247.

[493] Guiragos (see above, n. 149), p. 250; Marco Polo, *Il Milione* (see above, n. 190), p. 61. See also D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion on the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. 262–266; G. Lane, *Daily Life in Mongol Empire* (Westport, Connecticut, 2006), pp. 185–187.

[494] Herodotus, II (see above, n. 241), pp. 268–273. See also E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 87–91 and 95; F. Thordarson, "The Scythian funeral customs. Some notes on Herodotus IV, 71–75," in *Hommages et opera minora*, XII, *A Green Leaf. Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28) (Leiden, 1988), pp. 539–547; O. Gundogdyev, "On one peculiarity of funeral ceremony of Scythes and Turks," *Central Asia Cultural Values* 1 (2002), pp. 29–31.

[495] Rubruck, p. 186; Guillaume de Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'Empire mongol (1253–1255)*, trans. and eds. C. and R. Kappler (Paris, 1985), p. 104; *The Mission of Friar* William of Rubruck. *His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. P. Jackson, eds. P. Jackson and D. Morgan (London, 1990), p. 95.

[496] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 173; O. Belli, "The Turkish tradition of building kurgans in the prehistoric and Middle Ages," in *The Turks*, 1, *Early Ages* (see above, n. 412), pp. 974–986.

The destruction of many burial assemblages was mainly due to grave robbers, either Turkic nomads or their neighbours. The Flemish traveller also knew that on top of the barrow, Cumans placed anthropomorphic stone statues facing east and holding cups in their hands.[497]

Such accounts remind one of the description of Oghuz burial customs in Ibn Fadlan's travelogue. When a man died, the survivors dug a pit as large as a house, in which they laid the deceased holding in his hand a wooden cup filled with a drink, as well as his belt, bow and money. The grave pit was then and, "a kind of clay cupola" (that is, a burial mound) was built on top. Following that, the dead man's horses were killed, the number of horses sacrificed being an indication of his personal wealth. Thus, sometimes as many as 100 or 200 horses were slaughtered at funerals. Ibn Fadlan must have witnessed the funeral of a very wealthy man, for the poor received a very different treatment in death. Those dying in battle were treated as heroes. Wooden statues were erected on their tombs, in keeping with the number of the people they had killed.[498] Chinese sources mention a different practice among Turkic populations of central Asia: next to a warrior's tomb, several statues would be erected, representing the slaughtered enemies,[499] probably because under the assumption that the victims would be the warrior's servants in the other world. This account contradicts Nizami's report, according to which the Qipchaq knelt before the statues,[500] as a sign of respect due to brave ancestors, not to former enemies.

The archaeological evidence confirms in detail the the information from the narrative sources. Stone statues erected as as funerary steles are known for many Turkic populations of the Eurasian steppe lands.[501]

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[497] Rubruck, p. 186.

[498] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 162), p. 27; R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, "Notes on the Risala of Ibn-Fadlan," *Byzantina Metabyzantina* 1 (1949), no. 2, pp. 17–18; M. Canard, "La relation du voyage d'Ibn Fadlân chez les Bulgares de la Volga," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger, 16 (1958), pp. 75–76.

[499] Barthold, *Histoire* (see above, n. 429), p. 14; V. D. Kubarev and D. Tseveendorj, "Ancient Turkic memorials in the Altai," *Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia* 1 (9) (2002), pp. 87–88.

[500] Nizami, *Пять поэм. Перевод с Фарси* (Moscow, 1968), p. 657. See also Kumekov, *Государство*, pp. 111–112; G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Искусство кочевников и Золотой Орды* (Moscow, 1976), p. 92.

[501] L. A. Evtiukhova, "Каменные изваяния Южной Сибири и Монголии," *MIA*, 24 (Moscow, 1952), pp. 71–120; L. R. Kyzlasov, "О назначении древнетюркских каменных изваяний, изображающих людей," *SA* (1964), no. 2, pp. 27–39; I. A. Sher, *Каменные изваяния Семиречья* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1966); A. A. Charikov, "Новая серия каменных статуй на Семиречья," in *Средневековые древности евразийских*

The study of the Turkic sculptures in Siberia, along with observations of barrows of southern Ukraine, have established that stone statues were actually not placed on tombs, but next to them, occasionally on older barrows, which may have functioned as altars. Recent excavations have revealed four types of such earth and stone altars, which have been classified in accordance with their construction.[502] Investigations undertaken in the basin of the Lower Don during the last few decades have identified several cases in which anthropomorphic representations placed in altars were carved not in stone, but in wood.[503] The number of wooden statues may actually have been much greater than what is presently known, but, as they were made of perishable material, they did not survive.

Burial Assemblages

The burial assemblages so far discovered, which can be attributed to the Romanian population, consist of a few cemeteries and a number of isolated graves, a clear indication of insufficient research.

As already mentioned, cremation was favored throughout the early Middle Ages, up to the tenth century, when it was gradually replaced by inhumation. The transition from cremation to inhumation is best

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степей, ed. S. A. Pletneva (Moscow, 1980), pp. 113–136; *Степи Евразии в эпоху средневековья*, ed. S. A. Pletneva (Moscow, 1981), *passim*; E. Tryjarski, *Bestattungssitten türkischer Völker auf dem Hintergrund ihrer Glaubenvorstellungen*, trans. C.-S. v. Schwerin (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 294–305; Kubarev and Tseveendorj, "Ancient Turkic memorials," pp. 76–95; O. Belli, "Stone statues and balbals in the Turkic world," *Tüba-Ar* 6 (2003), pp. 85–116; idem, *Kirgizistan'da taş balbal ve insan biçimli heykeller / Stone balbals and statues in human form in Kirghizistan* (Istanbul, 2003), pp. 51–103 and 124–135; L. N. Ermolenko, *Средневековые каменные изваяния Казахстанских степей (типология, семантика в аспекте военной идеологии и традиционного мировоззрения)* (Novosibirsk, 2004), pp. 5–47; F. Bosi, "Sulla statuaria antropomorfa nell'Eurasia Settentrionale. Dalle «Pietre dei cervi» ai *balbal*," *Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia* 13 (2005), pp. 89–101.

[502] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 207; M. L. Shvetsov, "Половецкие святилища," *SA* (1979), no. 1, pp. 199–209; A. M. Dosymbaeva, "Мемориальные памятники тюрков жетысу по материалам святилища Мерке," *Хабарлары известия. Серия Общественных наук* 1 (224) (2000), pp. 64–83; E. I. Narozhnyi, "О половецких изваяниях и святилищах XIII–XIV вв. Северного Кавказа и Дона," in *Степи Европы в эпоху средневековья*, 3, *Половецко-золотоордынское время*, gen. ed. A. V. Evglevskii (Donetsk, 2003), pp. 245–274.

[503] S. V. Gurkin, "Святилища половецкого времени с деревянными изваяниями из раскопок Волго-Донской археологической экспедиции ЛОИА АН СССР," *Донская археология* 1 (1998), pp. 29–37.

illustrated by the tenth- to eleventh-century, biritual cemetery excavated in Brăneşti (Orhei county) (Republic of Moldova). Of all 98 graves found there, there were 95 inhumations and only three cremations. The latter produced only small amounts of cremated remains placed in hand- (grave 80) or wheel-made (graves 79 and 81) urns buried at no more than 0.35 meters below the present-day ground surface. Only grave 81 produced grave goods, namely fragments of two glass bracelets and of spindle-whorls.

All inhumations in Brăneşti had a west-east grave orientation, with slight variations to the north or to the south perhaps depending upon the position of the sun in season of the year in which burial had taken place. The human remains were deposited at 0.15 to 1.10 m below the present-day ground surface, but most graves are no deeper than 0.60 to 0.90 m. In some graves skeletons were found in supine, in others in crouched position on either the left (grave 37) or the right side (grave 17). The vast majority (76) were in supine position with arms either stretched along the body (nine cases), or bent with hands placed on the abdomen (51 cases) or the chest (16 cases). In 17 cases, the graves had been previously destroyed, which prevented any observation of the exact position of the hands. Almost half of the total number of graves (44) had grave goods, which were found more with female (23) than with male burials (7). Grave goods included knives, arrowheads, belt buckles, hooks, flint steels, iron daggers, earrings, bracelets, rings, buttons, silver, bronze and copper pendants, stone spindle whorls and stone beads, multicoloured glass beads, horn or bone knives and rings, clay spindle whorls and pottery. While dress accessories appear mainly in female, knives and pottery were found only in male graves.

Different iron (knives, arrowheads, belt buckles) and glass artifacts (beads), as well as pottery very similar to that in burial assemblages, are known as stray finds from the site.[504] The use of forensic analysis for identifying the population buried in the cemetery as Slavs must be regarded with extreme suspicion. If racial characteristics are to be given any weight at all in establishing the ethnic affiliation, it must be noted

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[504] G. B. Fedorov, "Работа Прутско-Днестровской экспедиции в 1963 г.," *KS* 113 (1968), pp. 92–93; Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 105–108; I. G. Hâncu, "К вопросу о соотношении восточно-славянской и балкано-дунайской культур лесостепной полосы Молдавии (X–XIV вв.)," in *Труды историко-краеведческого музея МССР*, II (Kishinev, 1969), pp. 108–109; G. B. Fedorov, G. F. Chebotarenko, M. S. Velikanova, *Бранештский могильник X–XI вв.* (Kishinev, 1984).

that very similar anthropological features characterize the populations of many medieval Romanian cemeteries as well. Moreover, such cemeteries produced numerous analogies for the grave goods found in Brăneşti.

Most barrows with cremation burials found in Alcedar (Şoldăneşti county)[505] and Rudi (Soroca county) (Republic of Moldova),[506] which have been attributed to an east-Slavic population, coincided in time with the Brăneşti cemetery, for they have been dated to the ninth and tenth century. The Alcedar and Rudi barrows are the only monuments of their kind so far known from the region between the Răut and the Dniester rivers.

Two other large cemeteries have been excavated and studied in Hansca (Ialoveni county) (Republic of Moldova), on two different sites, at Căprăria and at Limbari. The Căprăria cemetery produced 75 graves, 60 of them with a west-east grave orientation and skeletons in supine position. Only eight graves had crouched skeletons, while another seven had no skeletons at all. The position of the arms also varied, with 23 cases of arms stretched along the body; four of one arm along the body and the other on the pelvis; eight of both hands were placed on the pelvis; six of one hand on the chest and the other on the pelvis; and 14 cases of both hands on the chest. For five more graves, no exact position of the arms could be established. Burials with crouched skeletons had rectangular (6) or oval (2) grave pits. Rectangular pits had a west-east (5) or north-south (1) grave orientation, while oval pits had a west-east (1) or south-north orientation (1). Oval pits dug in a bell-shaped form, with a larger opening at the bottom than at the top, are also typical for burials without any skeletons. Three such burials produced instead fragments of animal bones (pig, small horned cattle), with an entire skeleton of a calf found in a fourth burial. With just one exception, burials with skeletons in supine position were no deper than 0.90 m from the present-day ground level. Some grave pits with crouched skeletons reached a depth of 1.10 m. Only grave pits with no human remans were dug deeper, between 1.20 and 1.90 m from the ground level.

The anthropological analysis of the human remains shows a high rate of infant mortality: there were 22 children and teenagers buried in

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[505] G. B. Fedorov, "Работы Прутско-Днестровской экспедиции в 1960–1961 гг.," *KS* 99 (1964), pp. 87–88; idem, "Работа Прутско-Днестровской экспедиции в 1963 г.," *KS* 113 (1968), pp. 90–91; Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, pp. 101–103.

[506] V. S. Beilekchi, in *AO 1980 G* (1981), p. 387.

Căprăria for no more than 51 of adults, a child for every two adults. Men died at an average age of 45.6, females at 35. Only 22 graves, less than a third of all excavated burials, produced grave goods: buttons, appliqués, buckles, earrings, rings, knives, flintstones, pottery (Fig. 10/9–23), all of which have been dated between the tenth and the twelfth century.[507]

It is interesting to note that most burials with crouched skeletons clustered in the northern part of the Căprăria cemetery, while burials with oval pits and those without any human remains have been found primarily in the north-eastern area. This strongly suggests the existence of a minority, separated in death from the rest of the community, perhaps on ethnic grounds. However, the fact that members of that minority were still buried within one and the same cemetery that the community as a whole used for burying the dead is an indication that, if ethnically or religiously different, the "foreigners" were still regarded as members of the community.

The Limbari cemetery produced 108 burials, of which the vast majority (99) have a west-east grave orientation. Seven burials had a north-south, and only two a south-north orientation. Much like in Căprăria, there is a great variation in the position of arms and hands in graves with skeletons in supine position. In graves with a west-east orientation skeletons were found either with arms stretched along the body, or with hands placed on the abdomen and on the chest. In burials with a north-south or south-north grave orientation, skeletons had arms stretched along the body. Sometimes (grave 24), one arm was stretched along the body, while the hand of the other was placed on the abdomen; there are also cases in which one hand was on the chest, the other on the abdomen. Burials with a west-east orientation were dug no deeper than 1.20 m below the present-day ground level, while those with a north-south or south-north orientation were found at a depth of no more thatn 0.85 m. In four graves, placed at opposite points on the fringes of the cemetery, complete or fragmentary skeletons of domestic animals—one sheep, one pig, and two horses—were found. Graves with a north-south or south-north orientation were interspersed among those with a west-east orientation, without any visible segregation. The anthropological analysis has revealed Mongoloid features for several skeletons in graves with a north-south orientation. Moreover,

[507] I. G. Hâncu, *Кэпрэрия—памятник культуры X–XII вв.* (Kishinev, 1973).

some of the skulls found in such graves show clear signs of trepanation. Of all 108 burials in the Limbari cemetery, only 26 produced grave goods. Most graves with a north-south orientation (5 out of 7) had grave goods (an axe, three knives, one flint-steel, two stirrups, two iron links, four buckles—all of iron—and several perforated animal vertebrae), but no goods have been found in graves with a south-north orientation. In graves with a west-east orientation, the most common goods found were wheel-made pots, spindle whorls, copper earrings, bronze spherical buttons, iron knives, copper-alloy and iron buckles, and silver appliqués.

The study of the few artifacts found in Limbari indicates that the cemetery must have operated between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.[508] However, burials with a north-south grave orientation appear to be later than the other burials, perhaps indicating a second phase of occupation on the site. At any rate, the differences in ritual and grave goods noted for the two cemeteries excavated in Hansca point to groups of foreigners living side by side with the native population.

Besides large cemeteries, small groups of several graves have been found in Calfa (Anenii Noi county) (6 graves),[509] Lucăşeuca (Orhei county) (3 graves),[510] Moleşti (Ialoveni county) (8 graves),[511] all in the Republic of Moldova, as well as in Arsura (Vaslui county) (11 graves),[512] Pâhneşti (Vaslui county) (3 graves)[513] and Tomeşti (Iaşi county)[514] in Romania. Graves with different orientation are known from Calfa and Lucăşeuca, a detail which may signal either the presence of "foreigners" within those respective communities, or the lack of standardized inhumation practices in the aftermath of the abandonment of cremation. In Arsura and Pâhneşti, only graves with a west-east orientation

[508] Idem, *Лимбарь—средневековый могильник XII–XIV веков в Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1970); Chebotarenko, *Население* (see above, n. 100), pp. 18–22.

[509] Chebotarenko, *Калфа* (see above, n. 87), pp. 73–75.

[510] I. G. Hâncu, *Поселения XI–XIV веков в Оргеевских кодрах Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1969), pp. 12, 17, and 18.

[511] I. Tentiuc, "Aspects of funeral rite and ritual in the Prut-Dniester region—end of first millenium, beginning of second millenium (The Moleşti-Ialoveni necropolis)," in *Aspects of Spiritual Life*, pp. 323–327; idem, "Despre ritul şi ritualul funerar medieval timpuriu din spaţiul pruto-nistrian (Necropola de la Moleşti-Ialoveni)," *Tyragetia*, SN, 1 (16) (2007), no. 1, pp. 335–342.

[512] D. Gh. Teodor, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea culturii Dridu pe teritoriul Moldovei," *SCIV* 19 (1968), no. 2, pp. 237–238; idem, *Teritoriul*, pp. 107–108.

[513] Spinei, "Consideraţii" (see above, n. 110), p. 175.

[514] Information Dr. Dorin Mihai.

have been found, which may be regarded as Christian burials. Burials in Arsura produced earrings, rings and buttons (Fig. 10/1–8), that in Tomeşti buttons. Some features of the medieval burial customs may have survived until recent times, as revealed by ethnographic studies.[515]

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Burial assemblages are almost the only archaeological remains pertaining to the presence of the nomads in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains. Some 2,000 burials are so far known for the entire steppe corridor between the Prut and the Volga rivers.[516] The archaeological study of Turkic burial customs plays a key role in the understanding of Turkic beliefs and spiritual life. On the other hand, burial assemblages provide key information about demography, fashions, and occupations.

Most of Turkic burial assemblages in the Carpathian-Dniester area were found in isolation, often no more than four or five graves dug into one and the same barrow. In some cases, those graves may not even be of the same date.

Up to now graves have been discovered in the following localities: Alexandrovca (8 graves) (Floreşti county) (MR = Republic of Moldova), Alexeevca-Svetlâi (8–?) (UTAG = the Gagauz Autonomous Territorial Unit) (MR), Balabanu (16) (Taraclia county) (MR), Banca (2) (Vaslui county) (R = Romania), Baştanovca (2) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U = Odessa region, Ukraine), Bădragii Vechi (9) (Edineţ county) (MR), Bălăbăneşti (4–?) (Criuleni county) (MR), Belolesie (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Bereşti (2) (Galaţi county) (R), Bârlad-"Dealul Ţuguieta," Bârlad-"Moara lui Chicoş," Bârlad-"Parc" (Vaslui county) (R), Bolgrad (3)

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[515] T. T. Burada, "Datinele poporului român la înmormîntări," in idem, *Operę*, III, *Folclor şi etnografie*, ed. V. Cosma (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 20–70; S. F. Marian, *Înmormîntarea la românі* (Bucharest, 1892); A. Lambrior, *Studii de lingvistică şi folcloristică*, ed. I. Nuţă (Iaşi, 1976), pp. 172–190; Vlăduţiu, *Etnografia* (see above, n. 160), pp. 406–414; A. Fochi, *Datini şi eresuri populare de la sfîrşitul secolului al XIX-lea. Răspunsurile la chestionarul lui Nicolae Densuşianu* (Bucharest, 1976), pp. 159–166.

[516] S. A. Pletneva, "Кочевники восточноевропейских степей в X–XIII вв.," in *Степи Евразии* (see above, n. 501), p. 217. See also A. Atavine, "Les Petchénègues et les Torks des steppes russes d'après les données de l'archéologie funéraire," in *De l'Âge du fer au haute Moyen Âge. Archéologie funéraire, princes et élites guerrières*, eds. X. Delestre, M. Kazanski, P. Périn (= *Mémoires publiés par l'Association française d'Archéologie mérovingienne* 15) (*sine loco*, 2006), p. 352 (where only 1100 "nomad" burials of nine-thirteenth centuries were recorded in European Russia).

(Bolgrad district) (O-U), Borisăuca (= Borisovka) Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Branişte (?) (Râşcani county) (MR), Brăviceni (17–?) (Orhei county) (MR), Budachi (= Primorskoe) (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi district) (O-U), Burlăneşti (3–?) (Edineţ county) (MR), Calanciac (Ismail district) (O-U), Camenca (2) (Ismail district) (O-U), Camenca-"Ocniţa" (8–?) (Ismail district) (O-U), Cazaclia (22) (UTAG) (MR), Căplani (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Căuşeni (9) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Chircăieşti (13) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Chirileni (5) (Ungheni county) (MR), Chisliţa (Ismail district) (O-U), Ciauş (Reni district) (O-U), Cimişeni (2) (Criuleni county) (MR), Ciocâlteni (15–?) (Orhei county) (MR), Cârnăţeni (4) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Cocicovatoe (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Codrul Nou (2) (Teleneşti county) (MR), Copanca (Căuşeni county) (MR), Copceac (2) (UTAG) (RM), Corjeuţi (2–?) (Briceni county) (MR), Corjova (2) (Criuleni county) (MR), Corpaci (3) (Edineţ county) (MR), Costeşti (5) (Râşcani county) (MR), Cotiujeni (3–?) (Şoldăneşti county) (MR), Cuconeştii Vechi (Edineţ county) (MR), Divizia (5) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Doina (Cahul county) (MR), Dubăsarii Vechi (Criuleni county) (MR), Etulia (4) (UTAG) (MR), Făleşti (Făleşti county) (MR), Feşteliţa (6–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Fridensfeld (= Mirnopole) (3–?) (Sărata district) (O-U), Frumuşica (Floreşti county) (MR), Galaţi-"Seromgal" (2–?) (Galaţi county) (R), Găvănoasa (9–?) (Cahul county) (MR), Gorodnoe (Gradeşca) (6) (Reni district) (O-U), Grădeşti (7–?) (Reni district) (O-U), Grădişte (Cimişlia county) (MR), Griviţa (4) (Galaţi county) (R), Griviţa (Vaslui county) (R), Grozeşti (Iaşi county) (R), Gura Bâcului (11) (Anenii Noi county) (MR), Hagimus (7) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Hajilar (10) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Hancăuţi (2) (Edineţ county) (MR), Holboca (2) (Iaşi county) (R), Holmskoe (Arciz district) (O-U), Iablona (3) (Glodeni county) (MR), Ivanovca (3) (Floreşti county) (MR), Joltâi Iar (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Kalcheva (Kal'chevo) (4) (Bolgrad district) (O-U), Lieşti (Galaţi county) (R), Liman (7–?) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Limanskoe-"Fricăţei" (4) (Reni district) (O-U), Manta (3) (Cahul county) (MR), Matca (Galaţi county) (R), Mărculeşti (Floreşti county) (MR), Medveja (Briceni county) (MR), Mereni (2–?) (Anenii Noi county) (MR), Mândreşti (Teleneşti county) (MR), Moscu (Galaţi county) (R), Nagornoe (Reni district) (O-U), Novokamenka (2) (Ismail district) (O-U), Ogorodnoe (3) (Bolgrad district) (O-U), Olăneşti (2) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Opaci (4) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Orlovca (2–?) (Reni district) (O-U), Palanca (8) (Drochia county) (MR), Pavlovca (4) (Arciz district) (O-U), Petreşti (6) (Ungheni county) (MR), Pârteştii de Jos (?) (Suceava

county) (R), Plavni (9) (Reni district) (O-U), Pogoneşti (Vaslui county) (R), Pomezani (2–?) (Chilia district) (O-U), Popeasca (2–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Primorskoe (Chilia district) (O-U), Probota (Iaşi county) (R), Purcari (5) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Răscăieţii Noi (3–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Roma (4) (Botoşani county) (R), Roşcani (3) (Anenii Noi county) (MR), Rumeanţev (7–?) (Cahul county) (MR), Săiţi (3) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Sărata (10–?) (Sărata district) (O-U), Sărăteni (2–?) (Hânceşti county) (MR), Selişte (3) (Orhei county) (MR), Sevirova (4) (Floreşti county) (MR), Slobozia (2–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Speia (2–?) (Anenii Noi county) (MR), Ştefan-Vodă (3–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Strumoc (3) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Suvorovo (Ismail district) (O-U), Svetlâi (8–?) (UTAG) (MR), Şabalat (= Sadovoe) (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi district) (O-U), Shevcenkovo (Pomazani) (Chilia district) (O-U), Talmaza (7–?) (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Taraclia (30) (Taraclia county) (RM), Teţcani (2) (Briceni county) (MR), Tochile-Răducani (2–?) (Leova county) (MR), Todireni (2) (Botoşani county) (R), Tomai (?) (UTAG) (MR), Trapovca (4) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Tudora (Ştefan-Vodă county) (MR), Tuzla (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Umbrăreşti (Galaţi county) (R), Ursoaia (8) (Căuşeni county) (MR), Vadul lui Isac (3) (Cahul county) (MR), Vasilevca (3) (Bolgrad district) (O-U), Vinogradovca-"Curci" (2) (Bolgrad district) (O-U), Vişnevoe (2) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Zârneşti (3) (Cahul county) (MR) and Zânelor, Staţia- (3) (Chilia district) (O-U). Up to 30 nomadic graves are known to have been found in the Tatarbunar district (O-U) alone, but nothin is known about the exact location of the finds.

Besides isolated graves, several barrows and mixed cemeteries in south-eastern Moldavia have been attributed to the Turkic populations: Cocicivatoe / Kochikovatoe (Vişnevoe) (44 graves) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U), Draculea (Mirnoe) (149) (Chilia district) (O-U), Hansca (9) (Ialoveni county) (MR), Mirnoe (40) (Chilia district) (O-U), Neruşai (11) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U) and Novoseliţa (8) (Tatarbunar district) (O-U).[517] Unfortunately, very little has been satisfactorily published in order to allow an assessment and a comparsion with the data from

[517] On details concerning the graves, see the bibliography in V. Spinei, *Realităţi etnice şi politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români şi turanici* (Iaşi, 1985), pp. 110–119; idem, "Populaţiile nomade turce în regiunile româneşti în secolele X–XIV: aprecieri sintetice," *Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean* 13–14 (1986–1987), pp. 126–127; idem, "Pecenegii la nordul Dunării de Jos în secolele X–XI," in *D. Prodan. Puterea modelului*, eds. N. Bocşan, N. Edroiu, L. Maior, A. Răduţiu, P. Teodor (Cluj–Napoca, 1995), pp. 34–36; Dobroliubskii, *Кочевники Северо-Западного Причерноморья* (see

isolated graves. It appears that at least some cemeteries include burial assemblages of different dates and, possibly, ethnic background. In certain cases, it is impossible to distinguish between Turkic and Bugeac Tatar burial assemblages.

The analysis of tenth- to fourteenth-century burial assemblages attributed to Turkic nomads allows for some general conclusions. Thus far 478 isolated graves have been identified in the Carpathian-Dniester area; they are scattered in 124 different localities (Fig. 4). The ethnic attributions proposed for more than half of them are acceptable, although there is no possibility of cross-examination. Most graves have been discovered by systematic excavations, and about 20 of them accidentally, without specialist supervision. Another 16 graves have been found prior to World War I, at time when the methodology of archaeological investigation was not fully developed. The recorded data from those assemblages, as well as others is incomplete and often defective; the grave goods themselves, when not destroyed or lost, have hardly been published completely. In conclusion, despite a relative large number of burial assemblages from the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains, their study is not without problems. The situation is even worse in the case of cemeteries, which makes it impossible to use the information so far available before the proper publication of what has already been excavated.

Most isolated burials in Moldavia are in barrows, with just ten known so far without burial mounds (less than 2 percent). The situation is somewhat different in the Romanian Plain, where a higher number of burials without mounds are known. Very few of the barrows in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains have actually been built by the medieval nomads (Balabanu, Ivanovca). The Turkic populations commonly used the prehistoric barrows built by bearers of the Usatovo, Yamnaia, Pit-Grave, and Sruby cultures, and by Scythians or Sarmatians. The great number of prehistoric barrows scattered in the Bugeac and along the main rivers saved the Pechenegs, Uzes and Cumans the effort to build burial mounds of their own.

Barrows in the Carpathian-Dniester region are often mentioned in medieval sources, in the works of the Moldavian chroniclers and in the accounts of foreign travellers to or through Moldavia. In 1636 a

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above, n. 459), *passim*; Garustovich, Ivanov, *Огузы* (see above, n. 459), pp. 199–209; Postică, *Civilizaţia* (see above, n. 110), pp. 140–144 and 448–460.

Polish messenger noticed that, in Moldavia, "on the hills one can see lots of mounds, which are the signs of wars waged by many peoples."[518] Noting the great number of burial mounds in the steppes between the Don and the Danube, a region across which he traveled in 1837, Anatole de Demidoff insisted upon the need to record them all.[519] Unfortunately, his appeal remained unanswered so far, for both the Romanian Plain and the steppe lands in present-day Ukraine, despite the continued scholarly interest in, and occasional recording of barrows at a microregional level. Such efforts have been made for southern Bessarabia,[520] the Tutova Hills,[521] a portion of the Bârlad valley,[522] as well as for the entire Vaslui[523] and Galaţi counties.[524] Along the Bârlad, between Vaslui and Ghidigeni (about 60 km), no less than 133 mounds have been discovered.[525] The survey of the Galaţi county produced 430 mounds.[526] Systematic excavations took place for only a few of those barrows. During World War and the last years of Russian occupation in Bessarabia, no less than 1,079 tumuli have been recorded. Their distribution is as follows: 96 in the former region (*uezd*) of Hotin, 119 in Soroca, 242 in Bălţi, 56 in Orhei, 36 in Chişinău, 138 in Bender, 257 in Akkerman and 136 in Ismail.[527] On the territory of the present-day Republic of Moldova, some 5,000 mounds have been so far recorded, many of them clustered in the steppe region.[528]

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[518] *Călători*, V, p. 116 (Solia lui Krasinski).

[519] A. de Demidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie exécuté en 1837* (Paris, 1841), pp. 467–468.

[520] G. Olofson, "Примечательнейшіе курганы Бессарабской области," *ZOO* 2 (1850), p. 550 ff.; D. Samokvasov, *Могилы Русской земли* (Moscow, 1908), pp. 20–22 and 130–132; P. Constantinescu-Iaşi, *Basarabia arheologică şi artistică* (Chişinău, 1933), pp. 13–16; Dobroliubskii, *Кочевники Северо-Западного Причерноморья*, *passim.*

[521] P. Poghirc, *Satul în Colinele Tutovei* (Bucharest, 1972), pp. 97–99.

[522] V. Varlaam, "Complexele funerare tumulare de pe cursul mijlociu al rîului Bârlad," *Carpica* 11 (1979), pp. 217–230.

[523] Coman, *Statornicie*, p. 391 and *passim.*

[524] M. Brudiu, *Lumea de sub tumulii din sudul Moldovei. De la indo-europeni la turanicii târzii* (Bucharest, 2003).

[525] Varlaam, "Complexele funerare tumulare," pp. 217 and 221–229.

[526] Brudiu, *Lumea de sub tumulii din sudul Moldovei*, pp. 11 and 93–137.

[527] I. Eberhardt, *Памятники старины и археологическія находки въ Бессарабіи* (Kishinev, 1916), pp. 5–6 and 13–25.

[528] I. Hâncu, "Movile funerare de pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova şi semnificaţia lor istorică," in *Symposia professorum. Seria Istorie. Materialele Sesiunii ştiinţifice din 4–5 mai 2001* (Universitatea Liberă Internaţională din Moldova) (Chişinău, 2001), pp. 15–16. See also idem, *Vetre strămoşeşti din Republica Moldova. Materiale arheologice informativ-didactice* (Chişinău, 2003), *passim.*

It is no accident that the largest concentration of barrows appears in the lowlands with only a few mounds known from the hilly, densely forested region. From the Greek geographer Daniel Philippide[529] and the Romanian archaeologist Grigore Tocilescu,[530] many scholars have addressed the question of why were burial mounds built in the first place. However, only recently have archaeological excavations (already recommended in 1853 by a French traveller)[531] clarified the function, chronology and origin of the burial mounds in the steppe. Besides barrows of Dacian or medieval origin, the vast majority of the burial mounds turned out to be phenomena associated with nomadic populations from the Eurasian steppes, from the Neolithic to the end of the Migration period. Unlike single-grave barrows built before and during the Great Migration, medieval mounds erected on top of graves of warriors were in fact collective burials or had only a commemorative purpose.[532]

Most grave attributed to Turkic populations are between 0.5 and 2.5 m deep. Sometimes the walls of the grave pit were completely covered in wooden planks, as if it were a burial chamber, but most of times, the grave was simply covered with wooden planks. The Turkic nomads in Lower Danube region did not practise cremation and all known graves attributed to them are in fact inhumations (Figs. 23; 26/19; 27/1; 35/1, 2, 7; 39/1; 40/1–3, 10; 41/1–3, 9, 10; 42/1–4, 12; 43; 44/1, 2, 11; 45/1, 2; 46/1, 13, 17, 21; 49/17–20). This is in direct contradiction to Abu'l-Fida's claim that the Pechenegs cremated their dead.[533] Cremation is mentioned in relation to central Asian Turkic populations by various

[529] N. Bănescu, "Viaţa şi opera lui Daniel (Dimitrie) Philippide," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională* 2 (1923), pp. 167–168.

[530] Gr. Tocilescu, *Dacia înainte de romani* (Bucharest, 1880), pp. 140–145.

[531] Boucher de Perthes, *Voyage à Constantinople*, trans. I. Conea, *AD* 4 (1923), no. 2, pp. 188–189.

[532] Gr. Ureche, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 239), p. 95; Miron Costin, *Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei* (see above, n. 249), p. 46; *Cronica Ghiculeştilor. Istoria Moldovei între anii 1695–1754*, eds. N. Camariano and A. Camariano-Cioran (Bucharest, 1965), pp. 208–211, 277, and 408–409; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte*, ed. G. Ştrempel (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 663–664; *Călători*, V, p. 154 (Solia lui W. Miaskowski); Chiparissa, *Cronicul* (see above, n. 455), p. 70. See also M. Ignat, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea movilelor funerare militare din evul mediu," *Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean* 8 (1981), pp. 101–109.

[533] Aboulféda (see above, n. 25), II, 1, p. 292.

other authors.[534] Cremations appear in medieval China as well, and were particulary favoured in the world of the steppes.[535]

Even if the vast majority of the human remains has so far not been properly analyzed, it appears that most of them are of adult inviduals. That only few graves of children are known raises the question of who exactly was entitled to a burial under a mound. About three quarters of all known graves have a west-east orientation (with slight variations to the north or to the south), the remaining graves being divided between east-west (with slight variations to the north or to the south) or north-south (with variations to the west or to the east) grave orientations. Very few graves have a south-north orientation. The deceased were buried in supine position, with arms stretched along the body, sometimes slightly folded, with hands on the pelvis. Only one case is known (Zârneşti) of a burial face down. Equally rare are double burials (Grădişte, Hagimus, and Selişte—Fig. 23/3). That a female and a male have been buried together—in the grave at Grădişte—is in itself no evidence of human sacrifice,[536] but perhaps of a concomitant death of a couple.

In about fifty percent of isolated graves attributed to the Turkic populations the human skeleton was accompanied by the severed body parts of a horse: the skull and the lower extremities of all four legs (Figs. 23/1, 4; 41/1, 10; 42/12; 44/2; 46/13; 49/17, 19, 20). There seems to be no doubt that the body parts operated as pars pro toto, the meat of the sacrificed animal being most likely consummed by participants at the funeral. Only a few graves contained complete horse skeletons (Fig. 23/2). The Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan noted that the Oghuz tribes along the Volga River, after slaughtering horses, ate their meat, and hung on poles the head, the hooves, the skin, and the tail.[537]

Most common among grave goods found in assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads are dress accessories (earrings, lock-rings, buckles, bronze bell pendants, fragments of clothes, glass beads, appliqués,

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[534] J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963), pp. 142–143; I. Ecsedy, "Ancient Turk (T'u-chüeh) burial customs," *AOH* 38 (1984), no. 3, pp. 263–287; L. Jisl, "The Orkhon Türks and problems of the archaeology of the Second Eastern Türk Kaghanate," *Annals of the Náprstek Museum Praha* 18 (1997), pp. 53–55; Tryjarski, *Bestattungssitten* (see above, n. 501), pp. 180–184.

[535] J. Jaworski, "Quelques remarques sur les coutumes funéraires turques d'après les sources chinoises," *Rocznik orjentalistyczny* 4 (1926), pp. 255–266; P. Ebrey, "Cremation in Sung China," *The American Historical Review* 95 (1990), no. 2, p. 406 ff.

[536] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 193.

[537] Ibn Fadlan (see above, n. 162), p. 27.

bracelets and bladed pendants) and artifacts deposited ritually in the grave pit (weapons, horse gear, coins, arrowheads, knives and daggers, bone and antler bow reinforcement plates, sabres, remains of bags, spearheads, coat of mail fragments, bridle bits, stirrups, flint steels with or without flint stones, scissors, copper-alloy kettles, pottery, wooden bucket metal hoops) (Figs. 22–42, 44–56).

The image of the nomad Turkic populations at the Lower Danube becomes more detailed if burial assemblages attributed to them from the Romanian Plain (Wallachia) and from Dobrudja are also taken into consideration. Such assemblages have so far been found in Wallachia in Adâncata[538] (Ialomiţa county), Bucharest-"Lacul Tei" ("Tei Lake") (?)[539] (Bucureşti municipality), Buzău (?)[540] (Buzău county), Cireşanu[541] (Prahova county), Ciulniţa (2 graves)[542] (Ialomiţa county), Curcani[543] (Călăraşi county), Dridu-"Snagov"[544] (Ialomiţa county), Însurăţei (?)[545] (Brăila county), Jilava[546] (Ilfov district), Lişcoteanca (3 graves)[547] (Brăila

[538] G. Simion, E. Renţa, V. Şt. Niţulescu, "Tumulul de la Adâncata—jud. Ialomiţa," *Ialomiţa. Studii şi cercetări de arheologie, istorie, etnografie şi muzeologie*, Slobozia 4 (2003–2004), pp. 95–98, 102–105, and 112–114 with figs. 4/2; 5; 6.

[539] S. Morintz, D. V. Rosetti, "Din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă la formarea Bucureştilor," in *Bucureştii de odinioară în lumina săpăturilor arheologice*, ed. I. Ionaşcu (Bucharest, 1959), p. 34.

[540] Gr. Tocilescu, *Istoria românilor*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1900), p. 101.

[541] A. Ioniţă, "Morminte de călăreţi la nordul Dunării de Jos în sec. X–XIII," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, eds. I. Cândea, V. Sîrbu, M. Neagu (Brăila, 2004), p. 470; idem, *Spaţiul dintre Carpaţii Meridionali şi Dunărea Inferioară în secolele XI–XIII* (Bucharest, 2005), p. 55.

[542] S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, E. Renţa, Gh. Matei, "Les recherches archéologiques de sauvetage de Ciulnitza, le département de Ialomitza (1994–1997). Le tumulus I," in *Pratiques funéraires dans l'Europe des XIII^e–IV^e s. av. J.-C. Actes du IIIe Colloque International d'Archéologie Funéraire organisé à Tulcea, 15–20 septembre 1997*, ed. V. Lungu (Tulcea, 2000), pp. 149 and 153 with fig. 9/3; A.-C. Bălteanu, "L'étude anthropologique des squelettes humains découverts au tell I de Ciulnitza (Slobozia)," in ibidem, pp. 167–168.

[543] M. Sâmpetru and D. Şerbănescu, "Mormîntul de călăreţ nomad descoperit la Curcani," *SCIV* 22 (1971), no. 3, pp. 443–455.

[544] G. Hălcescu, "Un mormînt peceneg descoperit la Dridu-Snagov, jud. Ialomiţa". Report presented on March 25, 1983 at the Annual session of archaeological reports in Ploieşti.

[545] S. Pandrea, V. Sârbu, M. Mirea, D. Moise, M. Neagu, "Însurăţei, jud. Brăila," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1997*, p. 36; Ioniţă, "Morminte de călăreţi," p. 471; idem, *Spaţiul*, pp. 55, 134.

[546] D. V. Rosetti, "Siedlungen der Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit bei Bukarest," *Germania* 18 (1934), no. 3, p. 209; Morintz, Rosetti, "Din cele mai vechi timpuri," p. 34.

[547] N. Harţuche, F. Anastasiu, "Morminte de călăreţi nomazi descoperite în judeţul Brăila," *Istros*, Brăila, 1 (1980), pp. 266–274; N. Harţuche, "Raport asupra săpăturilor

county), Moviliţa[548] (Ialomiţa county), Olteniţa (2 graves)[549] (Călăraşi county), Poiana[550] (?) (Gorj county), Râmnicelu[551] (Brăila county), Ştiubei[552] (Buzău county), Tangâru[553] (now in Stoeneşti) (Giurgiu county), Ulmeni (2 graves)[554] (Buzău county), Vităneşti (2 graves)[555] (Teleorman county), and Ziduri[556] (Buzău county) in Wallachia. From Dobrudja, burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads have been found in Dinogetia-Garvăn[557] (Tulcea county) and Histria[558] (= Istria) (Constanţa county). There are 25 graves so far known (four of them with uncertain provenance: Bucharest, Buzău, Însurăţei and Poiana) from 19 different sites in Romanian Plain. This makes a total number of 503 graves from 143 sites in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains. To these, one can add several others discovered south of the Danube, in Dobrudja (Fig. 4).

With many of those graves still unpublished and others incompletely published, it is difficult to draw clear-cut chronological and ethnic distinctions within the entire corpus. To be sure, the date and ethnic attribution for a considerable number of finds attributed to the medieval nomads of the southern regions of eastern Europe remains controversial No solution will be found without a serious attempt to re-consider all the

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arheologice de la Lişcoteanca, jud. Brăila," *MCA*, Tulcea, 14 (1980), p. 177 and figs. 28–30.

[548] Gh. Diaconu and P. Diaconu, "Un mormînt de călăreţ nomad din secolele XI–XII descoperit la Moviliţa," *SCIV* 18 (1967), no. 1, pp. 135–140.

[549] S. Morintz and B. Ionescu, "Cercetări arheologice în împrejurimile oraşului Olteniţa (1958–1967)," *SCIV* 19 (1968), no. 1, p. 101; M. Sâmpetru, "Înmormîntări pecenege din Câmpia Dunării," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 3, p. 454.

[550] Ioniţă, "Morminte de călăreţi," p. 474.

[551] Harţuche, Anastasiu, "Morminte de călăreţi nomazi," pp. 263–266.

[552] E.-M. Constantinescu, "Morminte de călăreţi nomazi de la cumpăna mileniilor descoperite în judeţul Buzău," *Mousaios* 4 (1994), no. 1, pp. 168–169.

[553] D. Berciu, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Tangîru," *MCA* 5 (1959), p. 152. See also C. Maximilian and N. Haas, "Notă asupra materialului osos dintr-un mormînt din epoca feudală timpurie descoperit la Tangîru," ibidem, pp. 155–161.

[554] Constantinescu, "Morminte de călăreţi nomazi," pp. 165–177; idem, *Memoria pământului* (see above, n. 461), pp. 234, 236.

[555] V. Leahu and G. Trohani, "Două morminte de călăreţi nomazi din Cîmpia Teleormanului," *SCIVA* 29 (1978), no. 4, pp. 529–539; idem, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Vităneşti, jud. Teleorman," *Cercetări arheologice* 3 (1979), pp. 127–141.

[556] Constantinescu, "Morminte de călăreţi nomazi," p. 168.

[557] E. Comşa, "Cimitirul," in Ştefan, Barnea, Comşa, Comşa, *Dinogetia* (see above, n. 387), pp. 370–371.

[558] Al. Suceveanu, "Un mormînt din secolul XI e.n. la Histria," *SCIV* 24 (1973), no. 3, pp. 495–502.

archaeological evidence known so far, which pertains to the Pechenegs, the Uzes, the Cumans, the Berendei, and the Brodniks.

The ethnic attribution of the burial assemblages from the Carpathian-Dniester area depends upon the possibiliy to date accurately both the ritual practices and the burial assemblage. On the basis of certain artifact categories, the dating of which will need to be re-evaluated at a more advance stage of research, it is possible to draw some distinctions between isolated graves so far known from the area. The earliest appears to be the Grozeşti assemblage, with its stirrups and bridle bits[559] (Fig. 30/7, 10) most typical for the 900s, which could then justify its interpretation as Pecheneg burial. The same is true for Bucharest-"Lacul Tei." The assemblages from Bereşti[560] (Fig. 28/10), Palanca[561] (Fig. 51/7) and Todireni[562] (Fig. 28/11, 13) produced bladed pendants, which are common in the tenth and eleventh century, an indication that those burials may be either Pecheneg or Uzes.[563] Such pendants were also discovered in a Turkic grave in Histria,[564] in eleventh- to twelfth-century layers in Dinogetia-Garvăn,[565] Păcuiul lui Soare[566] and Nufăru,[567] as well as in settlements of Dridu culture excavated in Bucharest-Străuleşti[568]

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[559] V. Spinei, "Contribuţii la istoria spaţiului est-carpatic din secolul al XI-lea pînă la invazia mongolă din 1241," *MA* 6–8 (1974–1976), p. 149 and fig. 18.

[560] Idem, "Antichităţile nomazilor turanici din Moldova în primul sfert al mileniului al II-lea," *SCIVA* 25 (1974), no. 3, pp. 394 and 396 with fig. 2/3.

[561] V. D. Gukin, S. I. Kurchatov, "Позднекочевническое погребение у села Паланка," *Археологические вести* 4 (1995), pp. 143–145; idem [V. Gukin, S. Kurceatov], "Un mormânt al nomazilor târzii din apropierea s. Palanca (Drochia)," *Revista arheologică* 2 (1998), pp. 136–139.

[562] V. Spinei, "Découvertes de l'étape tardive des migrations à Todireni (dép. de Botoşani)," *Dacia*, NS, 17 (1973), pp. 278–281 with figs. 1/3, 4; 2/3, 4; idem, "Antichităţile nomazilor turanici din Moldova," pp. 400 and 402 with fig. 9/2, 4.

[563] Idem, "Découvertes," pp. 282–290; Garustovich, Ivanov, *Огузы* (see above, n. 459), pp. 88–89; V. Iotov, "О материальной культуре печенегов к юго от Дуная—листовидные ажурные амулеты XI в.," *Stratum plus* (2000), no. 5, pp. 209–212; S. Riabtseva, "О листовидных-украшениях, подвесках, копоушках и решмах," *Revista arheologică*, SN, 1 (2005), no. 1, pp. 350–358.

[564] Suceveanu, "Un mormînt," pp. 497–498 and fig. 3/1, 2.

[565] I. Barnea, "Podoabe întrebuinţate de locuitorii de la Bisericuţa-Garvăn. Podoabe de metal," in Ştefan, Barnea, Comşa, Comşa, *Dinogetia* (see above, n. 387), p. 282 and fig. 168/10–15.

[566] P. Diaconu, "Două pandantive foliforme de bronz de la Păcuiul lui Soare," *Cultură şi civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos*, Călăraşi, 3–4 (1987), pp. 113–114 and pl. LXXIX, 1–2.

[567] L. Dumitriu, *Der mittelalterliche Schmuck des Unteren Donaugebietes im 11.–15. Jahrhundert*, trans. R. Harhoiu (Bucharest, 2001), p. 112 and pl. 15/9.

[568] M. Constantiniu, P. I. Panait, "Şantierul Băneasa-Străuleşti. Cercetările din sectorul Măicăneşti (1964–1966)," *Bucureşti. Materiale de istorie şi muzeografie* 6 (1968), p. 67 with fig. 10/1.

and Brăhăşeşti (Galaţi county).[569] Similar bladed pendants were also found in north-eastern Bulgaria, at Silistra,[570] Pliska,[571] Dolishte, Varna, Skala, and Vălnari.[572]

A larger group of horseman graves (Bârlad-"Dealul Ţuguieta" and "Moara lui Chicoş", Cârnăţeni, Copanca, Fridensfeld, Grădişte, Griviţa, Matca, Opaci, Pavlovca, Plavni, Sarata, Tuzla, Umbrăreşti and Staţia Zânelor, as well as Curcani, Dridu-"Snagov," Jilava, Lişcoteanca, Râmnicelu, Tangâru and Vităneşti) are characterized by briddle bits with rigid mouth-pieces (Figs. 32/9; 33/12; 36/12; 50/21; 54/15; 55/4; 56/7). Some have wrongly attributed to those bridle bits the value of ethnic badges and as a consequence interpreted the graves in question as either Pecheneg[573] or Cuman.[574] Because most snaffle-bits with rigid mouth-pieces are dated before the late eleventh century (only rarely can such bits be found in twelfth-century assemblages), there is of course a greater likelihood that the graves in question are indeed Pecheneg, although no certainty exists in this respect. The fact that most assemblages with rigid-bar snaffles were associated with skeletons with a west-east orientation accompanied by horse body parts does not contradict the idea of Pecheneg burials, for such elements of ritual seem to be specific to the Pechenegs. Finally, lyre-shaped buckles dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century, such as discovered in Ogorodnoe, Opaci, Pavlovca and Taraclia (Figs. 33/1; 44/6; 44/6; 45/7; 46/15; 50/18), confirms an early dating for the rigid-bar snaffles and, by implication, the assemblages in which they have been found.

Since graves with a east-west orientation do not appear west of the Dnieper at the time of the Pecheneg migration (such graves are known

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[569] Spinei, "Découvertes," p. 283 with figs. 1/2 and 2/2.

[570] G. Atanasov, "Средневековни амулети от Силистра," *Известия на Народния Музей Варна* 22 (37) (1986), pp. 79–81.

[571] V. Iotov, "Листовидни ажурни амулети от XI в.," in *Плиска-Преслав*, 8 (Shumen, 2000), p. 242 and figs. 2/6, 11, 12; 3/4, 6, 11, 12; idem, "О материальной культуре" (see above, n. 563), p. 210 and figs. 1/2, 12, 13, 16; Spinei, *Great Migrations*, I, pp. 200, 207; fig. 42/4.

[572] Iotov, "Листовидни ажурни амулети," pp. 242–246 and figs. 1–3; idem, "О материальной культуре," pp. 210–211.

[573] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, pp. 155–156; eadem, *Древности черных клобуков* (*ASAI*, E 1–19) (Moscow, 1973), pp. 15–17; Sâmpetru, "Înmormîntări pecenege" (see above, n. 549), pp. 446–460; idem, "La région du Bas-Danube au X^{e} siècle de notre ère," *Dacia*, NS, 18 (1974), pp. 257–259 and 263; Garustovich, Ivanov, *Огузы* (see above, n. 459), pp. 85–86.

[574] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 18–19, 105, and 115; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 14–21.

in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea only after the arrival of the Cumans),[575] such graves found in Căuşeni, Cârnăţeni, Copanca, Corjova, Hâncăuţi, Holboca, Roma, Săiţi, Sărata, Tudora and Ursoaia may be interpreted as Cuman. This may also be true for Todireni, where two whole horse skeletons have been discovered. The burial of entire horses together with the human remains is viewed by some as a typically Cuman custom.[576] But no possibility exists to establish whether the horse skeletons found in Fridensfeld, Moscu and Sărata were complete. In my opinion, Moscu is a Cuman or at least Cuman-age burial. Among the grave goods from that assemblage is a helmet most typical for twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Suvorovo, an assemblage which produced late twelfth-century Byzantine coins (Fig. 38/1, 2, 5–8) must also be interpreted as a Cuman burial. However, given the frequent mentions of Brodniks in the region to the east from the Carpathian Mountains, many late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century assemblages may also be attributed to them. There is currently no way to distinguish between Cuman and Brodnik burials.

Many written sources mention the presence of Cuman enclaves within the Mongol Empire, and that is confirmed by archaeology. A large number of nomadic Turkic burials cluster on the left bank of the Dniester, in the region of Tiraspol, and they are all dated after *ca.* 1250. Their dating is based on no less than 33 Mongol coins (12 complete and 21 fragments) struck for the khans Tölä Buga (1287–1291), Toqtai (1291–1312) and Özbäg (1312–1342).[577] To the same period, after the Mongol invasion, have been dated a number of isolated graves discovered in Frumuşica,[578] Fridensfeld, Şabalat,[579] Camenca, Chisliţa, Ciauş, Cocicovatoe, Corjova, Grădeşti, Holmskoe, Iablona,

[575] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 173; eadem, *Древности черных клобуков*, pp. 20–23; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 143–147.

[576] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 173; eadem, *Древности черных клобуков*, p. 22; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 142 and 145.

[577] V. I. Goshkevich, "Погребения датированные джучидскими монетами из раскопок И. Я. Стемпковского," *Вісник Одеськоі Комісії Краэзнавства при Українській Академії Наук* 4–5, *Секция археологічна*, Odessa (1930), pp. 104–111; A. O. Dobroliubskii, "Древности средневековых кочевников в Нижнем Поднестровье (материалы раскопок И. Я. Стремпковсково," in *Курганы в зонах новостроек Молдавии*, eds. I. I. Artemenko (gen. ed.), I. A. Borziac, V. A. Dergacev, E. V. Iarovoi, S. M. Agul'nikov (Kishinev, 1984), pp. 153–174.

[578] V. I. Grosu, "Погребение у с. Фрумушика," in *AIM (1974–1976 gg)* (1981), pp. 163–164.

[579] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 263.

Limanskoe-"Fricăţei," Novokamenka, Plavni, Răscăieţii Noi, Sărata, Trapovca and Tudora, as well as of the cemeteries excavated in Draculea (Mirnoe), Hansca and Neruşai.[580]

The burial assemblages in Novokamenka and Trapovca have analogies among assemblages attributed to the Black Caps on the River Ros',[581] which suggests a movement of those tribes to the regions of the Danube and the mouth of the Dniester, perhaps as a result of the changes imposed by the Mongols in Desht-i Qipchaq. Fridensfeld and Plavni (where, among other things, single-bar bridle bits were found) are however not of the same date. Equally uncertain is the dating of the Cocicovatoe and Limanskoe-"Fricăţei" assemblages, both of which contain elements otherwise typical for Pecheneg burials. Of a certain Mongol age are however the Pârteştii de Jos assemblage with a Nogai coin, and possibly three burials found in Seliţte, with oval stirrups, a round mirrior, and small mounts inscribed with Arabic (Figs. 23/3, 5, 6; 37).

When plotting on a map the burial assemblages found in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains, a number of features become readily visible. First, such assemblages appear in the lowlands and along major rivers (Fig. 4). More than 75 percent of all known assemblages cluster in the Bugeac and the steppe lands on both sides of the Lower Dniester. Relatively large numbers of burials are also found in the Middle Prut, as well as the Middle and Lower Bârlad region, with more isolated graves along the Răut, Chineja, and Cogâlnic rivers. It appears therefore that most burials of Turkic nomads cluster in southern Moldavia.

Second, those burials are always next to sources of water, either rivers or lakes. Copanca, Corjova, Dubăsarii Vechi, Gura Bâcului, Olăneşti, Purcari, Răscăieţii Noi, Speia and Tudora are all on the Dniester. Şabalat (= Sadovoe) on the Dniester liman; Căuşeni, Chircăeşti, Cârnăţeni, Opaci and Ursoaia are on the Botna; Roşcani on the Bâc; Brăviceni, Ciocâltani, Mărculeşti and Seliţte on the Răut; Alexandrovca, Frumuşica, Ivanovca and Sevirova on the Căinar; Mândreşti

[580] A. O. Dobroliubskii, "Этнический состав кочевого население Северо-Западного Причерноморья в золотоордынское время," in *Памятники римского и средневекового времени Северо-Западного Причерноморье* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 28–39.

[581] Ibidem, pp. 32 and 39; A. O. Dobroliubskii, L. V. Subbotin, "Погребение средневекового кочевника у села Траповка," in *Памятники римского и средневекового времени*, pp. 169–173.

on the Ciulucul Mijlociu, a tributary of the Răut; Belolesie, Fridensfeld (= Mirnopole), Săiţi and Sărata are on the Sărata; Grădişte and Pavlovca on the Cogâlnic; Baştanovca and Strumoc on the Neruşai; Novokamenka and Ogorodnoe on the Caltabugul Mare; Taraclia on the Lunga; Tomai on the Lunguţa, a tributary of the Lunga; Balabanu on the Ialpug; Alexeevca-Svetlâi on the Ialpugel; Kalcheva and Vasilevca on the Taşbunar creek; Etulia on the Cahul, next to the point where it empties into Lake Cahul; Găvănoasa is also on the Cahul; Budachi (= Primorskoe) is on the shore of Lake Budachi, Tuzla on the shore of Lake Burnas; Borisăuca, Primorskoe and Trapovca are on the shores of the Sasicu Mare Lake; Chisliţa and Suvorovo are next to the Catlabug Lake; Staţia Zânelor next to the Chitai Lake; Bolgrad, Cazaclia, Ciauş, Plavni and Vinogradovca-"Curci" are all on the shores of Lake Ialpug; Manta by Lake Manta; Limanskoe-"Fricăţei" and Nagornoe are next to Lake Cahul; Bădragii Vechi, Branişte, Corpaci, Costeşti, Cuconeştii Vechi, Hăncăuţi, Probota, Vadul lui Isac, and Zârneşti are on the Prut; Corjeuţi on the Lopatnic, a tributary of the Prut; Grozeşti and Todireni are on the Jijia; Holboca on the Bahlui; Băneasa, Bereşti and Moscu on the Chineja; Banca, Bârlad-"Moara lui Chicoş" and "Parc," Griviţa-Vaslui, Lieşti and Umbrăreşti on the Bârlad; Pogoneşti on the Tutova, next to its confluence with the Bârlad; and Pârteştii de Jos on the Soloneţ, a triburary of the Suceava River.

All burials of Turkic nomads in the Romanian Plain are also located in close proximity to bodies of water: Buzău and Râmnicelu on the Buzău river, Lişcoteanca on the Călmăţui river, Dridu-"Snagov" on the Ialomiţa, Moviliţa between the springs of the Comana creek (a tributary of the Ialomiţa river) and the Colceag river (a tributary of the Mostiştea river), Curcani and Olteniţa on the Argeş river, Bucharest on the shore of Lake Tei and next to the Colentina river, Jilava on the Sabar, Ştiubei on the Râmnicu Sărat river, Tangâru on the Câlneştea river, Ulmeni on the Sărata creek (a tributary of the Prahova river), and Vităneşti on the Glavacioc.

The distribution of burial assemblages suggests that the main centres of the nomads were the in the Bugeac steppe and along the Lower Dniester river. From there the nomads moved close to the Danube and lakes to the north of the Black Sea to spend the winter. In summer, when the vegetation of the Bugeac was parched by the sun, they would move north with their herds, along the Dniester, the Prut and the Bârlad rivers, as well as along some of their tributaries. The Prut and the

Dniester connected the Bugeac to the Romanian Plain, on one hand, and to the Bălţi Highlands and the plain of the Middle Prut, on the other hand. The eccentric position of the Pârteştii de Jos barrow (the only such barrow located to the west from the river Siret) raises further doubts about certain finds traditionally presented as representative for the Turkic nomads. However, Pârteştii de Jos does not change much the general picture made possible by the analyis of burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads and discovered in the Carpathian-Dniester area. True, such assemblages appear in the highlands only along the middle courses of the rivers emptying into the Danube or the Black Sea. However, with the exception of the Pârteştii de Jos barrow, no such assemblages are known from the valley of the Siret river or from the region between the Siret and the Carpathian Mountains. Similarly, in Wallachia burial mounds of the Turkic nomads appear only in the lowlands, with no known assemblage in the sub-Carpathian hills. The conclusion seesm to be that the Turkic nomads consistently avoided the densely forested highlands, even when getting very close to them by following the major rivers upstreams. Their favoring the lowlands has of course an economic explanation, given that the steppe lands rich in grass were better suited for the pastoral economy of the Turkic tribes.

The distribution of burial mounds attributed to the Turkic nomads overlaps that of the prehistoric barrows of the Yamnaia, Pit-Grave and Sruby cultures, as well as to that of Sarmatian graves. This is a natural consequence of the very similar mode of life and economic systems in use in all those societies. Bronze-Age and Sarmatian barrows are equally restricted to the southern lowlands and to river valleys crossing the highlands of central and northern Moldavia. Like the Turkic burial mounds, they rarely appear in the region to the west from the Siret and Olt rivers, except of course the finds from the Hungarian Plain.[582] Judging by the large cemeteries discovered in the Bălţi Highlands and the valley of the Middle Prut, the impact of the Sarmatians onto that region was far greater than that of the Pechenegs, Uzes and Cumans.

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[582] V. A. Dergachev, *Памятники эпохи бронзы* (*AKM*, 3) (1973), pp. 10–53; S. Morintz, *Contribuţii arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii*, I (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 86–100; Gh. Bichir, "Les Sarmates au Bas-Danube," *Dacia*, NS, 21 (1977), pp. 167–197; V. I. Grosu, *Хронология памятников сарматской культуры Днестровско-Прутского междуречья* (Kishinev, 1990); V. Bârcă, *Istorie şi civilizaţie. Sarmaţii în spaţiul est-carpatic (sec. I a. Chr.—începutul sec. II p. Chr.)* (Cluj–Napoca, 2006), pp. 37 and 273–376.

Another important feature of the distribution of burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic populations of the Carpathian-Dniester region is the small number of graves per site. This is also true for the Romanian Plain. The Turkic nomads in the region of the Lower Danube do not seem to have been too numerous and they apparently did not remain for too long in any particular place.

Art

The number of artifacts that may be considered works of art, which were produced in Romanian communities of southern Moldavia is limited, which is no measure of their spiritual achievements. The difficulties of daily life under the threat of nomadic attacks and the imposition of tribute payments, the delayed urbanization and state organization, the long interruption of contacts with Byzantium—the main cultural center in the south-eastern Europe—all that was a serious obstacle in the development of artistic life of a superior level. Wilhelm Dilthey once wrote in regards to the Middle Ages: "Man has not yet overcome his historical condition in his personal and historical self-interpretation; he clings to what has been given to him, and the geographic and historical horizon of that given condition limits him" (*Der Mensch hat sich noch nicht in persönlicher und geschichtlicher Selbstbesinnung über seine historische Lage erhoben. Er haftet am Gegebenen, und dessen geographischer und historischer Horizont schränkt ihn ein*).[583] This remark could certainly apply to the Romanian territory between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.The rural communities in the lands to the east of the Carpathian Mountains had no means to elevate impressive buildings of public use. Their churches were made of wood and were most likely single-roomed. They were not very different from more recent parish churches made of wood in which the few members of the local community could all fit.

The only glimpse into native aesthetic preoccupations that we can have is through the so-called "minor arts": dress accessories and ornaments on objects of daily use. The first category includes glass beads, as well as mounts, pendants, earrings, rings, bracelets made of copper, bronze, or silver by pressing, casting, hammering, wire-work, inlaying and overlaying techniques (Figs. 9/1–4, 6; 10). The artifacts in question

[583] W. Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 7th ed. (Leipzig–Berlin, 1921), p. 2.

are known from other areas of southern, central and eastern Europe, and they reflect the general taste of that period. The second category includes bone, horn, metal and clay artifacts, decorated especially with geometrical ornaments.

All the wheel-made pottery was decorated. Jars of a fine, grey-yellowish fabric were decorated with ornaments polished prior to firing, which consisted of horizontal parallel stripes, or net-like combinations. Pots of the brick-red fabric were decorated with horizontal or wavy combing, either isolated or in parallel bands, sometimes associated with dimples, notches and imprints (Figs. 11–13; 15–19; 20/3–10). On the bottom of pots and bowls, there were various geometrical signs imprinted in relief (usually crosses or concentric circles) (Figs. 12/11, 12; 14). Images of animals are sometimes found, such as on a handmade, ninth- to tenth-century pot from th settlement site in Gara Banca (Vaslui county)[584] (Fig. 22/1), or on two eleventh- to twelfth-century clay kettles from Răducăneni (Iaşi county).[585]

It is very likely that both buildings and artifacts made of wood, which was in abundance in Moldavia, were also decorated. Romanian woodcarvers of more recent times were known for their skills and their incorporation of ancient traditions and motifs. They were employed for the decoration of the house, the gates, fences, as well as a vast array of household and personal objects, in which aesthetic value was harmoniously combined with practicality. No such works of art survive from ancient times, and the same is true about textiles. By contrast, some stone carvings are known from Deleşti (Fig. 22/3) and Gara Banca, both in the Vaslui county (Fig. 22/2). In both cases, an effort seems to have been made to represent schematically a human face in gritstone. While the human figure from Deleşti, which was found together with pottery dated between the sixth and the eleventh century, cannot therefore be dated with any degree of precision,[586] the Gara Banca sculpture was found in a ninth- to tenth-century sunken-floored building.[587]

Was writing used in the lands east of the Carpathian Mountains? While no firm evidence has so far been discovered, it is likely that

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[584] Maxim-Alaiba, "Consideraţii" (see above, n. 74), pp. 254 and 257 with fig. 3/3.

[585] D. Gh. Teodor, "Cîteva observaţii în legătură cu căldările de lut descoperite la Răducăneni (r. Huşi, reg. Iaşi)," *SCIV* 14 (1963), no. 1, p. 201 and fig. 3.

[586] Coman, *Statornicie*, p. 108 and fig. 160.

[587] Maxim-Alaiba, "Consideraţii," p. 257 and fig. 5.

religious books were in use in the region, much like in neighboring Bulgaria or in the Rus' principalities. Some religious books may have been rewritten, but we do not know if this was done by the Romanians, Bulgarians, Greeks or Russians. Those able to read them must have indeed been just a few, and all of them clergymen. Much of what has been so far offered as alleged evidence for the use of writing in medieval southern Moldavia is truly unconvincing. This is particularly the case of the letter *M* written with red paint on a ninth- to tenth-century amphora-shaped pot from Calfa (Anenii Noi county).[588]

Even less is known about folklore. Ethnographic studies have revealed a number of archaic beliefs and rituals surviving into more recent times. Some of them may well pre-date the adoption of Christianity, or may be adaptation of essentially non-Christian traditions associated ancient agrarian rituals or to mythological themes. Far from removing them, Christianity incorporated that tradtion, while giving it a new meaning.[589]

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The repertoire of surviving works of art produced by the nomads is quite limited, and consists of artifacts made of metal, bone, and antler (Figs. 24–42, 44–56) retrieved from graves, and of stone statues (*каменные бабы*) (Figs. 57–59). The latter are connected probably only to the Cumans. Metal artifacts were made by casting, hammering, wirework, and engraving. The bone and antler artifacts, especially those decorating sword hilts and quivers, were covered in engraved geometrical or occasionally animal-like.

The stone statues, the purpose of which has been discussed above, are realistic depictions of the anatomy and dress of the nomadic population. They depict both men (Figs. 57; 58) and women (Fig. 59), and include interesting details about hair-dress, garments, jewels and other features. The origin of such carvings goes back to similar works

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[588] Chebotarenko, *Калфа* (see above, n. 87), p. 56 and fig. 23/5.

[589] Eliade, *De Zalmoxis* (see above, n. 490); O. Buhociu, *Die rumänische Volkskultur und ihre Mythologie* (Wiesbaden, 1974); M. Brătulescu, *Colinda românească* (Bucharest, 1981); E. Agrigoroaiei, *Ţara neuitatelor constelaţii* (Iaşi, 1981); R. Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română* (Bucharest, 1985); Popescu, *Tradiţii* (see above, n. 262); Pop, *Obiceiuri* (see above, n. 262); N. Zugravu, *Geneza creştinismului popular al românilor* (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 479–525; I. Tentiuc, A. Hâncu-Tentiuc, "Unele opinii şi controverse privind relaţia dintre creştinismul popular şi ritul şi ritualurile funerare medievale timpurii în Europa Centrală şi de Sud-Est," *Tyragetia*, SN, 1 (16) (2007), no. 2, pp. 17–30.

attributed to the Turkic populations of central Asia, who, in their turn, are said to have learned the trade from older Iranian peoples.

A stone statue was discovered before World War I at Năduşita (now Gribova) (Drochia county) (Republic of Moldova) (Fig. 56/19). It was 0.91 m high, 0.55 m wide at the bottom, with a maximum diameter of 1.47 m. The statue is a bust without arms of a male with a moustache, a little beard and Mongoloid eyes. That the statue was found next to a burial mound has led to the conclusion that it must have been initially placed on top of the barrow.[590]

The Năduşita (Gribova) statue has good analogies among similar monuments in central Asia dated between the sixth and the eighth century.[591] By contrast, no analogies are known among statues in the region north of the Black Sea, which could be dated to the beginning of the second millennium. The latter are much taller, with subjects often represented in a seated position with medallions and bead necklaces around the neck and a vase in the hands placed on the abdomens. However, among later statues, there are a few example of much simpler execution reminding one of the Năduşita (Gribova) specimen.[592]

More than 1,000 statues so far known from the steppe lands north of the Black Sea (Figs. 57–59) have features exactly matching the descriptions of the medieval travelers. Such statues were called in the 700s *balbal* by the Turkic populations,[593] and later *kamennye baby (каменные бабы)* (= stone old women) by the Russians, *baba* meaning *father* or *ancestor* in Turkic languages.[594] The German traveller Martin Grüneweg, who passed through Dobrudja in 1582, knew the meaning of *father* in

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[590] A. I. Selenginskii, "О поездке въ с. Надушиту Сорокскаго у., Вессарабской губ.," *ZOO* 29 (1911), pp. 122–124; E. A. Rikman, *Художественые сокровища древней Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1969), pp. 56–57; E. V. Iarovoi, *Раскрывая тайны курганов* (Kishinev, 1992), pp. 52–54.

[591] Sher, *Каменные изваяния* (see above, n. 501), *passim*; Belli, *Kirgizistan'da taş balbal* (see above, n. 501), *passim*.

[592] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, fig. 27/5 (type IIIb); Pletneva, *Древности черных клобуков* (see above, n. 573), fig. 33/VI (type VI); M. L. Shvetsov, "Половецкие святилища" (see above, n. 502), p. 205; fig. 6/2.

[593] V. Thomsen, "Altürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei in Übersetzung und mit Einleitung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, NF, 3 (78) (1924), pp. 147 and 158. See also pp. 132, 138, 139; T. Tekin, *Les inscriptions de l'Orkhon. Kul Tighine, Bilghé Qaghan, Tounyouquouq* (Istanbul, 1995), pp. 42–45, 67, 69, and 79.

[594] Barthold, *Histoire* (see above, n. 429), p. 14; Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques* (see above, n. 534), pp. 186–188. On the *balbal*, see also W. Kotwicz, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale," *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 15 (1939–1949), pp. 190–193; G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 333; B. Öhrig, *Bestattungsriten alttürkischer Aristokratie im Lichte der Inschriften* (Munich,

the place name *Baba*: "das deuttet Vatter."[595] The greatest number of statues may be found in the region between the middle course of the Dnieper and the Northern Donets, as well as to the north-east from the Sea of Azov. Statues appear in much smaller numbers in other parts of the Donets basin, in the steppe lands to the north from the Caucasus Mountains, in Crimea, and between the rivers Don and Volga.[596] Besides the stone statue from Năduşita (Gribova), only two other specimens are known from the region to the west from the Dniester River. Both of them have been found in Endzhe (now Tzarev Brod, Shumen county, Bulgaria),[597] and have for a long time been wrongly attributed to the Bulgars.[598]

As a matter of fact, numerous elements of the cultural traditions of the later Turkic populations were in fact borrowed from those of previous nomads ruling over the Eurasian steppe lands, withouth however reaching the level of artistry displayed on Scythtian, Sarmatian, Khazar, Avar, and Hungarian metalwork. From that point of view, one

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1988), pp. 195–206; Ermolenko, *Средневековые каменные изваяния* (see above, n. 501), pp. 48–50; Bosi, "Sulla statuaria antropomorfa" (see above, n. 501), pp. 96–101.

[595] M. Jonov (ed.), "Пътеписът на Мартин Грюневег като исторически извор за Българските земи (1582) / Martin Grünewegs Tagebuch als Geschichtsquelle über die bulgarischen Gebieten (1582)," *Годишник на Софийския Университет. Исторически Факултет* 67 (1973–1974) [1977], p. 125.

[596] A. S. Uvarov, "Сведенія о каменныхъ бабахъ," in *Труды Перваго археологическаго съезда въ Москве 1869*, II, ed. A. S. Uvarov (Moscow, 1871), pp. 501–520; J. Castagné, "Étude historique et comparative des statues babas des steppes khirghizes et de Russie en général," *Bulletins et mémoires de la Societé d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1, VIe Sér. (1910), pp. 375–407; N. Veselovskii, "Современное состояніе вопроса о 'Каменныхъ бабахъ' или 'Балбалахъ'," *ZOO* 32 (1915), pp. 408–444; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 166–193; Pletneva, *Древности черных клобуков*, p. 16; Pritsak, "Polovcians" (see above, n. 16), pp. 348–367; L. S. Geras'kova, *Скульптура середньовічних кочовиків степів Східної Эвропи* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 10–20; eadem, "Новое в изучении монументальной скульптуры кочевников средневековья," *Stratum plus* (1999), no. 5, pp. 408–430; N. I. Navrotskii, "Половецкие каменные изваяния Армавировского краеведческого музея," *Историко-археологический альманах*, Armavir-Moscow, 1 (1995), pp. 157–164.

[597] R. Rashev, "Прабългарски ли са 'каменните баби' от Ендже," *Музей и паметници на културата* 12 (1971), no. 1, pp. 17–20; idem, "Късни номади в Плисковското поле," in *Преслав*, III, ed. T. Totev (Varna, 1983), pp. 246–247 and fig. 1.

[598] G. Fehér, *A bolgár-török műveltség emlékei és magyar őstörténeti vonatkozásaik / Les monuments de la culture protobulgare et leurs relations hongroises* (Budapest, 1931), pp. 86–102; N. Mavrodinov, *Старобългарското изкуство. Изкуството на Първото българско царство* (Sofia, 1959), pp. 67–68. See also S. Michailov, "Les figurations dites 'Kamennye baby' et leur survivance tardive dans le culte funeraire chez les Bulgares," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 17 (1988), no. 4, pp. 55–68 (where a distinction between *kamennye baby* and *balbal* is proposed).

cannot speak of any new developments in the art of the steppe during the tenth to the thirteenth century, but, on the contrary, of some degenerescence. The military and political power did not always have a cultural counterpart.

Elements of writing, of limited use, may have have also developed in the southern parts of eastern Europe. As it is known, there are examples of a paleo-Turkic language recorded as early as the eighth century in the Orkhonic inscriptions from the region south of the Baikal Lake. It is in those inscriptions that mention is made, among other things, of the Oghuz[599] and the Toquz-Oghuz ("Nine-Tribe Grouping of Oghuz").[600]

Judging by the literature preserved from Turkic groups related to the nomads of the steppes north of the Black and Caspian seas, most prominent of which is *Oghuzname*, epics must have also been created in Turkic communities between the Danube and the Ural, without any one of them being anyhing else but an example of oral literature. There is also evidence of the love Turkic populations had for music. An Arab author even claims that the Pechenegs used bugles instead of kettle-drums.[601] At the court of Alp Arslan (1063–1072), a ruler of the Oghuz belonging to the Seljuq branch, there were skilled musicians who accompanied themselves with instruments for their performances.[602] Even though their songs may not have been as mesmerizing as the "Polovtsian dances" from Borodin's *Prince Igor*, the Cumans were certainly fond of music. Rus' chroniclers mention Polovtsian / Cuman musicians, and the *Codex Comanicus* contains terms indicating that profession and some instruments. Finally, there is even a stone statue of a man holding a string instrument in his hands.[603] Moreover, the grave goods found in a Cuman male burial from Kirovo (Kerson

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[599] Thomsen, "Altürkische Inschriften," pp. 150, 155–157, and 163; Tekin, *Les inscriptions*, pp. 44–47, 50–51, 68–71, 74–75, 84–87, and 94–95; S. E. Malov, *Памятники древнетюркской письменности Монголии и Киргизии* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1959), pp. 10, 21, 22, 39, 42, and 43.

[600] Thomsen, "Altürkische Inschriften," pp. 140, 144, 147, 154, 157, 163–165, and 169–170; Tekin, *Les inscriptions*, pp. 34–35, 42–43, 50–51, 62–67, 74–75, and 84–85; Malov, *Памятники*, pp. 20–22, 29, 39, and 40.

[601] Al-Bécri (see above, n. 162), p. 15; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 222. See also A. P. Martinez (trans.), *Gardizi* (see above, n. 43), p. 152; *Orient.Ber.*, p. 165.

[602] *The History of the Seljuq Turks. From* The Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, *an Ilkhanid Adaption of the* Saljūq-nāma *of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī*, trans. K. A. Luther, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Richmond, Surrey, 2001), p. 51.

[603] Pletneva, *Pechenegi*, p. 212.

region, Ukraine) included, besides a bow and arrows, a pear-shaped, komuz-like string instrument.[604]

As a general consideration, itr appears that neither the nomadic lifestyle, nor the can-oriented and patriarchal traditions of nomadic society encouraged remarkable artistic achievements.

[604] G. L. Evdokimov, "«…Sing ihm doch polovzische Lieder» (Nestor Chronik)," in *Gold der Steppe. Archäologie der Ukraine*, eds. R. Rolle, M. Müller-Wille and K. Schietzel, in collab. with P. P. Toločko and V. Ju. Murzin (Schleswig, 1991), pp. 281–283.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTACTS AND INTERACTIONS BETWEEN ROMANIANS AND TURKIC NOMADS

The medieval ethnic and political structures in the Lower Danube area have attracted the attention of many specialists during the last few decades. Nonetheles, many aspects have remained unclarified or controversial. Unfortunately, certain conclusions have been coloured by nationalistic concerns and, although obviously biased, have spread widely. Consequently, replies to the point are necessary. Such things have been discussed elsewhere, but it is worth re-iterating the terms of the discussion, since, as Goethe put it, "it is necessary that truth be repeated again and again, because the error is advocated and propagated again and again, not only by one or another, but by very many people" (*Und denn, man muss das Wahre immer wiederholen, weil auch der Irrtum um uns her immer wieder geprediget wird, und zwar nicht von einzelnen, sondern von der Masse*).[1]

As a consequence of the fact that tribes of pastoralists from the Eurasian steppe lands took over the region north of the Danube Delta, the local population came into direct and lasting contact with the Turkic nomads Such contacts lasted several centuries. The Turkic communities that came to control the east-Carpathian area were heterogeneous, and consisted mainly of Pecheneg and Cuman tribes, although the Uzes, the Brodniks, and perhaps the Berendei must also be taken into consideration.

The first Pecheneg incursion into the Lower Danube region, which is known from the sources, took place in 896, when the Pechenges drove away the Hungarians from Atelkuzu / Etelkuzu. Their occupation of the Bugeac and the Bărăgan appears to have been gradual, and they were followed by the Uzes, the Cumans and the Brodniks. The great Mongol invasion of 1236–1242 interrupted the independent development of the Turkic tribes in the region north of the Black and Caspian seas. Those who were not killed or did not flee to neighboring countries

[1] *Goethes Gespräche mit Eckermann*, ed. F. Deibel (Leipzig, *sine anno*), p. 430.

had to accept the hegemony of the Golden Horde. As they were in close proximity to regions that could offer shelter, most Turkic nomads from the lowlands by the Danube departed. They were quickly replaced by others, a phenomenon clearly confirmed by archaeology.

Following the Mongol take-over in eastern Europe, there is an obvious increase in the number of burial assemblages attributed to the nomads between the Volga and the Dniester. Some have explained this increase in terms of populations movements along the river Ros, especially of the Black Caps (*черные клобуки*). Their migration must have taken place with the accord or even at the initiative of the Golden Horde rulers. A few burial assemblages in the Bugeac (Novokamenka and Trapovca), which have analogies on the Ros, may also be attributed to such movements of populations. The available archaeological evidence strongly suggests that the Turkic nomads who lived between the Danube and the Dniester in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion, were newcomers to the region.[2] It is even possible that some of the Cumans who fled in 1282 from Hungary to the regions controlled by the Mongols[3] chose to settle temporarily in the steppe lands north of the Danube.

There is therefore sufficient evidence to advance the idea that in the Bugeac, much like in the rest of Desht-i Qipchaq, a Turkic-Mongol symbiosis was on its way during the second half of the thirteenth century. In fact, artifacts of nomadic origin have been found in the fourteenth-century occupation layer at Orheiul Vechi (now Trebujeni, Orhei county, Republic of Moldova), a town founded by the rulers of the Golden Horde.[4] The Mongols maintained their positions of power in south-eastern Moldavia until *ca.* 1370,[5] and it is likely that the Turkic nomads under the rule of the Horde (i.e., without any independence of their own) remained in the Bugeac until that date. However, Robert

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[2] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 152; A. O. Dobroliubskii, "Этнический состав кочевого населения Северо-Западного Причерноморья в золотоордынское время," in *Памятники римского и средневекового времени в Северо-Западном Причерноморье* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 30–34; idem, "Черные клобуки в Поднестровье и Побужье," in *Древности степного Причерноморья и Крыма*, I, eds. G. N. Toshchev, G. I. Shakhrov, G. I. Shapovalov (Zaporozh'e, 1990), pp. 153–159.

[3] *Chronici Hungarici composito saeculi XIV*, ed. A. Domanovszki, in *SRH*, I, pp. 471–472; *Chronicon Posoniense*, ed. A. Domanovszki, in *SRH*, II, p. 44; *CPict*, pp. 97–98 and 221; *Chronicon Hungarorum Posoniense Maius (Chronica Regni Hungariae)*, in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. F. Toldy (Pesthini, 1862), p. 56.

[4] E. N. Abyzova, P. P. Bârnea, "Исследования в Старом Орхее в 1979–1980 гг.," in *AIM v 1979–1980 gg.* (1983), p. 55.

[5] Spinei, *Moldova*, pp. 326–327.

Roesler's idea of Cumans, either still pagan or converted to Islam, remaining in Moldavia until 1410[6] is not supported by any historical source, but has uncritically been adopted by other historians as well.[7]

The available evidence thus shows that the political status of the Turkic nomads in southern Moldavia changed at least between *ca.* 900 and *ca.* 1350. Regardless of such changes, the newcomers were always in direct contact to the Romanians, since they occupied the lowlands previously inhabited by them. The Turkic-Romanian contacts withered after 1241–1242, most likely because the Mongols eliminated any political independence of the Turkic nomads. An examination of the areas occupied by the two communities may illuminate the details of the problem. Most scholars dealing with the presence of the nomads in the east-Carpathian region have attempted to delineate their area of direct control along a west-east, invisible boundary. Many still believe that the nomads ruled everything all the way to the Trotuş,[8] Oituz and Bârlad rivers,[9] to Hârlău,[10] or even Bucovina, and that they took their herds to the Carpathian Mountains during the summer.[11]

However, the distribution of burial assemblages that can be associated with the presence of the Turkic populations shows a clear concentration of the nomadic population in the lowlands of southern Moldavia. When moving northwards into central and northern Moldavia, they did so only seasonally and along the major rivers in the region, the Dniester, the Prut, and their tributaries: the Răut, the Botna, the Jijia, etc. (Fig. 4). Given that among burial assemblages in northern and central Moldavia, which could be attributed to the Turkic nomads, the majority appear to be Cuman (Corjova, Hâncăuţi, Holboca, Ivanovca,

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[6] R. Roesler, *Romänische Studien. Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Romäniens* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 334.

[7] G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad templum divi Marci Venetiarum* (Budapest, 1880), p. LXXXVI; J. Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen," in W. Bang and J. Marquart, "Osttürkische Dialektstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, *Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, NF, 13 (1914), no. 1, p. 33; S. Balić, "Der Islam im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Südost-Forschungen* 23 (1964), pp. 23 and 33.

[8] C. S. Mironescu, "Hotarul între Moldova şi Muntenia," *Anuar de geografie şi antropogeografie* 2 (1910–1911), p. 93.

[9] A. Sacerdoţeanu, "Guillaume de Rubrouck et les Roumains au milieu du XIII[e] siècle," *Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France* 2 (1929), p. 239.

[10] C. C. Giurescu, *Tîrguri sau oraşe şi cetăţi moldovene din secolul al X-lea pînă la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea* (Bucharest, 1967), p. 32.

[11] D. Rassovsky, "Половцы, III. Пределы 'Поля Половецкаго'," *SK* 10 (1938), p. 160.

Frumuşica, Pârteştii de Jos, and Selişte), it is likely that their expansion into the region took place especially before the Mongol invasion.

Unlike the nomads, who preferred the lowlands and the everglades rich in grass, the settlements of the Romanian population may be found everywhere in the landscape of Moldavia, with the only exception of the mountain tops (Figs. 2–3). The latter was visited only periodically by shepherds and hunters. The old idea that Romanians were a mountain population, when not motivated by nationalistic views, may have been based on the undeniable fact that the Balkan Vlachs are indeed a mountain population. Moreover, several ancient historians regarded the Dacians as mountaineers. L. Annaeus Florus even claimed that the Dacians clung to the mountains (*Daci montibus inhaerent*).[12] In reality, as archaeology has meanwhile demonstrated, Florus' claim is just as exclusive as the above-mentioned opinion concerning Romanians. The densely forested highlands, especially the mountains, with a landscape, climate, and flora considerably different from those of the lowlands, were ill-suited for animal husbandry, especially for raising horses. The landscape of the highlands of the eastern Carpathians is therefore unfriendly to nomadic horsemen, who instead preferred the lowlands and the everglades.

The zone of contact between natives and nomads did not remain the same over the 350 years of Turkic presence in the steppe lands north of the Danube Delta. The Pecheneg communities established between the late ninth and the late eleventh century in the Bugeac and the Bărăgan do not seem to have been too numerous, and, as a consequence, native settlements continued to exist in that region.[13] Romanians began to withdraw from the low- into the forested highlands only when the number of nomads in the Lower Danube region began to increase. By the mid-eleventh century, most settlements of the Dridu culture in the lowlands had been abandoned. The majority of the population in the contact zone between low- and highlands, and even in some hilly regions of southern Moldavia, had moved out completely by the late twelfth century. Such radical changes in the demographic structure of

[12] *FHDR*, I, pp. 524–525 (Florus).

[13] I. Nestor, "Formarea poporului român," in *Istoria poporului român*, ed. A. Oţetea (Bucharest, 1970), p. 111; Diaconu, *Petchénègues*, pp. 22–24; M. Sâmpetru, "Le région du Bas-Danube au X^{e} siècle de notre ère," *Dacia*, NS, 18 (1974), pp. 254–262; E. Corbu, *Sudul României în evul mediu timpuriu (secolele VIII–XI). Repere arheologice* (Brăila, 2006), pp. 10–45 and 122–212.

the region were caused primarily by the incursions of the nomads, who in turn looked for an expansion of their pasture lands. The migration of the Pechenegs, the Cumans and the other Turkic groups created a climate of uncertainty for farmers and their families, who preferred to move away from the lands now controlled by the nomads.

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The peculiar aspects of the Romanian-Turkic contacts are best illustrated by medieval place names and onomastics, as well as by old Turkic loans in Romanian. For decades, studies dedicated to this problem were based only on a number of acceptable, yet imprecise observations, a situation which Nicolae Iorga aptly defined as "new plaster over old walls" (*tencuială nouă peste ziduri vechi*).[14]

Ever since the nineteenth century, scholars have associated various ethnic names of Turkic origin with personal or place names in Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, and Poland. The east-Carpathian area figures prominently among the regions with a significant number of place names of Turkic origin. Most of them appear to be of Cuman: *Coman, Comănel, Comăneşti*,[15] and the like. The *Uz* and the *Oituz*,[16] both tributaries of the Trotuş river, as well as the *Huzun*,[17] a tributary of the Prut, have been associated with Uzes. Similarly, the name of the village *Berindeşti* has been associated with the Berendei,[18] that of the villae *Borodniceni* with the Brodniks,[19] and

[14] N. Iorga, *Cugetări*, ed. B. Theodorescu (Bucharest, *sine anno*), p. 260.

[15] I. Gherghel, "Cercetări privitoare la istoria comanilor, II," *Revista Tinerimea română*, SN, 3 (1899), p. 390; O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine. I—Les origines; II—Le seizième siècle*, ed. V. Rusu (Bucharest, 1997), p. 355; G. Poboran, "Cumanii-Comani," *Arhivele Olteniei* 2 (1923), no. 5, p. 17; N. Drăganu, *Românii în veacurile IX–XIV pe baza toponimiei şi a onomasticii* (Bucharest, 1933), p. 530; I. Iordan, *Toponimia românească* (Bucharest, 1963), pp. 269–270; H. F. Wendt, *Die türkische Elemente im Rumänischen* (Berlin, 1960), p. 172; L. Keller, "*Qïpčaq, kuman, kun.* Megjegyzések a polovecek önelnevezéséhez", in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*, eds S. Felföldi, B. Sinkovics (Budapest, 2001), p. 143.

[16] A. D. Xenopol, *Une énigme historique. Les Roumains au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1885), p. 149; C. Necşulescu, "Năvălirea uzilor prin Ţările Române în Imperiul bizantin," *RIR* 9 (1939), p. 204; L. Rásonyi, *Hidak a Dunán. A régi török népek a Dunánál* (Budapest, 1981), pp. 93 and 99; M. A. Ekrem, *Din istoria turcilor dobrogeni* (Bucharest, 1994), p. 17.

[17] I. Conea and I. Donat, "Contribution à l'étude de la toponymie petchénègue-comane de la Plaine Roumaine du Bas-Danube," in *Contributions onomastiques publiées à l'occasion du VIe Congrès international des sciences onomastiques à Munich du 24 au 28 août 1958*, eds. I. Iordan, E. Petrovici, M. Sala (Bucharest, 1958), p. 158 with n. 1.

[18] L. Rásonyi Nagy, "Der Volksname Берендей," *SK* 6 (1933), p. 219.

[19] M. Costăchescu, *Documente moldoveneşti de la Ştefan cel Mare* (Iaşi, 1933), p. 96.

the place name *Picegani*, near Bârlad, with the Pechenegs.[20] Primarily because of a general tendency among historians to exaggerate the role of the Pechenegs in the political and military developments of the Romanian lands outside the Carpathian Mountains, numerous place names have been associated with them, which actually are not of Pecheneg origin.[21] Some have meanwhile raised doubts about any possible relation between the names of the two rivers, Uz and Oituz, and the Uzes.[22] Equally doubtful are by now the associations between *Borodniceni* and the Brodniks, *Picegani* and the Pechenegs, as well as *Huzun* and the Uzes.

By contrast, of an authentically Turkic origin is *Berindeşti*, the name of a deserted village on the right bank of the river Siret, near Heci (Lespezi commune, Iaşi county), which is first mentioned in the written sources in 1453.[23] Equally Turkic is the are the names of *Berindeeşti*, a deserted village at the mouth of Costâna (Suceava county), on the right bank of the river Suceava, first recorded in 1507;[24] *Berindeeşti* (*Berendieşti, Berindeşti*), another deserted village on the Siret, near Săbăoani (Neamț county), first recorded in 1597;[25] *Berindieşti*, a deserted village on the

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[20] Al. Papadopul Calimach, *Notiță istorică despre Bârlad* (Bârlad, 1889), p. 15; C. C. Giurescu, "O nouă sinteză a trecutului nostru," *RIR* 1 (1931), p. 378.

[21] G. Lükö, "Havaselve és Moldva népei a X–XII. században," *Ethnographia népélet* 46 (1935), nos. 1–4, p. 92, also lists *Băşeni* and *Beşineşti*, two place names in northern and central Moldavia, as deriving from the Hungarian word for Pecheneg, *besenyö* (*Bessi, Bisseni* in Latin). However, both place names have a very different, if less illustrious, origin and nothing to do with the Pechenegs.

[22] Al. Philippide, *Originea românilor*, I (Iaşi, 1923), p. 728; Drăganu, *Românii*, p. 510 with n. 1; I. Pătruț, *Nume de persoane şi nume de locuri româneşti* (Bucharest, 1984), pp. 27–28.

[23] *DRH,A*, II, no. 33. See also no. 48; *Moldova în epoca feudalismului / Молдавия в эпоху феодализма*, II, eds. D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nichitici, L. I. Svetlichnaia, P. V. Sovetov, co-ord. L. V. Cherepnin (Kishinev, 1978), no. 42.

[24] T. Bălan, *Documente bucovinene*, VI (Bucharest, 1942), pp. 235–236, 251–252, and 282; VII, *1464–1740*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2005), nos. 3, 9, pp. 4–7 and 23–27; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, pp. 63 and 327; *Din tezaurul documentar sucevean. Catalog de documente 1393–1849*, eds. V. Gh. Miron, M. Şt. Ceauşu, G. Irimescu, S. Irimescu (Bucharest, 1983), nos. 103 and 1092; Al. Vitencu, *Documente moldoveneşti din Bucovina (*offprint from *Anuarul LIV al "Liceului Real Ortodox" din Cernăuți)* (Cernăuți, 1929), pp. 10–11; *Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova*, I, *Repertoriul istoric al unităților administrativ-teritoriale, 1772–1988*, 1, *Unități simple (Localități şi moşii), A-O*, ed. D. Moldovanu (Iaşi, 1991), p. 76; *Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova*, I, 4: D. Moldovanu, *Toponimia Moldovei în cartografia europeană veche (cca 1395–1789)* (Iaşi, 2005), p. 24.

[25] *Călători*, IV, p. 42 (B. Quirini); Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete şi izvoade* (Iaşi), II (1907), pp. 364–370; V (1908), p. 241; XXI (1929), pp. 155–163; *DRH,A*, XXII, no. 132; *DIR,A, v. XVII*, II, pp. 40–42, 154, 192–193, and 247–248; III, pp. 52 and 78; IV, pp. 2, 4, 23, 269–270, 331, and 501; V, pp. 40 and 95; *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti din Arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului*, II, eds. M. Regleanu, I. Gheorghian, V. Vasilescu,

Vaslui, near Micleşti (Vaslui county), first mentioned in 1618;[26] *Berindeşti*, an estate and subsequently (in the 1800s) a village, the territory of which is now incorporated into Gâşteni (Răcăciuni commune, Bacău county);[27] *Coman* (*Comana*), a place name in Bodeşti, near Tătăruşi (Iaşi county), mentioned in 1398 and 1404;[28] *Coman* (Sănduleni commune, Bacău county), a village on the Turlui, on the left of the river Tazlău, which is mentioned in charters dated to 1409;[29] *Comanul*, a hill in Tescani (Bereşti-Tazlău commune, Bacău county), in the Tazlău valley; *Comanul*, a mountain peak next to Schitu Frumoasa (Balcani commune, Bacău county), on the Coman creek;[30] *Comanul*, a hamlet included in Arbore (Suceava county), first mentioned in the nineteenth century;[31] *Comăna* (*Comana, Comăneşti*), an estate and hamlet, attested in 1676, situated on the Jeravăţ creek, near the village of Lungeşti (Galaţi county);[32] *Comănăuţi*, a deserted village on the Crasna, a left-bank tributary of the Siret, near Bătrâneşti (Icuşeşti commune, Neamţ county), mentioned in 1404;[33] *Comăneşti* (*Comănial*), a village on the Rebricea, a tributary of the Bârlad, recorded in 1497, deserted in the 1700s;[34] *Comăneşti* (Cavadineşti

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and D. Duca (Bucharest, 1959), nos. 20, 63, 623, 759, and 978; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 76; *Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova*, I, 3, *Toponimia Moldovei în documente scrise în limbi străine (exclusiv slavona), 1332–1850*, eds. M. Ciubotaru, V. Cojocaru, G. Istrate, co-ord. Moldovanu (Iaşi, 2004), p. 14; L. Pilat, *Comunităţi tăcute. Satele din parohia Săbăoani (secolele XVII–XVIII)* (Bacău, 2002), pp. 50–60.

[26] *DIR,A, v. XVII*, IV, pp. 232, 498; *DRH,A*, XXI, no. 331; XXIV, nos. 202, 203, 259; XXV, nos. 328, 418, 419; *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, I, *Acte interne (1408–1660)*, eds. I. Caproşu and P. Zahariuc (Iaşi, 1999), no. 232, pp. 309–310.

[27] *Tezaurul*, I, 1 (see above, n. 24), p. 76.

[28] *DRH,A*, I, nos. 6, 19.

[29] *DRH,A*, I, no. 24; II, no. 104; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, pp. 502–503; Ghibănescu, *Surete*, II (see above, n. 25), pp. 326–331; *Suceava. File de istorie. Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului, 1388–1918*, I, eds. V. Gh. Miron, M.-Şt. Ceauşu, I. Caproşu, G. Irimescu (Bucharest, 1989), no. 54; *Colecţia de documente de la Filiala Arhivelor Statului, judeţul Bacău, 1400–1864. Catalog*, ed. D. Zaharia (Bucharest, 1986), nos. 1476 and 1659; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 266; C. Stoica, *Dicţionarul istoric al localităţilor trotuşene* (Oneşti, 1998), pp. 92–93; idem (C. Gh. Stoica), *Valea Trotuşului. Enciclopedie* (Oneşti, 2006), pp. 169–170.

[30] Gh. I. Lahovari, C. I. Brătianu, Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Marele dicţionar geografic al României*, II (Bucharest, 1899), pp. 572–573; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 266; Stoica, *Dicţionarul istoric*, p. 93; idem, *Valea Trotuşului*, p. 170.

[31] *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 766.

[32] I. Antonovici, *Documente bârlădene*, IV (Bârlad, 1924), p. 116; *Catalog de documente din Arhivele Statului Iaşi*, I, *Moldova, 1398–1595*, ed. V. Isac (Bucharest, 1989), no. 332; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 767.

[33] *DRH,A*, I, no. 18.

[34] *DRH,A*, III, no. 221; XVIII, nos. 65, 66; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, p. 414; T. G. Bulat, *Documentele mănăstirii Văratec* (Chişinău, 1939), pp. 2–3, 38–39, 120–121, 124–127, 133–134, 145–146, 153, and 177–182; *Din tezaurul arhivistic vasluian. Catalog de documente*

commune, Galaţi county), a village on the Horincea, first recorded in 1459;[35] *Comăneşti*, a deserted village in the former county (*ţinut*) of Vaslui, recorded for the first time in 1546;[36] *Comăneşti*, a deserted village near Bolţun (Ungheni county, Republic of Moldova), on the Lăpuşna, at the mouth of Lăpuşniţa, mentioned in a document of 1598;[37] *Comăneşti* (Botoşana commune, Suceava county), a village situated on the Hotari, a tributary of the river Soloneţ, frequently mentioned beginning with 1601;[38] *Comăneşti*, a village that merged with Suharău in 1968 (Botoşani county)—on the Başeu—first mentioned in 1613;[39] *Comăneşti* (Bacău

(1399–1877), eds. Gr. Găneţ, C.-I. Gârneaţă (Bucharest, 1986), no. 151; N. Gr. Ciubotaru, "Un sat dispărut: Comăneşti pe Rebricea," *AIIA* 19 (1982), pp. 539–540; M. Ciubotaru, "Toponimia bazinului hidrografic Rebricea (jud. Iaşi—jud. Vaslui). Oiconimele. Perspectivă istorică (II)," *AIIA* 29 (1992), pp. 431–432; idem, *Comuna Vultureşti*, I, *Studiu de istorie socială. Onomastică* (Iaşi, 2003), pp. 95–100; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 268.

[35] *DRH,A*, II, no. 87; XXIV, no. 39; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, pp. 428–429; V, pp. 216–217; *Cronica liuzilor pe 1803*, ed. Th. Codrescu, in *Uricarul*, VII (Iaşi, 1886), p. 335; *Condica Abeţedară*, in *Uricarul*, VIII (Iaşi, 1886), p. 62; C. N. Tomescu, "Ştiri catagrafice din Biserica Moldovei în 1809," *Arhivele Basarabiei* 3 (1931), no. 1, p. 196; G. Crăciun, "Sate răzăşeşti în Moldova la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea," *CIs*, SN, 12–13 (1981–1982), pp. 590–591; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 268.

[36] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, p. 510; III, pp. 251, 381–382. According to N. Gr. Ciubotaru, "Un sat dispărut," p. 540, the village is now Ţigăneşti on Sărata rivulet, near Fereşti (Vaslui county).

[37] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, IV, pp. 205–206; Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete şi izvoade*, VIII (Iaşi, 1914), pp. 233–239.

[38] *DIR,A, v. XVII*, I, pp. 11–12; IV, p. 9; T. Bălan, *Documente bucovinene*, II (Cernăuţi, 1934), pp. 106 and 161; IV (Cernăuţi, 1938), p. 213; V (Cernăuţi, 1939), p. 129; VII, *1464–1740*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2005), nos. 42, 69, pp. 83–84 and 119; IX (*1800–1899*), ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2006), nos. 4, 49, pp. 4 and 57–58; *DRH,A*, XVIII, no. 114; XXIV, no. 115; *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti*, II (see above, n. 25), no. 163; *Din tezaurul documentar* (see above, n. 24), nos. 466, 802, 1103, and 1178; N. Grămadă, *Toponimia minoră a Bucovinei*, I, ed. I. Popescu-Sireteanu (Rădăuţi, 1996), pp. 233–234; I. Dan, *Toponimie şi continuitate în Moldova de Nord* (Iaşi, 1980), p. 70; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 267; I, 3, p. 35; I, 4, p. 57; *Domeniul mănăstirilor din Bucovina în secolele XIV–XVIII. Inventar de documente*, eds. M.-Şt. Ceauşu, M. Chelcu (Iaşi, 2007), pp. 206–208; nos. 67 G, 68 A-L.

[39] *DIR,A, v. XVII*, III, p. 135; IV, p. 352; V, p. 91; *DRH,A*, XXVI, no. 357; N. Iorga, *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, XXI, *Documente interne* (Bucharest, 1911), pp. 189 and 192; *Din tezaurul documentar*, no. 925; T. Bălan, *Familia Onciul. Studiu şi documente* (Cernăuţi, 1927), pp. 87–88; idem, *Documente bucovinene*, VIII (*1741–1799*), ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2006), no. 29, p. 29; *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, V, *Acte interne (1741–1755)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2001), no. 490, p. 283; *Documente privitoare la istoria Ţării Moldovei în secolul al XVIII-lea, 1751–1774. Cărţi domneşti şi zapise* (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, IX), eds. L. Svetlicinâi, D. Dragnev, E. Bociarov, co-ord. D. Dragnev (Chişinău, 2004), no. 144, p. 169; *Cronica liuzilor pe 1803* (see above, n. 35), p. 300; *Condica Abeţedară* (see above, n. 35), p. 58; Crăciun, "Sate răzăşeşti," pp. 532–533; *Tezaurul*, I, 4 (see above, n. 24), p. 57.

county), a town that developed out of a a village in the Trotuş valley;[40] *Comăneştilor* (*Seliştea*), at the mouth of the Cneaja (Chineja), near Viile (Fârţăneşti commune, Galaţi county), recorded in a document of 1448.[41] The name of the village *Comăreşti* (now Komarivtsi, Storojineţ district, Cernăuţi / Chernivtsi region, Ukraine), which is located on the Upper Siret river and was first recorded in the charters in 1607[42] is not the alteration by means rhotacism of the name *Comăneşti*, as initially believed, but a different name derived from the Ukrainian word for mosquito, *komar*.

Of Turkic origin are also such river names as *Berendiş* (a tributary of the Siret, near Tămăşeni); *Coman* (a right-bank, mountain tributary of the Tazlău, originating from the Goşman Mountains); *Comanac* (a tributary of the Miletin); *Coman* (a tributary of the Bistriţa); and *Uz* (a right-hand tributary of the Trotuş).[43]

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[40] A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Ţării Româneşti*, VII, *Acte şi scrisori (1602–1606)* (Bucharest, 1934), no. 248, p. 287 (Kományfalva); *DRH,A*, XXIII, no. 446; XXV, no. 114; XXVI, no. 534; *Călători*, VIII, p. 89 (A. Giorgini); IX, pp. 189–190 (I. C. Weiss); *Condica lui Constantin Mavrocordat*, II, ed. C. Istrati (Iaşi, 1986), nos. 6–9, 11, pp. 8–11; I. Neculce, *Opere. Letopiseţul Ţării Moldovei şi o samă de cuvinte*, ed. G. Ştrempel (Bucharest, 1982), pp. 634, 760, 781, and 790–793; idem, *Cronica copiată de Ioasaf Luca*, eds. Z. and P. Mihail (Chişinău, 1993), pp. 209, 255, 264, 267, and 268; *Recensământul populaţiei Moldovei din anii 1772–1773 şi 1774*, ed. P. G. Dmitriev (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, VII, 2) (Kishinev, 1975), p. 317; *Colecţia de documente de la Arhivele Statului Bacău (1424–1848)*, eds. D. Zaharia, E. Chiriacescu, and C. Cărămidaru (Bucharest, 1976), no. 924; *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, VII, *Acte interne (1771–1780)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2005), nos. 221, 266, pp. 240 and 333; *Condica Abeţedară*, p. 60; Tomescu, "Ştiri catagrafice," p. 179; C. Istrati, "Condica visteriei Moldovei din anul 1816," *AIIA*, Supl. I (1979), p. 26; C. A. Stoide, I. Caproşu, *Relaţiile economice ale Braşovului cu Moldova de la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea pînă la 1850* (Chişinău, 1992), pp. 16–18, 24, and 75; N. Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităţilor şi monumentelor medievale din Moldova* (Bucharest, 1974), p. 202; *Tezaurul*, I, 1, p. 267; I, 3, p. 35; I, 4, p. 57; Stoica, *Dicţionarul istoric*, pp. 93–95; idem, *Valea Trotuşului* (see above, n. 29), pp. 170–172.

[41] *DRH,A*, I, no. 280.

[42] *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti din Direcţia Arhivelor Centrale*, Supl. I, eds. M. Soveja, M. Regleanu, D. Tinculescu, M. Ciucă, G. Birceanu (Bucharest, 1975), nos. 237, 676, 679, and 788; *Din tezaurul documentar*, nos. 1453 and 1528; *DRH,A*, XXIV, no. 368; XXV, no. 227; XXVI, no. 48; Bălan, *Familia Onciul* (see above, n. 39), pp. 54, 132, 142, 146, 154, and 187; idem, *Documente bucovinene*, VII, no. 117, p. 180; VIII, nos. 21, 120, 172, pp. 19, 115–117, and 156; IX, nos. 14, 46, pp. 15 and 54; *Călători*, X, 2, p. 816 (B. Hacquet); N. Grămadă, "Vechile peceţi săteşti bucovinene, 1783–1900," *Codrul Cosminului* 10 (1936–1939), p. 247; idem, *Toponimia minoră*, I, p. 235; Em. Grigorovitza, *Dicţionarul geografic al Bucovinei* (Bucharest, 1908), pp. 70–71.

[43] Lahovari, Brătianu, Tocilescu, *Marele dicţionar* (see above, n. 30), I (1898), p. 376; II (1899), pp. 572 and 574.

A great number of fifteenth-seventeenth-century village and estate names in Wallachia (Ţara Românească, Muntenia) derive from the ethnic names Berendei and Cumans: *Berindei (Berindeni)* (Olt county), *Berindeiasca* (near Bucharest), *Berindeşti (Berendeşti, Berindeasca, Berindieşti)* (Argeş county), *Berindeşti (Berendeşti, Berendeasa)* (Buzău county), *Comana* (Giurgiu county), *Comanca* (the former Romanaţi district, now within the Olt county), *Comanca* (Vâlcea county), *Comani* (Dolj county), *Comani* (Mehedinţi county), *Comani (Comanca)* (Olt county), *Comăneasa* (Olt county), *Comăneşti* (Brăila county), *Comăneşti* (Gorj county), *Comăneşti* (the former Vlaşca district), *Comăneşti* (Mehedinţi county), and *Comăniţa (Comăniţi)* (Olt county).[44] Some of those villages were deserted in the early modern period, when other names of the same category were recorded and survived as such.[45]

There are place names in the Romanian Plain which recall the ethnic name of the Pechenegs, but such names appear significantly later in written documents: the *Peceneaga* forest (Brăila county), the *Picineagul* mountain (the former Muscel district), the *Peceneaga* village (Teleorman county).[46] etc. In all probability, the name of the river *Peceneaga* (a tributary of the Slănic, which in turn flows into the Buzău river) is older. The first written record of the creek *Peceneaga* in north-eastern Wallachia appears to be from 1632.[47] Place and river names such as these have matches across the Danube, in Dobrudja: *Peceneaga* (Tulcea county) and *Pecineaga* (Constanţa county). A Russian map of 1835 indicates two creeks near Peceneaga in Tulcea county: *P. стар. печеняга (Peceneaga Veche)* and *P. нов. печеняга (Peceneaga Nouă)*.[48]

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[44] *DRH,B*, I–VIII, XI, XXI–XXV, XXXI–XXXVII, *passim; DIR,B, v. XIII–XVI, Indicele numelor de locuri*, eds. I. Donat, S. Caracaş, Gh. Cioran, N. Ghinea, M. Kandel, Gr. Popescu, and Th. Rădulescu (Bucharest, 1956), pp. 11 and 36; *DIR,B, v. XVII (1601–1625), Indicele numelor de locuri*, eds. I. Donat, S. Caracaş, N. Ghinea, and M. Kandel (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 24–25 and 44; *Catalogul documentelor Ţării Româneşti, 1369–1600. Secţia istorică de la Arhivele Statului din Bucureşti*, ed. I.-R. Mircea (Bucharest, 1947); *Catalogul documentelor Ţării Româneşti din Arhivele Statului*, II, *1601–1620*, eds. M. Soveja, D. Duca-Tinculescu, R. Dragomir (Bucharest, 1974); III, *1621–1632*, eds. D. Duca-Tinculescu, M.-D. Ciucă (Bucharest, 1978); IV, *1633–1639* (Bucharest, 1981); V, *1640–1644* (Bucharest, 1985), eds. M.-D. Ciucă, D. Duca-Tinculescu, S. Vătafu-Găitan; VI, *1645–1649*, eds. M.-D. Ciucă, S. Vătafu-Găitan (Bucharest, 1993), *passim*.

[45] Diaconu, *Coumans*, p. 26.

[46] Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine* (see above, n. 15), p. 351; Şt. Ştefănescu, *Istoria medie a României*, I, *Principatele Române. Originea şi afirmarea lor* (Bucharest, 1991), p. 56.

[47] *DRH,B*, XXIII, no. 314.

[48] C. C. Giurescu, *Ştiri despre populaţia românească a Dobrogei în hărţi medievale şi moderne* [Constanţa, *sine anno*], p. 19.

The name of the Cumans also appears in place names in the eastern and central Balkans, as well as in Dobrudja: *Comana* (Constanţa county); *Kumanič, Kumanite (Kumaniti), Kumanitza, Kumantzi, Kumaritza, Kumanova Čuka, Kumanovči*, etc. (all in Bulgaria); *Koman / Kuman, Kumanić, Kumaničevo, Kumanich, Kumanovo* (in Macedonia).[49] In addition, in northern Albania, on the Drin, there is a village named *Komani / Koman*, and, as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, near the city of Priština (Kosovo), two villages with quasi-identical names, *Komanovo* and *Kumanovo*, were recorded in documents.[50] Similar names may be found in east-Slavic territories: *Koman, Komanov* and *Komańcza* in Galicia; *Komanevo* in the regions Vitebsk and Vologda; *Komanitza* and *Komanov* in the vicinity of Minsk; *Komanowa* near Tiraspol; *Kuman'* in the Chernihiv (Chernigov) region; *Kumanishnaia* in the Tver region; *Kumanovka* near Kiev; *Kumanov, Kumanovskaia Iuridika (Kumanówka)* and *Kumanovtzy (Kumanowce)* in Podolia. There is also a village called *Kumoniu (Kumantzy, Kumancie)* in the vicinity of Vilnius (Lithuania), and another one, *Komanica (Komanitza)*, in the Mikhalovce region of Slovakia.[51]

By contrast with Moldavia and Wallachia, only a few place names derived from the name of the Cumans are known from Transylvania. On the left bank of the Olt river, east of Făgăraş, two villages, *Comana de Jos (Kwmana, Komanfalva, Kománya, Alsó Komana)* and *Comana de Sus (Kwman, Felsö Komana)*, appear frequently in written sources of the fifteenth to seventeenth century.[52] They still exist today. The village *Comandău* (Covasna county), which probably dates from the earlier modern period,

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[49] St. Mladenov, "Печенези и узи-кумани въ българската история," *Българска историческа библиотека*, 4 (1931), no. 1, p. 130; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 26–27; V. Stoianov, *Bulgaro-Turcica*, 3–4, *История на изучаването на Codex Cumanicus. Неславянска, кумано-печенежка антропонимика в българските земи през XV век* (Sofia, 2000), pp. 188–189.

[50] Stoianov, *Bulgaro-Turcica*, 3–4, *История*, p. 188.

[51] *Russisches Geographisches Namenbuch*, begründet von Max Vasmer, IV, co-ord. H. Bräuer, eds. I. Coper, I. Doerfer, J. Prinz, G. V. Schulz, and R. Siegmann (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 337 and 675.

[52] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI, ed. G. Gündisch, in collab. with H. Gündisch, G. Nussbächer, K. G. Gündisch (Bucharest, 1981), no. 3766, p. 433; Veress, *Documente* (see above, n. 40), III, *Acte şi scrisori (1585–1592)* (Bucharest, 1931), no. 101, p. 162; V *(1596–1599)* (Bucharest, 1932), no. 176, p. 259; VI *(1600–1601)* (Bucharest, 1933), no. 358, pp. 377–378; *Urbariile Ţării Făgăraşului*, I, *1601–1650*, eds. D. Prodan, L. Ursuţiu and M. Ursuţiu (Bucharest, 1970), pp. 109, 110, 121, 122, 195, 256, 267, 276, etc.; II, *1651–1680*, ed. D. Prodan (Bucharest, 1976), pp. 88, 89, 191, 192, 284, 286, 287, etc.; A. Lukács, "Un document inedit din 1582 privind boierii români din Ţara Făgăraşului," in *Timpul Istoriei, Memorie şi patrimoniu / Le temps de l'Histoire*, I, *Memoire et patrimoine. In honorem emeritae Ligiae Bârzu*, eds. M. Ciho, V. Nistor,

is located farther to the east. The name of *Comăneşti* (Braşov county) is even newer, as it replaced in the twentieth the old name, Homorod-Chemenfalău.[53] In Crişana, to the west from the Apuseni Mountains, the village *Comăneşti* (Arad county) appears in documents in the 1400s as *Komanyfalva*.[54] A village with the name of *Comanfalva*[55] and another called *Kunfalu*[56] were also mentioned in the fourteenth century as being in Banat, where there were also two creeks called *Komanpathak*. [57]

All those examples show that place names recalling the name of the Cumans appear within a vast area inhabited by Romanians, as well as by other neighboring nations. It it quite obvious that such place names are not restricted to the area previously inhabited by Cumans, nor do they appear exclusively within the regions they often raided, but instead appear in parts of the Europe to which they never went.

On the basis of names of rivers ending in *-ui* (meaning *river* or *valley*) which appear in great numbers in Siberia and central Asia, Gustav Weigand first put forward the idea that the names of the left-bank tributaries of the Danube ending in *-ui* (*Bahlui, Covurlui, Derehlui / Derlui, Suhului, Teslui, Turlui, Urlui, Vaslui, Văsui*) are of Turkic origin.[58] The theory of the German philologist was embraced by almost everyone,[59]

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and D. Zaharia (Bucharest, 1997), pp. 246–251; C. Suciu, *Dicţionar istoric al localităţilor din Transilvania*, I (Bucharest, 1966), pp. 162–163.

[53] Suciu, *Dicţionar*, I, p. 163.

[54] D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, I (Budapest, 1890), p. 736.

[55] *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez*, I, *1183–1430*, ed. F. Pesty (*Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros története*, ed. T. Ortvay, IV) (Pozsony, 1896), no. 67, p. 109; no. 68, p. 110; *DRH,C*, XIII, no. 403. See also S. Oţa, "Domenii ale pecenegilor şi cumanilor în Banatul istoric," *Studii de istorie a Banatului* 26–27 (2002–2003), p. 232.

[56] D. Ţeicu, *Banatul montan în evul mediu* (Timişoara, 1998), p. 343.

[57] *DRH,C*, XIII, no. 376. See also Oţa, "Domenii ale pecenegilor şi cumanilor," p. 235; idem, "Populaţii nomade de stepă din Banat (secolele XI–XIV), I. Pecenegii şi cumanii," in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, eds. I. Cândea, V. Sîrbu, M. Neagu (Brăila, 2004), pp. 501, 503, 508, 519, 520.

[58] G. Weigand, "Ursprung der südkarpatischen Flussnamen in Rumänien," 26.–29. *Jahresbericht des Institut für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig* (1921), pp. 96–98.

[59] Al. Philippide, *Originea românilor*, II (Iaşi, 1927), pp. 372–373 and 375; T. Hotnog, *Câteva nume topice româneşti de origine cumană* (offprint from *Anuarul Liceului Naţional din Iaşi*, 1932–1933), pp. 1–10; Iorga, *Histoire*, III, p. 42; idem, "Revelaţii toponimice pentru istoria neştiută a românilor, I, Teleormanul," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 23 (1940–1941), p. 334; P. P. Panaitescu, *Interpretări româneşti* (Bucharest, 1947), p. 62; D. Krandjalov, "Les noms Cahul et Cogalnic ne dérivent pas d'Ὄγγλος," *Byzantinoslavica* 9 (1947), no. 1, pp. 198–201; I. Iordan, "Sprachgeographisches aus dem Gebiete der rumänischen Toponomastik," in *Contributions onomastiques* (see above, n. 17), pp. 28–29; I. Conea, "Toponimia. Aspectele ei geografice," in *Monografia geografică a Republicii Populare Române*, I, *Geografia fizică*, ed. I. P. Gherasimov et al. (Bucharest, 1960), p. 89; Giurescu,

after an initial hesitancy. Ion Conea and Ion Donat have studied river names in the Romanian Plain with remarkable results. They identified 47 names of rivers ending in *-ui* and *-lui*, some of them repeated for different rivers: *Călmățui* for eight different rivers, *Teslui* for four, *Băldălui* and *Urlui* for three.[60] Unlike the distribution of nomadic burial assemblages, which do not occur to the west from the Olt river, river names of Turkic origin appear in great numbers in southern Oltenia, where there is even a "Ford of the Cumans"—*Vadul Cumanilor* (*Коуманскыи Брод*), recorded in documents in 1385 and in subsequent years.[61] Judging from such evidence, as well as from historical sources pertaining to Turkic incursions to the west from the Romanian Plain, the possibility of nomadic burial assemblages being discovered on the right bank of the Olt River must not be excluded.

In the Carpathian-Dniester region, names ending *-ui* commonly apply to rivulets and creeks: the *Bahlui*, a tributary of the Jijia; three creeks called *Călmățui*, all within the Călmățui Plain, in the former Ismail county, and in the region to the east from the Middle Prut Plain, north of Leova; the *Copcui*, in the former Ismail county; the river and the lake *Covurlui*, in the Covurlui Plain; the lake *Cuhurlui* (also called *Covurlui* or *Cugurlui*), at the southern end of Lake Ialpug; the *Der(eh)lui*, a tributary of the Prut, at Ostrița; the *Perlui*, a tributary of the Ciuluc; the *Suhu(r)lui*, with two tributaries, *Suhurluiul cu Apă* and *Suhurluiul Sec*, in the Covurlui Plain; the *Turlui*, a tributary of the Tazlău; and the *Vaslui*, a tributary of the Bârlad, etc.

Some of those names also apply to villages established nearby: *Bahluiu* (Cotnari commune, Iaşi county); *Călmățui* (Grivița commune, Galați county); *Călmățui* (Hânceşti district); *Călmățui*, or *Copcui* (a deserted village situated in the former Ismail county); *Turlui* (a deserted village in the former Bacău county); *Vaslui* (Vaslui county), and many others.[62]

Tîrguri (see above, n. 10), pp. 31–32; C. C. Giurescu, D. C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, 1 (Bucharest, 1975), p. 198; A. Eremia, *Nume de localități. Studiu de toponimie moldovenească* (Chişinău, 1970), pp. 41–42; Al. Graur, *Nume de locuri* (Bucharest, 1972), p. 103; I. Donat, "The Romanians south of the Carpathians and the migratory peoples in the tenth–thirteenth centuries," in *Relations*, pp. 292–293; Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 31–33; G. Ivănescu, *Istoria limbii române* (Iaşi, 1980), p. 437.

[60] Conea and Donat, "Contribution" (see above, n. 17), pp. 143–152.

[61] *DRH,B*, I, nos. 7, 8, 14, 16, 22, 53, etc.

[62] I. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare*, I, II (Bucharest, 1913); M. Costăchescu, *Documentele moldoveneşti înainte de Ştefan cel Mare* (Iaşi), I (1931); II (1932); idem, *Documente moldoveneşti de la Ştefan cel Mare* (Iaşi, 1933); idem, *Documentele moldoveneşti de la Bogdan voevod (1504–1517)* (Bucharest, 1940); idem, *Documentele moldoveneşti de la Ştefăniță voevod*

It is interesting to note that at Valea Zăbalei, a village in the Vrancea region, the term *balhui* was recorded with the meaning of "a deep place in the water". It is possible that the river name *Bahlui* was formed on the basis of metathesis.[63] There are also other place names ending in *-ui*: *Acui*, a village in the Cahul county; *Acui*, a lost village near Căinari, in the former Tighina county; *Bahlui*, a hill near Belceşti (Iaşi county); *Bului*, a hill near Băsăşti (Pârjol commune, Bacău county); *Ciuhui*, a hill near Măstăcani (Galaţi county); *Cupcui*, a village in the former Lăpuşna county, etc.

Besides the names mentioned above, several philologists and historians have assigned an old Turkic origin to other place names in the Carpathian-Dniester region: *Tocsăbeni*,[64] *Bârlad, Tecuci, Galaţi, Fălciu, Berheci, Pereschiv, Corhană*,[65] *Bugeac, Copciac, Tabac, Borceac, Tuzla, Atachi, Chişlia (Mare* and *Mică), Cunduc, Iagorlâc, Tighina, Hotin, Chişinău*,[66] *Dereneu, Sucmezeu, Urmezeu, Tazlău, Tarcău, Sinacău, Orhei, Ordăşei, Vinderei, Ichel, Căinari, Ciucur, Tuzora, Tonguz(eni), Cuhureşti, Alcedar, Ciuluc, Teban, Ţăpurdei, Sobari*,[67] *Delea, Cula, Turla (*= Dniester*), Caltabuga, Cahul, Sagala,*

(1517–1527) (Iaşi, 1943); *DRH,A*, I–III, VI, XVIII, XIX, XXI–XXVII; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I–IV; *v. XVII*, I–V; *Documente din Basarabia*, eds. V. Puiu, C. Tomescu, Şt. Berechet, Şt. Ciobanu (Chişinău, 1928); *Moldova în epoca feudalismului / Молдавия в эпоху феодализма*, I—eds. P. G. Dmitriev, D. M. Dragnev, E. M. Russev, P. V. Sovetov, red. L. V. Cherepnin (Kishinev, 1961); II—eds. D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nichitici, L. I. Svetlichnaia, P. V. Sovetov, red. L. V. Cherepnin (Kishinev, 1978); III—eds. D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nichitici, L. I. Svetlichnaia, P. V. Sovetov, red. V. P. Pashuto (Kishinev, 1982); IV (Kishinev, 1986); V (Kishinev, 1987); VI (Chişinău, 1992)—eds. D. M. Dragnev, A. N. Nichitici, L. I. Svetlichnaia, P. V. Sovetov, red. P. V. Sovetov; VIII—gen. ed. D. Dragnev, eds. L. Svetlicinîi, D. Dragnev, E. Bociarov (Chişinău, 1998); *Din tezaurul documentar* (see above, n. 24); P. Mihail, *Documente şi zapise moldoveneşti de la Constantinopol (1607–1806)* (Iaşi, 1948); Lahovari, Brătianu, Tocilescu, *Marele dicţionar* (see above, n. 30), I (1898); II (1988); III (1900); IV (1901); V (1902); Z. Arbore, *Dicţionarul geografic al Basarabiei* (Bucharest, 1904); A. V. Boldur, *Istoria Basarabiei. Contribuţii la studiul istoriei românilor*, I (Chişinău, 1937), pp. 89–90; Eremia, *Nume de localităţi*, pp. 41–43; V. Nicu, *Localităţile Moldovei în documente şi cărţi vechi. Îndreptar bibliografic*, I, II (Chişinău, 1991); *passim*.

[63] Al. Obreja, "Asupra hidronimelor Bahlui şi Jijia," *ASUI*, Secţ. II, *c. Geografie* 18 (1972), pp. 41–42.

[64] N. Iorga, "Imperiul cumanilor şi domnia lui Băsărabă. Un capitol din colaboraţia româno-barbară în evul mediu," *AARMSI*, Ser. III, 8 (1927–28), p. 99 (reprint in idem, *Studii asupra evului mediu românesc*, ed. Ş. Papacostea (Bucharest, 1984), pp. 67–71); I. Chirtoagă, *Din istoria Moldovei de Sud-Est până in anii '30 ai sec. al XIX-lea* (Chişinău, 1999), p. 44.

[65] Philippide, *Originea*, II (see above, n. 59), pp. 362–376.

[66] Boldur, *Istoria Basarabiei*, pp. 86–95.

[67] N. Raevskii, "Toponime de origine iranică şi turcică," *Limba şi literatura moldovenească*, Chişinău, 7 (1964), no. 1, pp. 59–60.

Ialpug,[68] *Bâc*,[69] *Jijia*,[70] *Delacău*, and *Tiligul*.[71] According to Ion V. Dron, place names such as *Alcedar, Tazlău, Tighina, Tonguz(eni), Tuzora*, and river names such as *Caltabuga, Căinari, Ciuluc, Cogîlnic* and *Cula* in Bessarabia, all of which appear in sources between the fifteenth and the seventh century, must have appeared only after the great Mongol invasion of 1241–1242.[72] The same author believes that the names *Ciuhur, Hagidar*, and *Kunduk*, which appear in Bessarabia, are also Old Turkic.[73] But his arguments are not very convincing when attempting to derive from the language of the Geto-Dacians *Turla*,[74] the Turkic name for the river Dniester (Rom. *Nistru*), which appears as early as the tenth century in the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and was then recorded in Ottoman sources throughout the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

It is worth mentioning that for many of the above-mentioned place (e.g., *Alcedar, Atachi, Chişinău, Orhei, Hotin, Tighina, Ţăpurdei*, or *Vinderei*) and river names (*Bârlad, Jijia, Tarcău, Tazlău*) the connection with the Pechenegs, the Cumans, the Tatars, or the Ottoman Turks remains uncertain. For example, the name *Tocsăbeni* derives from a personal name, *Tocsabă (Toxabă)*, just as the name of the village *Talabă* (in the former Fălciu county) is in fact a personal name. For all villages with names thought to be of Turkic origin, one needs to verify whether any settlement existed there at the time the Pechenegs and the Cumans ruled over the steppe lands. Judging from the available evidence, it appears that no traces of settlements dated to the beginning of the second millennium have been found in any of the localities with names of supposedly Turkic origin. It is therefore possible that such names are in fact no older than the Tatar occupation of the Bugeac.

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[68] Eremia, *Nume de localităţi* (see above, n. 59), pp. 43–44.

[69] Idem, *Географические названия рассказывают*, 2nd ed. (Kishinev, 1990), pp. 120–121.

[70] M. Lozbă, "Sensul şi originea unor vechi toponime dacoromâne," *AŞUI*, SN, Secţ. III, *e. Lingvistică* 24 (1977), pp. 101–102. According to another opinion both *Jijia* and *Bârlad* are of Slavic origin. See D. Moldovanu, "Hidronime româneşti de origine slavă," *Anuar de lingvistică şi istorie literară*, Iaşi, 31 (1986–1987), A, pp. 291–301 and 308–312.

[71] Chirtoagă, *Din istoria Moldovei* (see above, n. 64), pp. 44–45.

[72] I. V. Dron, *Гагаузские географические названия (Территория Прутo-Днестровского междуречья)* (Kishinev, 1992), p. 7.

[73] Idem, "Hidronimie românească (Basarabia şi Transnistria)," *Tyragetia* 9 (1999), pp. 137–138, 142, and 144.

[74] Idem, "Turla—denumire străveche daco-getică a Nistrului," *Tyragetia* 6–7 (1998), pp. 111–113; idem, "Hidronimie românească," pp. 142–144.

As the Turkic tribes were nomadic, their contribution to the place names of region in which they lived must have been limited. However, the same is not true about river names. In the steppe lands of both Eurasia steppes and the region outside the Carpathian Mountains there are many river names of Turkic origin. Such rivers may have well had Romanian names as well. In certain cases, no native names existed, perhaps because such bodies of water were not sufficiently important to the locals to employ more than a generic name, such as *pârâu* (creek), *râu* (river), *vale* (valley) and *gârlă* (brook), as it is still the case today. By contrast, river names, even of small creeks and rivulets, were very important for groups involved in a seasonal migration within a certain area, for they served for orientation within the steppe lands otherwise devoid of any permanent markers in the landscape. Sorting out place names clearly associated with Turkic nomads leads to some important conclusions. River and place names ending in *-ui* cluster in southern Moldavia, the region in which the nomads moved along river valleys from the grazing fields next to the sea to the rich pasture land in the north. This is also the region with the largest number of burial assemblages, which can be safely attributed to the Turkic nomads.[75] The same situation may be noted in the Romanian Plain, where most river names ending in *-ui* (*-lui*) appear in the lowlands. Moreover, most place names derived from Turkic appellatives are to be found in southern Moldavia.

The name of the village Berindeeşti, near Săbăoani (Neamț county), was first recorded in 1597. Archaeological excavations in the area unearthed houses dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth century.[76] No earlier occupation phase has been identified, which could be dated to the centuries during which the Turkic nomads ruled the steppe lands. Simlarly, field surveys in Comăneşti (Bacău county)[77] and Comăneşti (Galați county)[78] produced diagnostic material from several historical periods, but not dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century.

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[75] V. Spinei, "Relations of the local population of Moldavia with the nomad Turanian tribes in the 10th–13th centuries," in *Relations*, pp. 274–275.

[76] D. Hordilă, "Traian, jud. Neamț," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. Campania 1997. A XXXII-a Sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Călărași, 20–24 mai 1998* [Bucharest, 1998], pp. 81–82; eadem, "Câteva considerații de ordin arheologic privind populația catolică din zona Romanului în secolele XIV–XIX," *Buletin istoric* (Episcopia Romano-Catolică Iași) 1 (2000), pp. 70–74.

[77] Zaharia etc., *Aşezări*, p. 362; Stoica, *Valea Trotuşului* (see above, n. 29), p. 170.

[78] Zaharia etc., *Aşezări*, p. 362; Stoica, *Valea Trotuşului*, p. 170.

The conclusion seems inescapable: all those villages were in fact established at a much later time, without any participation of the Turkic tribes, which, at that particular time, must have long disappeared from the region.

At a close examination, place and river names derived from the names of the Cumans, the Berindei and the Uzes appear primarily in the highlands. Two thirds of them in fact appear in the region between the Carpathians and the Siret, where no traces of the presence of Turkic nomads have so far been found. Moreover, the number of such place names decreases as one moves from the west to the east. In Wallachia, such place names appear both in high- and lowlands. The distribution of river and place names obviously has no relationship to the territories once ruled by the nomads, from whose names they are supposedly derived. Similarly, place names derived from the name of the Pechenegs appear in parts of Ukraine and Russia, where no Turkic tribes have never lived.[79]

In reality, most place names such as *Comăneşti* or *Berindeeşti* do not derive directly from ethnic names, but from personal names such as *Coman* and *Berindei*, which were quite common in the Romanian lands both in the Middle Ages and later. A few examples can clarify the point. The village *Coman* on the Turlui, which is first attested under Alexander the Good (Alexandru cel Bun) (prince of Moldavia between 1400–1432) appears as *Seliştea lui Coman*[80] in the subsequent decades, a clear indication that at the origin of the village name is in fact the personal name of the founder. *Comăneşti* on the Başeu river also derives from a personal name, Coman, the son of Galiş, to whom prince Alexander the Good granted land on the Başeu in 1412 to set up a village.[81] *Comăneşti* on the Rebricea derives from Comănel (Comănial), a personal name recorded in 1497[82] and 1546,[83] while the name of the estate and hamlet *Comana*, located on the Jeravăţ, recalls that of a certain Coman, who is mentioned in a document of 1495.[84]

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[79] D. Rassovsky, "Печенеги, торки и берендеи на Руси и въ Угріи," *SK* 6 (1933), pp. 50–63; A. M. Shcherbak, "Знаки на керамике и кирпичах из Саркела-Белой Вежи," *MIA*, 75 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1959), p. 375.

[80] *DRH,A*, II, no. 104; VI, no. 398; *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, p. 502.

[81] *DRH,A*, I, no. 33.

[82] *DRH,A*, III, no. 221.

[83] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, p. 414.

[84] *DRH,A*, III, no. 165.

Taking into consideration the fact that most place names said to be of Turkic origin end in *-eşti*, the conclusion can be that the people who named all those villages (*Namengeber*) were Romanians. In at least a number of cases, the names appear to represent Transylvanian influences, whereas others may have come from personal names of Cuman origin designating members of native communities who were not ethnic Cumans. The influence of the Turkic nomads on the Romanian vocabulary thus appears as much more indirect than the initial analysis of place names would have predicted.

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Many medieval and modern Romanian names have been regarded by various historians as of Turkic origin: *Aslan, Azgir, Balaban, Balyk, Bilik, Bolsun, Borčul, Bučuk, Buga / Buka, Buldur, Buzdugan, Čakan, Čomak, Čolpan, Čortan, Čura, Dorman, Karača, Kaltabuka, Kazan, Korman, Kuman / Koman, Paiandur, Šušman, Tamrătaš, Tivan, Toksoba, Ulan, Urdobaš, Utmeš* (László Rásonyi-Nagy),[85] *Băsărabă, Odobă, Talabă, Tâncabă, Toxabă* (Nicolae Iorga),[86] *Aga, Basarab, Berindei, Coman, Iarcân, Talabă, Toxabă, Turcul* (Petre P. Panaitescu),[87] *Asan, Aslan, Baba, Balaban, Basarab, Baş, Buga, Bulat, Borcea, Borza, Buzdugan, Cazan, Colgeag, Dârman, Duşman, Olan, Posoba, Selte, Taban, Togan* (N. A. Constantinescu),[88] *Udobă, Vuiupa, Hardalupa, Scorpan, Şerban* (Constantin Cihodaru),[89] *Burciul / Borcea, Itul, Cioban, Carabaş, Cantemir* (Maria Lăzărescu-Zobian),[90] *Agăş, Borcea, Burluc, Buzgan, Chertan, Coteanu, Toacxem, Zehan* (Petre Diaconu).[91] Unfortunately, it is not clear what specific criteria have been used for the selection of those, and no other personal names as of Turkic origin. With no

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[85] L. Rásonyi-Nagy, "Valacho-turcica," in *Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1927), pp. 68–96.

[86] N. Iorga, *La place des Roumains dans l'histoire universelle*, I (Bucharest, 1935), p. 167.

[87] Panaitescu, *Interpretări* (see above, n. 59), p. 61.

[88] N. A. Constantinescu, *Dicţionar onomastic românesc* (Bucharest, 1963), p. XLVI.

[89] C. Cihodaru, "Consideraţii în legătură cu populaţia Moldovei din perioada premergătoare invaziei tătarilor (1241)," *Studii şi cercetări ştiinţifice, Istorie*, Iaşi, 14 (1963), no. 2, p. 244.

[90] M. Lăzărescu-Zobian, "Cumania as the name of thirteenth-century Moldavia and eastern Wallachia: some aspects of Kipchak-Rumanian relations," in *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honor of Tibor Halasi-Kun (= Journal of Turkish Studies* 8, 1984), pp. 268–269.

[91] P. Diaconu, "Despre unele antroponime de origine cumană," *Analele Brăilei*, SN, 2 (1996), no. 2, pp. 569–571.

specialists in Turkology expressing any opinion about those lists, the origin of the names therein remains uncertain. Conversely, attempts to eliminate from the list of names of an undoubtedly Turkic origin such names as *Berindei* are simply wrong.[92] Names ending in *-aba*, with the meaning of "ancestor, grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, paternal uncle, paternal aunt, elder brother, elder sister, or midwife" in modern Turkic languages,[93] have a good chance to be Pecheneg or Cuman, much like those derived from ethnic names.

This is certainly the case for *Coman* and *Berindei*, which appear with some consistency in Moldavian charters of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. A *stolnic* (seneschal) called *Berindei* (*Berendei*) appears several times as an important dignitary under Prince Iliaş, between 1435 and 1442.[94] Among Stephen the Great's rivals during the first years of his reign (1457–1504), there was a certain *Berendey*,[95] whom some historians have wrongly identified as the previous voivode named Petru Aron.[96] Others have rightly pointed out that Berendey and Petru Aron must have been two different persons.[97] The name *Berindei* also appears in Wallachia, as early as 1389. The first to be recorded was the name

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[92] Pătruţ, *Nume de persoane* (see above, n. 22), pp. 16–18.

[93] G. Clauson, *En Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 5. See also O. Densuşianu, "Originea Basarabilor," *Grai şi suflet* 4 (1929), no. 1, p. 148; Iorga, *La place des Roumains* (see above, n. 86), I, p. 167.

[94] Hurmuzaki, I, 2, p. 860 ff.; *DRH,A*, I, nos. 142–145, 152, 156, 159, 161–164, 168, 173, etc.; *Moldova în epoca feudalismului / Молдавия в эпоху феодализма*, II (see above, n. 23), nos. 19, 24–26.

[95] *Codicis epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, II, ed. J. Szujski (*Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, II) (Cracow, 1876), p. 241; Joannis Dlugossii seu Longini *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, V, ed. A. Przezdziecki, in idem, *Opera omnia*, XIV (Cracow, 1878), p. 495; *Rocznik Chotelskiego*, ed. A. Bielowski, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, III (Lwów, 1878), p. 214; Axinte Uricariul, *Cronica paralelă a Ţării Româneşti şi a Moldovei*, I, ed. G. Ştrempel (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 57–58; *Cronica Moldovei de la Cracovia. Secolul XIII–începutul secolului XVII. Textul inedit al unui autor polon anonim*, ed. C. Rezachevici (Bucharest, 2006), pp. 106 and 141.

[96] V. Pârvan, "Relaţiile lui Ştefan cel Mare cu Ungaria," in idem, *Studii de istorie medievală şi modernă*, ed. L. Nastasă (Bucharest, 1990), pp. 132 with n. 18, 143 with n. 103, and 149; I. Minea, *Informaţiile româneşti ale cronicii lui Ian Dlugosz* (Iaşi, 1926), pp. 46–47; M. Costăchescu, *Arderea Târgului Floci şi a Ialomiţei în 1470* (Iaşi, 1935), pp. 16–18 with n. 2.

[97] I. Ursu, *Ştefan cel Mare* (Bucharest, 1925), pp. 44 and 56; A. V. Boldur, *Ştefan cel Mare, voievod al Moldovei (1457–1504). Studiu de istorie socială şi politică*, 2nd ed., eds. C. Chelcu and M. Chelcu (Iaşi, 2004), p. 158; Şt. S. Gorovei, M. M. Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ştefan cel Mare* (Putna, 2005), p. 69; P. Ş. Năsturel, "Qui sons les 'Togtocomans'?," in *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIV^e–XXI^e siècles). Études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*, eds. F. Bilici, I. Cândea, A. Popescu (Brăila, 2007), p. 107.

of a Wallachian *stolnic*.[98] In 1432, one Dragomir, the son of *Berindei*, who may have himself been a *stolnic*, is mentioned as a member of the princely council.[99]

In Moldavia, the first *Coman* appears in a charter of 1398: he was a boyar from Bucovina.[100] The name appears more frequently in fifteenth-century charters. In 1412 *Coman*, the son of Galiş, was granted land previously not inhabited in order to set up a village on the river Başeu.[101] In 1428, two Gypsy (Roma) slaves, both named *Coman*, together with their respective camps are mentioned among the assets of the Bistriţa Monastery.[102] Another Gypsy slave named *Comanna* and his camp (possibly the same as that of 1428) appears in the list of that same monastery's properties.[103] A third Gypsy slave named Coman and his camp appears in a grant of 1434 for the Moldoviţa Monastery, which was then confirmed in 1454 and, again, in 1458.[104] A boyar named Coman appears in 1435 and 1438 as a member of the princely council,[105] while in 1462 *Seliştea lui Coman* ("Coman's Camp") is mentioned in the Bacău county.[106] More Gypsy camps, including that of Comancea, were granted in 1487 by Stephen the Great (Ştefan cel Mare) to the Bistriţa Monastery.[107] In the same year, the camp of one Gypsy slave named Danciul, son of *Coman*, is mentioned among the properties of the of the Neamţ Monastery.[108] Stephen the Great also granted a village on the Jerăvăţ River in 1495 to the sons of *Coman*.[109] Half of all persons named Coman, who are mentioned in fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Moldavian charters, appear to have been boyars, while the other half includes only Gypsy slaves.

Given the chronology of the Gypsy migration to the Byzantine Empire,[110] a Roma presence in the Romanian lands must have taken

[98] *DRH,B*, I, no. 11.
[99] *DRH,B*, I, no. 73.
[100] *DRH,A*, I, no. 6. See also no. 19.
[101] *DRH,A*, I, no. 33.
[102] *DRH,A*, I, no. 75.
[103] *DRH,A*, II, no. 107.
[104] *DRH,A*, I, no. 132; II, nos. 40, 74.
[105] *DRH,A*, I, nos. 138, 181.
[106] *DRH,A*, II, no. 104.
[107] *DRH,A*, III, no. 17.
[108] *DRH,A*, III, no. 18.
[109] *DRH,A*, III, no. 165.
[110] G. C. Soulis, "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), pp. 143–165; I. Rochow, K.-P. Matschke,

place long time after the Cumans had completely lost their hegemony in the steppe lands to the Mongols and had entered a long process of ethnic assimilation. In other words, there can be no doubt that the Roma did not get learn about the personal name *Coman* from the Cumans, but from the Romanians or, possibly, from other ethnic groups in the Balkans.

Coman and *Berendei* appear much more frequently in charters of the sixteenth and seventeenth century: *Berendeae* in 1569,[111] *Berendeai* in 1584;[112] *Berindei* in 1598,[113] as well as between 1601 and 1628;[114] *Coman* in 1507,[115] 1570,[116] 1577,[117] 1588,[118] 1617,[119] 1628,[120] 1638,[121] 1648,[122] 1673,[123] 1677,[124] between 1681 and 1693,[125] in 1685,[126] and 1686;[127] *Comana* in 1548,[128] *Coman Basinschi* in 1605;[129] *Coman Băicescul* in 1617;[130] *Coman Berchez* in 1619;[131] *Coman Margelat* in 1598;[132] *Ioniță Comănaci* in 1695;[133] *Comănel* in 1546;[134] and *Comănescu* in 1699.[135] Judging from the

„Neues zu den Zigeunern im byzantinischen Reich um die Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 41 (1991), pp. 241–254.

[111] *DRH,A*, VI, no. 410.

[112] *DIR,A*, *v. XVI*, III, pp. 240–241.

[113] *DIR,A*, *v. XVI*, IV, p. 208.

[114] *DIR,A*, *v. XVII*, I, pp. 9, 122; IV, p. 498; V, p. 292.

[115] *DIR,A*, *v. XVI*, I, p. 67.

[116] *DIR,A*, *v. XVI*, II, p. 215; Ghibănescu, *Surete*, II (see above, n. 25), pp. 349–350; *DRH,A*, VI, no. 433.

[117] Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete şi izvoade*, XVIII (Iaşi, 1927), p. 165.

[118] *Catalog de documente din Arhivele Statului Iaşi, Moldova*, I, no. 1347.

[119] *DIR,A, v. XVII*, IV, p. 102.

[120] *DRH,A*, XIX, no. 340.

[121] *DRH,A*, XXIV, no. 393.

[122] *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti*, II (see above, n. 25), no. 203.

[123] *Suceava. File de istorie* (see above, n. 29), I, no. 199.

[124] C. Solomon and C. A. Stoide, *Documente tecucene*, I, *Sec. XVII–XIX* (Bârlad, 1938), p. 32.

[125] *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti din Direcţia Arhivelor Centrale*, IV, eds. M. Regleanu, D. Duca Tinculescu, V. Vasilescu, C. Negulescu (Bucharest, 1970), nos. 575, 792, 934 and 1539.

[126] Ibidem, no. 896; *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, II, *Acte interne (1661–1690)*, ed. I. Caproşu (Iaşi, 2000), nos. 569 and 613.

[127] *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti*, IV, no. 969.

[128] *DRH,A*, VI, no. 34.

[129] *DIR,A, v. XVII*, I, p. 222.

[130] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, IV, p. 111.

[131] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, IV, pp. 352–353; Ghibănescu, *Surete*, XXII, p. 138.

[132] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, IV, p. 205; Ghibănescu, *Surete*, VIII, pp. 233–239.

[133] *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti*, IV, no. 1758.

[134] *DIR,A, v. XVI*, I, p. 414.

[135] Ghibănescu, *Surete*, VIII, pp. 159–160.

data of the 1772–1773 and 1774 census in Moldavia, the name *Coman* was more popular in the region between the Carpathian Mountains and the Prut, but not in use between the Prut and the Dniester rivers. More often than not, it was employed as first, not family name.[136]

In Wallachia, the name first appears in the early 1400s. An undated charter of Prince Mircea the Elder (Mircea cel Bătrân) between 1400 and 1403 mentions two brothers named *Coman* and Nanul, who were the sons of Batea.[137] That *Coman* is probably the same person as the one mentioned in a document of 1418.[138] Another *Coman* appears in 1441, during Vlad Dracul's reign.[139] Two *Comans*, a boyar and a scribe, are mentioned in a charter of Vladislav II dated to 1456.[140] Another boyar named *Coman Kure* appears in a diploma of 1460.[141] A certain *Coman Făgărăşanul* is mentioned as master of the village Sălătruc in 1488,[142] 1501,[143] and 1539.[144] Only one Gypsy named *Coman* appears in Wallachia in 1492 in a charter of Vlad the Monk (*Vlad Călugărul*).[145] Much like in Moldavia, the name is much more frequently used in the 1500s and 1600s.[146] The feminine version, *Comana*, is also attested, in Wallachia in 1509[147] and 1519,[148] and in Moldavia in 1548.[149]

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[136] *Recensământul* (see above, n. 40) (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, VII, 1), pp. 445, 483, 484, 542, 549–551, 571, 580, 592, 598; ibidem (*Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, VII, 2), pp. 77, 308, 320, 327, 333, 345, 349, 351, 353, and 355.

[137] *DRH,B*, I, no. 21.

[138] *DRH,B*, I, no. 41.

[139] *DRH,B*, I, no. 93; *DRH,D*, I, no. 264.

[140] *DRH,B*, I, no. 112.

[141] I. Bogdan, *Documentele privitoare la relaţiile Ţării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi cu Ţara Ungurească în sec. XV şi XVI*, I, *1413–1508* (Bucharest, 1905), p. 326; *Urkundenbuch*, VI (see above, n. 52), no. 3206.

[142] *DRH,B*, I, no. 212.

[143] *DRH,B*, II, no. 5.

[144] *DRH,B*, IV, no. 71.

[145] *DRH,B*, I, no. 230.

[146] *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Ţara Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul. 1346–1603*, ed. Gr. G. Tocilescu (Bucharest, 1931), *passim; DRH,B*, II–VIII, XI, XXI–XXV, XXXI–XXXVII, *passim; Catalogul documentelor Ţării Româneşti, 1369–1600* (1947); *Catalogul documentelor Ţării Româneşti*, II (1974); III (1978); IV (1981); V (1985); VI (1993) (see above, n. 44), *passim*; I. Bogdan, *Documente şi regeste privitoare la relaţiile Ţării Rumâneşti cu Braşovul şi Ungaria în secolul XV şi XVI* (Bucharest, 1902), pp. 225 and 261.

[147] *DRH,B*, II, no. 63.

[148] *DRH,B*, II, no. 182. For the subsequent period, see *DRH,B*, V; VII; XXI; XXII, XXXII, XXXIV–XXXVI, *passim.*

[149] *DIR,A, v.XVI*, I, p. 575.

Today, the name *Coman* is particularly popular in the Vrancea region, both as a family and as a first name. Its most frequent use is in a group of villages, such as Budeşti, Ciorăşti, Făurei, Gologanu, Gugeşti, Jariştea, Lacul Baban, Martineşti, Mândreşti, Obileşti, Odobasca, Păteşti, Răstoaca, Risipiți, Slobozia, Suraia, Tercheşti, Urecheşti and Vânători, all of which are in eastern and south-eastern Vrancea. Several other Turkic-sounding names occur in that same region, but in more limited numbers: *Bărăgan, Berendel, Berindei, Bornaz, Carabă, Caracaş, Caraman, Gorgan, Hamza, Hasan, Hurmuz*, etc.[150] Such regional distribution is most likely not an accident.

The name *Coman* was also common in medieval Transylvania. It is not always possible to establish whether that name referred to Romanians or to other ethnic groups, for after the conquest of Transylvania, the Hungarian kings introduced measures to encourage the colonization of large numbers of people. However, there are a few cases in which the name *Koman* applied to Romanians, mentioned as such in the Haţeg Land (*Ţara Haţegului*) in 1404[151] and 1418,[152] in southern and south-eastern Transylvania in 1453,[153] 1482,[154] between 1482 and 1496,[155] as well as in 1586 (*Koman Cherchel*, a name derived from the Romanian word for earring, *cercel*),[156] and in Maramureş in the sixteenth to eighteenth century.[157] Persons having that name belonged to various social groups, from priests (1453, 1482–1496) and knezes (1424) to serfs (1586). In all those cases, *Koman* was used as a first name. The family name *Koman* appears in the 1500s: *Ioan Koman de Tartaria*, is mentioned in 1574,[158] and *Christof Koman* in a report of 1598.[159]

By 1600, the name was very popular in the Făgăraş Land (*Ţara Făgăraşului*), which, for many centuries, had been a fief of the Wallachian

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[150] I. Conea, *Vrancea. Geografie istorică, toponimie şi terminologie geografică*, eds. L. Badea, D. I. Oancea, N. Stoicescu (Bucharest, 1993), pp. 70–82.

[151] Hurmuzaki, I, 2, p. 434. See also R. Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului* (Bucharest, 1988), p. 108.

[152] D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, V (Budapest, 1913), p. 156.

[153] *DRH,D*, I, no. 321.

[154] Bogdan, *Documentele privitoare la relaţiile Ţării Româneşti* (see above, n. 141), no. CLIV, p. 187.

[155] Ibidem, no. CLXXIII, p. 208.

[156] Veress, *Documente* (see above, n. 40), III, no. 32, pp. 70 and 72.

[157] I. Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome maramureşene din secolul XIV şi XV* (Sighet, 1900), pp. 370, 486 and 639.

[158] Veress, *Documente*, II *(1573–1584)* (Bucharest, 1930), no. 22, p. 23.

[159] Veress, *Documente*, V, no. 128, pp. 204–205.

princes, and was confirmed as such by kings of Hungary. Făgăraş is in southern Transylvania, a region in which the majority of the population was Romanian. Cadasters for that region (*Urbarien*) recorded hundreds of people named *Koman*, in almost every village of the region.[160] Most of them had that as first, only a few as family name. An identical situation was recorded around the city of Braşov.[161] Along the valley of the river Olt (*Ţara Oltului*), both *Coman* and its derivatives were recorded between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries: *Comănaş, Comănel, Comănescu, Comănică, Comănici, Comăniţă*, etc.[162] Situated in that region are also the villages *Comana de Jos* and *Comana de Sus*[163] (Braşov county). During the modern age, *Coman* also appeared in the region of eastern Transylvania, which was inhabited primarily by Szeklers. As such, it is believed to be a name, which the Szeklers borrowed from assimilated Romanians.[164] The name *Berindei(i)* was recorded more seldom west of the eastern Carpathians: in 1587 in Maramureş,[165] and in the 1600s in Făgăraş Land,[166] etc.

Unlike the Romanians, Hungarians in both Transylvania and Hungary employed the Hungarian word for Cuman (*Kun*) as a name. Beginning with the fourteenth century, that name appears frequently occured in written sources.[167] Hungarians have also used that as a family name,

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[160] *Urbariile* (see above, n. 52), I, pp. 126, 128, 184, 196, 199, 202–204, 207–214, 216–230, 232–241, 244, 246–249, 271–278, 281–283, 300–304, 306–308, etc.; II, pp. 88, 193, 194, 196, 200, 201, 203–207, 286, 288, 289, etc.

[161] *Catalogul documentelor româneşti din Arhivele Statului de la Oraşul Stalin*, I, *1521–1799*, eds. C. A. Stoide, M. Runceanu, C. Muşlea, D. Limona, I. Danciu, V. Vinițchi, E. Barna, and V. Stanciu (Bucharest, 1955), *passim*.

[162] *Catalogul documentelor româneşti din Arhivele Statului Braşov*, II *(1800–1825)*, eds. C. A. Stoide, M. Runceanu, D. Limona, C. Muşlea, I. Danciu, V. Stanciu, Şt. Suciu (Bucharest, 1975), *passim*; *Urbariile*, I, II (see above, n. 52), *passim*; Şt. Paşca, *Nume de persoane şi nume de animale în Ţara Oltului* (Bucharest, 1936), p. 213.

[163] A. Lukács, *Ţara Făgăraşului în evul mediu (Secolele XIII–XVI)* (Bucharest, 1999), pp. 60–62; D. N. Busuioc-von Hasselbach, *Ţara Făgăraşului în secolul al XIII-lea. Mănăstirea cisterciană Cârţa* (Cluj–Napoca, 2000), I, pp. 200, 230, 277; II, p. 74. See also, footnote 52.

[164] I. I. Russu, *Românii şi secuii*, ed. I. Opriş (Bucharest, 1990), pp. 60, 209, 223, and 231; idem, *Les Roumains et les Sicules*, ed. I. Opriş, trans. A. R. Tomoiagă (Cluj–Napoca, 1998), pp. 69, 71, 273, and 300.

[165] Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome*, p. 563.

[166] *Urbariile*, I, pp. 225, 434, and 792.

[167] *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, I (*1387–1399*), ed. E. Mályusz (Budapest, 1951), pp. 1, 72, 83, 199, 254, 364, 512, 599, 659, and 668; III (*1411–1412*), eds. E. Mályusz and I. Borsa (Budapest, 1993), *passim; DRH,C*, XII, nos. 89, 341; XIII, nos. 373, 475; Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome*, pp. 189, 222, 535.

and especially as a nickname: *Petrus dictus de Kwn*, near Oradea (1362);[168] *Johannes dictus Cwn / Kun*, in Galoşpetreu, near Satu Mare (1364 and 1365);[169] *Franciscus dictus Kun de Kak*, near Satu Mare (1382);[170] *Nicolaus dictus Kwn de Bechke* (Becska), in the former Nógrád county (1389);[171] or *Lucas dictus Kun de Rosal* (Rozsály), in Maramureş (1391 and 1392).[172] A rather bizarre example is also *Kunchmannus* [Cumanus?] *dictus Tataar* (or *Thatar*), which appears in 1330 and, again, in 1331 in Szepsi, Abaujvár county, in the northern region of the Hungarian Kingdom.[173] After the defeat at Mohács (1526) and the occupation of a good part of Hungary by the Ottoman Turks, the family name *Kwn / Kun*) appears less frequently in certain regions,[174] a phenomenon interpreted as signaling the last phase in the process of assimilation of the Cumans in the Pannonian Plain.

While the Cumans were present in Hungarian Kingdom as mercenaries, some of their leaders were called by determinative names, which were meant to indicate their ethnic origin. For instance, *Menk Comans* and *Arbuz Cumans* were mentioned in documents of 1279[175] and 1289, respectively.[176] Such names could eventually turn into patronyms.

No clear understanding of the significance of Romanian personal names derived from those of Turkic tribes is possible without taking into account the distribution of such names in the neighbouring countries. Most revealing in this respect is the distribution in the Balkans, especially in the western regions of the peninsula, for which there is better evidence. Within that region, which during the Middle Ages was divided between different polities with often unstable boundaries, the name *Coman* (and its many variants) was employed by different ethnic groups. Among them were also the Vlachs in Serbia. Among

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[168] *DRH,C*, XII, no. 89.

[169] *DRH,C*, XII, no. 341; XIII, no. 373.

[170] *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*, curante E. Lukinich et adiuvante L. Gáldi, eds. A. Fekete Nagy and L. Makkai (Budapest, 1941), no. 268.

[171] Ibidem, no. 327.

[172] Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome*, p. 189; *Documenta historiam Valachorum*, nos. 375, 376, 377.

[173] Gy. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, I (Budapest, 1966), p. 146.

[174] T. Halasi-Kun, "Ottoman data on Lesser Cumania: Keçkemet nahiyesi—varoş-i halaş—kariye-i ksökut," *AEMA* 4 (1984), p. 96.

[175] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, I, eds. F. Zimmermann and C. Werner (Hermannstadt, 1892), no. 193.

[176] Ibidem, no. 229.

the 200 Vlachs (*Власи*) mentioned in a donation of king Stephen the First-Crowned (*Prvovenčani*) (1217–1227/8) for the Žiča Monastery, later confirmed by prince Radoslav, there were three persons named *Kuman* (*Коумань*).[177] A donation charter of the Serbian king Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) for the Hilandar Monastery dated to *ca.* 1300 a certain *Kumanicz* (*Куманиць*) appears, whose name appears to be a diminutive of *Kuman*.[178]

Cuman was also popular in thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Dalmatia: *Cumanus*, a priest and notary of Spalato (Split), mentioned in 1232, 1234, 1235, 1237, 1238, and 1243;[179] *Dubroqualis Cumanus* of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), mentioned in 1278, 1281, 1282, and 1301;[180] *Cumanus*, a priest of Spalato, mentioned in 1308;[181] and *Chumanin* of Novo Brdo mentioned in 1436 and at some point after 1440.[182] Since no colonization and no migration of Cumans to Dalmatia is known to have taken place, such names bear no implications for the ethnic origin of the persons to whom they applied.

Near Cattaro (Kotor), a certain *Scime de Comana* appears in 1326[183] and another named *Milloslaus de Comana* in 1332.[184] The village of *Comana*, near Cattaro, is mentioned in a document of 1330.[185] Not far from the Croatian town Čazma (Chasma), to the east from Zagreb,

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[177] *Árpádkori új okmántytár*, ed. G. Wenzel, I, *1001–1235* (Pest, 1860), no. 222 (151 d), pp. 363–364 and 369; Hurmuzaki, I, 2, p. 775. See also S. Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu* (Bucharest, 1959), pp. 17–19.

[178] Hurmuzaki, I, 2, p. 797.

[179] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. T. Smičiklas, III (Zagreb, 1905), nos. 317, 321, 341, 352, and 380; IV (Zagreb, 1906), nos. 19, 27, 45, 109, 175, 183, and 236.

[180] *Monumenta historica archivi Ragusini*, 3rd Ser., 1, *Acta cancellariae et notariae annorum 1278–1301*, ed. G. Čremošnik (Belgrade, 1932), nos. 136, 138, 207, 212, 452, and 473; *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, I, *Notae et acta cancellariae Ragusinae*, I, *Notae et acta notarii Thomasini de Savero, 1278–1282*, ed. G. Čremošnik (Zagreb, 1951), nos. 1 and 615. A Dalmatian chronicler writing in the second half of the fifteenth century mentions a cave near Ragusa, which was called *Cumano*. See Giovanni di Marino Gondola (probabilmente), *Croniche ulteriori di Ragusa*, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, XXV, *Scriptores*, II, ed. S. Nodilo (Zagreb, 1893), p. 353.

[181] *Codex diplomaticus*, VIII (Zagreb, 1910), no. 157.

[182] M. Dinić, *Из Дубровачког архива*, I (Belgrade, 1957), pp. 53 and 70.

[183] *Kotorski spomenici. Prva knjiga kotorskih notara od god. 1326–1335*, ed. A. Mayer (Zagreb, 1951), no. 156.

[184] *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god. 1329, 1332–1337*, ed. A. Mayer (Zagreb, 1981), no. 77.

[185] *Kotorski spomenici. Prva knjiga*, no. 549.

there was a so-called "road of the Cumans" (*via dicta Kumanorum*),[186] which probably connected Hungary to Dalmatia.

South of Dalmatia, on the Albanian shore of the Adriatic Sea, which was in the centre of the economic and political interests of Venice, the anthroponym *Cuman* was also recorded in medieval documents. A contract of 1243 mentions the merchant *Kur* [kyr] *Cumanus de Succotrino* from Dyrrachion (Durazzo / Durrës).[187] This is most likely the same person as a certain *Cumanus Scudrin*, mentioned in 1248, and his name derives from that of Scutari (Shkodra).[188] Several documents of 1417 mention *Georgius (Giorgi, Zorzi) Cumanj (Comannj)* of Belaj,[189] *Stefano Cuman* of Egci[190] and *Giergi* [George] *Cumanj* of Buzëzezi.[191] Personal names of supposedly Cuman region have been recorded in several parts of Albania.[192]

In the Byzantium *Kómanos* was usually used as a first name, much like *Vláchos*, *Búlgaros* and *Rosos* (the last one being also known as family names).[193] Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries the name Κόμανος was repeatedly recorded in documents of several monasteries at Mount Athos. Those names begin to appear shortly after the earliest Cuman incursions into the Balkans. The first attestation is inserted in a *praktikon* of January 6612 (= 1104) issued by John Comnenus, emperor Alexius I's nephew, lists among the *paroikoi* of Saint Barbara belonging to the Iviron Monastery, a certain *George Komanos* (Γε(ώ)ρ(γιος) ὁ Κόμανος),[194] probably as a nickname. Similarly, *John Komanos* (Ιωάννης ὁ Κόμανος), is mentioned in 1304 as *paroikos* of the Lavra Monastery of Gomatu,[195] while *Michael Komanos* and *John Komanos* were a *paroikos*

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[186] *Codex diplomaticus*, VIII, no. 424.

[187] *Codex diplomaticus*, IV, no. 169.

[188] Ibidem, no. 298; A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Age. Durazzo et Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle* (Thessalonike, 1981), pp. 192–193 and 223 with n. 205.

[189] *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, II, 8, ed. J. Valentin (Munich, 1970), nos. 2106, 2158/60, and 2158/62.

[190] Ibidem, no. 2107/26.

[191] Ibidem, no. 2158/67.

[192] I. Schütz, "Les contacts médiévaux albano-comans reflétés par l'onomastique de Kosovo," *AOH* 40 (1986), nos. 2–3, pp. 293–300.

[193] P. Malingoudis, "«Die Bulgaren im Byzantinischen Reich». Kritische Bemerkungen," *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981), no. 2, pp. 256–257.

[194] *Actes d'Iviron*, II, *Du milieu du XI^e siècle à 1204, Texte*, eds. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, in collab. with V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli (*AA*, XVI) (Paris, 1990), no. 52, p. 243.

[195] *Actes de Lavra*, II, *De 1204 à 1328, Texte*, eds. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (*AA*, VIII) (Paris, 1977), no. 99, p. 146.

and son-in-law of *paroikos*, respectively, working the land of the Lavra (1321).[196]

After 1300, *Komanos* appeared as a Christian first name in the Chalcidice (Khalkidike) Peninsula and in the neighbouring regions to the north. The archives at Mount Athos contain many documents mentioning locals in the theme Thessalonike (1290–1310),[197] in the *katepanikion* Hierissos (ca. 1300),[198] in the village Laimin (two inhabitants) (ca. 1300),[199] in Palaiokastron (1320),[200] all called Κόμανος. A certain *Komanos Tzankáres*, also from Laimin, appears in documents of 1318[201] and 1321.[202] A diminutive form of the name, *John Komanitzes* was recorded in 1316 for a *paroikos* of the Iviron Monastery at Radolibos.[203] The name had also feminine variants, *Komana* and *Komanka*. The former—Κομάνα—is attested in 1318[204] and 1320[205] at Melintziane, an estate of the Iviron Monastery, and in 1338 at Stomion, an estate of the Xenophon Monastery.[206] A woman named Κομάνκα lived in 1320 on the estate of the Iviron Monastery at Palaiokastron.[207]

Most people with names derived from that of the Cumans, who are mentioned in documents preserved in the archives at Holy Mount, turned out out to be *paroikoi*, a very large social category made up of dependent peasants with hereditary properties.[208] However, in Byzantium, the name *Komanos* applied to members of other social categories as well. That the name was sufficiently common by 1200 results from the

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[196] Ibidem, no. 109, pp. 245 and 264.

[197] *Actes de Xéropotamou, Texte*, ed. J. Bompaire (*AA*, III) (Paris, 1964), no. 18 A, p. 143.

[198] *Actes de Lavra*, II, no. 91, p. 114.

[199] *Actes d'Esphigménou, Texte*, ed. J. Lefort (*AA*, VI) (Paris, 1973), no. 8, p. 69.

[200] *Actes d'Iviron*, III, *De 1204 à 1328, Texte*, eds. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari, in collab. with H. Métrévéli (*AA*, XVIII) (Paris, 1994), no. 77, p. 245.

[201] *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 14, p. 106.

[202] Ibidem, no. 15, p. 114; no. 16, p. 122.

[203] *Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 74, p. 195.

[204] Ibidem, no. 75, p. 216.

[205] Ibidem, no. 79, p. 262.

[206] *Actes de Xénophon, Texte*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (*AA*, XV) (Paris, 1986), no. 25, p. 189.

[207] *Actes d'Iviron*, III, no. 77, p. 247.

[208] G. Ostrogorskij, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956), pp. 41–74; A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1977), p. 142 ff.; J. Karayannopulos, "Ein Problem der spätbyzantinischen Agrargeschichte," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 30 (1981), pp. 214–216.

fact that a Crusade French chronicler referred to Theodore Comnenus as *Todre le Commanos*.[209] Under the Palaeologan emperors, compound names ending in *-poulos* are attested, which referred to ethnicity (e.g., *Vlachopoulos* or *Armenopoulos*).[210] No such compound names are known to have made use of *Komanos*. This is a further confirmation of the fact that that name and its variants was not in fact an indication of the ethnicity of the person to which it applied, but at the most, of one of that person's distant ancestors.

The documents at Mount Athos contain many references to place names deriving from the ethnic name of the Cumans, but none can apparently be located in the Chalcidice Peninsula. A village named *Komanovo* was among those granted by tsar Stephen Uroš III Dečanski (1321–1331) to the Hilandar Monastery in 1327.[211] It may well be the same as the modern town of Kumanovo, to the north-east from Skopje. A place named Κουμανόβεζ, which appears in the agreement concluded between the Hilandar Monastery and Novo Selo in 1621.[212] A charter of despot Jovan Dragaš and his brother Constantine, dated between 1372 and 1375, confirmed previous land grants to the Monastery of Saint Panteleemôn, which included a village named *Kumaničevo*.[213] This is in fact the village by that same name still in existence on the right bank of the river Vardar, not far from Kavadarci. The Cumans, who were settled in the theme of Moglena may have well contributed to the proliferation of such personal and place names in Macedonia. Those Turks are in fact specifically mentioned in 1181 and 1184, in relation to disputes with the monks of the Lavra.[214]

Similar names must have been in existence in other parts of the Balkans as well, but only little information exists about them. That the vast majority of such names appears in Chalcidice and on the Adriatic

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[209] *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et de la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, II (Paris, 1859), pp. 291–292.

[210] Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, pp. 130–131.

[211] *Стари српски хрисову и акти, биографије, летописи, типици, поменици, записи и др.*, ed. L. Stojanović, in *Споменик Српска Краљевска Академија*, III (Belgrade, 1890), p. 25.

[212] V. Mošin, in A. Sovre, *Supplementa ad acta graeca Chilandarii* (Ljubljana, 1948), no. XIII, p. 44.

[213] *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn*, eds. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković (*AA*, XII) (Paris, 1982), no. 6, p. 170.

[214] *Actes de Lavra*, I, *Des origines à 1204, Texte*, eds. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, in collab. with D. Papachryssanthou (*AA*, V) (Paris, 1970), no. 65, pp. 334–341; no. 66, pp. 341–345.

coast, in Dalmatia and Albania, is simply an indication of source survival in the Venitian archives and in those at Mount Athos, and not a mirror of the demographic reality in the whole of the Balkan Peninsula.

From the Balkans, the name *Coman* spread to the islands in the Aegean Sea and even to the eastern Mediterranean, where it appears between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century. A document written in 1341 at Candia—the most important centre of Crete, occupied by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade—, mentions a certain *Ser Iohanes Caucho dictus Cumano*.[215] In this case *Cumano* appears to have been a nickname, much like in the case of *Sanser Zorzi Chumano* known to have been a Genoese merchant active in Constantinople in 1437 and 1438.[216] A dependent peasant mentioned in 1415 in an inventory of church property on Lemnos was also called *Komanos*.[217] That church belonged to the Great Lavra at Mount Athos. The Ottoman census of 1474 recorded many similar family and nicknames in several villages of Euboea (Negroponte), four years after they had conquered the island. Among the inhabitants listed in the registers (*defter*), the following names may be mentioned: *Yani Komano* of Ahladeri, *Nikola Komano* of Kambiya, *Yorgi Cumana* of Mazaros and *Yani Komano* of Yidez.[218] The origin of those family names is not difficult to establish. By contrast, the association with the name of the Cumans of such names as *Nikola Kamanic* and *Yani Kamanic* from the village of Limni, and *Kiriako Komeno* from Yalotra[219] remains uncertain. A document written on May 16, 1299, in Famagosta, in Cyprus, that is, in a place quite far from the continental part of south-eastern Europe, mentions a certain *Michael Comanus*, as a witness to an agreement between Catalan merchants and navigators.[220]

The presence of the name *Komanos* in Lemnos should not surprise, given that in the third decade of the fourteenth century a detachment

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[215] *Duca di Candia. Quaternus consiliorum (1340–1350)*, ed. P. R. Vidulich (Venice, 1976), no. 8, p. 8.

[216] *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Constantinopoli 1436–1440)*, eds. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956), pp. 135, 145, 192, 197, 201, 287, 350, 396, 506, 634, and 635.

[217] *Actes de Lavra*, III, *De 1329 à 1500, Texte*, eds. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (*AA*, X) (Paris, 1979), no. 164, p. 168.

[218] E. Balta, *L'Eubée à la fin du XV^e siècle. Économie et population. Les registres de l'année 1474* (Athens, 1989), pp. 267 and 271–273.

[219] Ibidem, pp. 287 and 306.

[220] M. Balard, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296–23 giugno 1299)* (Genoa, 1983), no. 149.

of Cumans had been moved there, as well as on two other islands of the Aegean Sea at the order of emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328).[221] The use of the nickname *Cumano* in Candia in 1341 may be explained in terms of the presence on the island of Crete of slaves of Cuman origin (*de genere Cumm[an]orum / Cu[ma]nnurum / Cumanorum*), with such names as *Bersaba, Beigoba, Cuise, Vida, Margarita*.[222] No significant group of Cumans is known to have moved either to Euboea (Negroponte), or to Crete, for after 1204 both islands were under Venitian control. However, there can be no doubt that the names in question derive from that of the Cumans, whose fame has no spread all over the eastern Mediterranean. But the place name *Comana* in Tuscany cannot derive from the name of the Cumans, given that that place name is first attested in the early ninth century.[223] The same is true about the names attested on the eastern Adriatic coast. A migration of a large group of Cumans to Cyprus is also out of question, although it is not impossible that slaves of Cuman origin were brought on to the markets in Famagosta and other places on the island. In fact a black (?) slave of Cuman origin was sold in August 1301 in Famagosta. His name was *Tarabuga*.[224]

While personal names derived from the ethnic name of the Pechenegs and the Uzes are rare in the Romanian lands outside the Carpathian Mountains, they were relatively more frequent in the Kingdom of Hungary (including Transylvania),[225] as well as in the western

[221] Ioannis Cantacuzeni *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1828), p. 259. See also J. Haldon, "Lemnos, monastic holdings and the Byzantine state: ca. 1261–1453," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, eds. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 178; P. Topping, "Latins on Lemnos before and after 1453," in ibidem, p. 217 ff.

[222] *Benvenuto de Brixano, notaio in Candia, 1301–1302*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1950), pp. 97, 98, and 130.

[223] G. Gasca Queirazza, C. Marcato, G. B. Pellegrini, G. Petrarcco Sicardi, A. Rossebastiano, *Dizionario di toponomastica. Storia e significato dei nomi geografici italiani* (Turin, 1990), p. 223.

[224] R. Pavoni, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301)* (Genoa, 1982), no. 58.

[225] For personal names associated with Pechenegs, see Hurmuzaki, I, 2, pp. 51, 54, 55, 57, 255, and 258; *DRH,C*, XI, nos. 201 and 283; XII, nos. 16, 17, 24, 25, 29, 66–68, 164, 220, 231, and 296; *Documenta historiam Valachorum* (see above, n. 170), nos. 100, 103, 126, and 140; *Urkundenbuch* (see above, n. 175), IV, ed. G. Gündisch (Hermannstadt, 1937), nos. 2166 and 2167. For names associated with the Uzes, see *DIR,C, v. XI, XII şi XIII*, I, pp. 43, 91, and 117.

Balkans.[226] Neither their frequency, nor their distribution can match that of names derived from the ethnic name of the Cumans. There is some evidence to support the idea that in Hungary and in the Balkans, *Cuman / Koman / Komanus* was initially a nickname, which then turned into a family, and only later into a first name. The adoption of such names by the population north of the Lower Danube and from the Balkans is undoubtedly due to direct contact with the Cumans. Such names were still used long after the assimilation of the Cumans into the local population. While living side by side with the locals, individual Cumans were identified by nicknames pointing to their ethnic identity or background. Gradually, such names became patronymics for some of their descendants. However, it would be a gross mistake to assume that in all known cases, *Cuman* or its variants applied only to persons of Cuman origin, since it is clear that non-Cumans were also called by that name. Natives may have called persons of Cuman origin by a nickname referring to the ethnic background, but it is equally possible that the nomads themselves applied such names to their own fellow tribesmen. The name of a chieftain of a group of Pechenegs during the second half of the eleventh century was *Kazar*.[227] *Berendi* of the Torki (Uzes) tribe is mentioned in 1097.[228] Two Polovtsyan (Cuman) chieftains mentioned in 1096 and 1103 were called *Kunui*[229] and *Komana*, respectively.[230] *Tatar* was the commander of the Cuman detachment hired by the Hungarian king Stephen II (1116–1131).[231] *Uzas* was a "Sarmatian"

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[226] For place names associated with the Pechenegs, see *Codex diplomaticus* (see above, n. 178), III, no. 69; IV, nos. 189, 353, 399, 400, 472, 518, and 559; VII (Zagreb, 1909), no. 32; *Monumenta historica Ragusina* (see above, n. 180), I, nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 67, 69, 77, 137, 143, 165, 216, 234, 266, 272, 275, 346, 427, 466, 528, 529, 549, etc; Ibidem, II, *Notae et acta notarii Thomasini de Sauere, 1282–1284. Diversa cancellariae I (1282–1284). Testamenta (1282–1284)*, ed. J. Lučić (Zagreb, 1984), nos. 28, 39, 144, 368, 401, 405, 427, 441, etc; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, XXIX, *Monumenta Ragusina, Libri reformationum*, V, ed. J. Gelcich (Zagreb, 1897), pp. 34, 35, 81, 123, 128, 152, 153, and 178; *Monumenta historica archivi Ragusini*, 3nd Ser., 1 (see above, n. 180), nos. 2, 12, 115, 164, 200, 291, 309, 399, and 403. For names associated with the Uzes, see *Monumenta historica Ragusina*, I, nos. 44, 243, and 360.

[227] *Chronici Hungarici* (see above, n. 3), p. 371; *CPict*, pp. 58, 178; *Chronicon* Henrici de Mügeln *germanice conscriptum*, ed. E. Travnik, in *SRH*, II, p. 179.

[228] *PVL*, I, p. 173.

[229] Ibidem, p. 170.

[230] Ibidem, p. 184; *Let.Voskr.*, p. 20; Joannis Dlugossii seu Longini *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, I, in idem, *Opera omnia* (see above, n. 95), X (Cracow, 1873), p. 447.

[231] *Chronici Hungarici*, p. 444; *CPict*, pp. 87, 210.

mercenary in the late eleventh-century Byzantine army.[232] *Uzuz* (*Vzur / Uzur*) was one of the chieftains of the Cumans settled in Hungary in the thirteenth century.[233] A governor of Alep was called *Cuman*,[234] and the son of the early twelfth-century Turkoman Arslan-Tash was called *Captchac* (*Kafdjak*).[235] The name of a late twelfth-century Seljuq emir is *'Izz ed-Dîn Hasan ben Ya'kub ben Kifdjak*,[236] while another in the service of the Mamluk sultan in 1298 was named *Mubâriz-eddin-Avlia-ben-Kuman*.[237] The name of another Egyptian emir, the governor of Shaubec, Hama, and Alep, and the viceroy of Damascus in ca. 1300 was *Saif ad-Din Kiptchak al Mansuri* (*Qipchaq al-Manşūrī*).[238] The governor of the Mamluk sultan in Syria in 1340–1341 was called *Qifğaq*.[239] *Qipchaq* was also the name of the son of the Mongol prince Kadan, himself a son of the great khan Ögödäi.[240] *Qipchaq* was also the great emir of Melik-Temür

[232] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, II, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), pp. 31, 97, 120–121, 141, and 204.

[233] *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, ed. F. Knauz, II (Strigonii, 1882), p. 134; Hurmuzaki, I, pp. 426–429.

[234] Ibn-Alatyr, *Extrait de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, I (Paris, 1872), pp. 378–379.

[235] Ibidem, pp. 437–438; Ibn el-Athîr, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, II, 2 (Paris, 1876), pp. 77 and 102.

[236] Abou Chamah, *Le livre des deux Jardins. Histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dîn et celui de Salah ed-Dîn*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, IV (Paris, 1898), p. 393.

[237] Taki-Eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, trans. [M. É.] Quatremère, II, 2 (Paris, 1845), p. 65.

[238] Moufazzal ibn Abil-Fazaïl, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, trans. E. Blochet, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, XIV, 3, eds. R. Graffin, F. Nau (Paris, 1920), pp. 597–598, 602, 609, and 625–626 ff.; XX, 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 168, 176, and 194; Abou'l Fida, *Autobiographie, extraite de sa Chronique*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, I, pp. 173–174; Al-Jazari, *La chronique (années 689–698 H.)*, ed. J. Sauvaget (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 294) (Paris, 1949), pp. 43, 50, 67, 75, and 77–79; *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince.* Abu'-Fida' *Sultan of Hamah (672–732/1273–1331)*, ed. P. M. Holt (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 26–28, 30, 36, 39, 41–44, 49–51, and 54–55; *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography.* Al-Yūnīnī's, *Djayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, I, ed. Li Guo (Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 1998), pp. 99, 107–113, 117, 118, 121, 122, etc.

[239] Šams ad-Din aš-Šuğa'i, *Tarih al-Malik an-Naşir Muhammad b. Qalawun aş-Şalihi wa-auladihi*, II, ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 157.

[240] Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, ed. J. A. Boyle (New York–London, 1971), pp. 28, 140, and 151–153; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston (Harvard [Cambridge, Mass.]), I (1998), p. 237; II (1999), pp. 310, 370, and 377; III (1999), pp. 520 and 522.

and the son of Kökechü.[241] Finally the name of a mid-fourteenth-century Mamluk emir was *Baibuga Tatar*.[242]

As mentioned above, the earliest Romanian attestations of the personal names *Coman* and *Berindei* applied to either boyars or Gypsy slaves. The adoption of those names by Romanians must have been made according to a fashion of the time. In documents of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries *Coman* was used as a first name. In only one case (1438) did the name appear together with a family name, *Şalov* (from the Romanian word for pike perch, *şalău*), which was probably a nickname. The use of family names was still rare before 1600 for boyars and almost unknown for commoners. That *Coman* was used in Moldavia as a first, not family name is quite clear in such cases as *Coman Margelat* (a name mentioned in a diploma of 1598), *Coman Basinschi* (1605), *Coman Băicescu* (1617), or *Coman Berchez* (1619). The same is true for the instances of that name in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Wallachian charters: *Coman Kure* (1460), *Coman Făgărăşanul* (1488, 1501, and 1539), or *Coman Crețu* (1505). A document dated between 1400 and 1403 gives the names of the two sons of a certain Batea, *Coman* and *Nanul*. Another, dated to 1441, mentions the sons of one Stoica, *Şerban, Coman* and Michael (*Mihai*). In more recent times, *Coman* has been used among Romanians almost exclusively as a family name. That the name appears to have applied to Gypsies in the fifteenth century indicates that the name was so common as to have had no ethnic connotation whatsoever. Indeed, much like other Europeans, Romanians often adopted the ethnic names of their neighbors as personal names. For example, relatively common names in Moldavia were such names as *Armeanu, Bulgaru, Francu, Grecu, Leahu, Lipovanu, Neamțu, Rusnac, Rusu, Sas, Sârbu, Tătaru, Turcu, Țigan*, and *Ungureanu*.[243] All such names were undoubtedly used initially as nicknames, and later turned into family names. Unlike *Coman*, they were rarely used as first names. But *Coman* was not the only ethnic name of a nomadic group, which Romanians used as first name. Mid-fourteenth-century royal Hungarian diplomas mention *Tatar* as one of the many sons of Giula of Giuleşti (Maramureş). His other brothers all had common Romanian names such as

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[241] Rashid al-Din, *Successors*, p. 113.

[242] Šams ad-Din aš-Šuğa'i, pp. 287 and 308.

[243] *DIR,A, v. XIV–XVII (1384–1625). Indicele numelor de persoane*, red. Al. I. Gonța, ed. I. Caproşu (Bucharest, 1995); *Catalogul documentelor moldoveneşti* (see above, n. 25, 42, and 125), I (1957); II (1959); III (1969); IV (1970); Supl. I (1975), *passim*.

Dragoş, Ştefan, Dragomir, Costea and *Miroslav*.[244] *Tatar* was also used as a first name by the early fifteenth-century inhabitants of Giuleşti.[245] In fourteenth-century Transylvania, the name never appears as a family, only as a nickname.[246] This is clearly the case of *Johannes Tatar*, the envoy of king Sigismund I to Vlad I, prince of Wallachia, in 1396.[247] It is clear from such examples that *Tatar* was in no way an indication of Mongol ethnic identity. In fact, like *Coman*, *Tatar* was not a name attached to any particular ethnic group. This is also true for John (*Ioan*) *Turcul*, the envoy of Stephen the Great to the court of the Polish king Casimir IV (1444–1492).[248] At a time of increasing hostility between the Moldavia and the Ottomans, prince Stephen's envoy to a Christian king could not obviously have been a Turk.

In conclusion, *Coman* was never used in the oldest charters and diplomas in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania in an ethnic sense. That the name was used by Romanians was not so much a result of the assimilation of Cumans, as it was an indirect indication of the Cuman influence in the Romanians lands outside the Carpathian Mountains. It is even possible that some of those individuals with such names as *Berindei* and *Coman* may have come to Moldavia from Maramureş and Transylvania, where the names were in use among Romanians.[249] It is possible also that the Romanian names in Transylvania were influence by the onomastic practice in Hungary, specifically by the use of ethnic names derived from those of the Turkic groups (Kabars, Pechenegs, Uzes, Berendei, Cumans) who had settled in Arpadian state over the first two centuries of that kingdom's existence. In fact, more personal and place names are of Turkic origin in Hungary than in any of the neighboring regions.[250]

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[244] Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome* (see above, n. 157), pp. 27 and 33; *DRH,C*, X, no. 344; XI, no. 489.

[245] Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome*, pp. 264–265.

[246] A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, I (Rome, 1863), p. 145; *DRH,C*, X, nos. 150 and 335; XI, nos. 53, 58, 80, and 241; XIII, no. 485.

[247] *Urkundenbuch* (see above, n. 175), III, eds. F. Zimmermann, C. Werner and G. Müller (Hermannstadt, 1902), no. 1379, pp. 165–166.

[248] *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в. Документы и материалы*, I, *1408–1632*, eds. Ia. S. Grosul, A. C. Oţetea, A. A. Novoselski, L. V. Cherepnin (Moscow, 1965), p. 63.

[249] Mihályi de Apşa, *Diplome*, pp. 370, 486, 563, and 639; Drăganu, *Românii* (see above, n. 15), pp. 529–530.

[250] Rassovsky, "Печенеги, торки и берендеи" (see above, n. 79), 1933, pp. 24–26; Gy. Györffy, "Besenyök és magyarok," *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*, I. Ergänzungsband (1939),

An equally large number personal names of Turkic origin were in existence in Bulgaria, as evidenced by fifteenth-century Ottoman tax rolls. Several hundreds of names of Turkic, Iranian, or Arabic origin have been found among the non-Slavic, non-Greek, and non-Christian names of thousands of tax-payers from the Bulgarian lands. Given that the earliest tax-rolls post-date by just a few decades the Ottoman conquest of the north-eastern area of the Balkan Peninsula, one cannot explain this phenomenon as a mere influence of Ottoman Turkish onomastics, although such an influence have been surmised for the later evidence. Most fifteenth-century personal names of Turkic origin must therefore be of Pecheneg and Cuman-Qipchaq origin, although for some of them a possible Proto-Bulgar origin cannot be excluded either.[251]

From among the numerous names of Bulgarian taxpayers, which are certainly of Turkic origin, the following are worth mentioning: *Asen, Baio, Bako, Bakhadyr, Bakl'o, Balaban, Balik, Balin, Balul, Balush, Balvan, Barak, Barso, Borcho, Boil, Buchak, Chakăr, Derman (Durman), Dogan, Dushman, Gogul, Iarul, Kabal, Kara, Karabash, Karadzha, Karaman, Khali, Khamza, Kitan, Koian, Kosha, Kragui, Kuman* (with the variants *Kumanin, Kumano*), *Kunbek (Kune, Kuni, Kuno), Kurd, (Kurt, Kurte), Malak, Negoi, Sari, Shishman, Tarla, Tatul, Tugrul, Turkhan, Ugrin*, etc.[252] The most common of all is *Kuman*, which appears 69 times in the Ottoman rolls. In addition, the variants *Kumanin* and *Kumano* appear four and three times, respectively.[253] Some of the names of Turkic origin derive from Turkic words for animals: *Barak* (dog), *Karadzha* (roe), *Koch* (ram), *Koyan* (hare), *Kurt* (wolf), *Malak* (buffalo), *Balaban, Chakăr, Dogan*, and *Kragui* (all meaning hawk or falcon).[254]

Theoretically, one should not exclude completely the possibility that the Ottoman Turks introduced ancient Turkic names to the Balkans. During the first fifty years of Ottoman occupation of Bulgaria, such names could have well been adopted by at least one or perhaps even two generations. However, it is more likely that the Turkic names mentioned above originated from the nomads in the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas, especially from the Pechenegs, the Uzes,

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no. 3, pp. 397–500; H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Wiesbaden, 1972), pp. 235–239.

[251] Stoianov, *Bulgaro-Turcica*, 3–4, *История* (see above, n. 49), pp. 179–183.

[252] Ibidem, pp. 184–297.

[253] Ibidem, p. 190.

[254] Ibidem, p. 299.

and especially the Cumans. In this respect, it is important to mention that historians have not reached an agreement as to the origin of the name of the Vlach dynasty of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, *Asen / Asan*. Some believe it to be of Romanian[255] or Cuman,[256] others of Proto-Bulgar origin.[257]

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As a result of the lasting contacts between natives and nomad, many common words were adopted by speakers of Romanian from the Turkic idioms spoken by Pechenegs and Cumans. However, distinguishing those words from much later Tatar or Ottoman Turkish loans is very difficult, because little evidence exists of what the Romanian language looked like between the ninth and the thirteenth century. In addition, neither Pecheneg, nor Cuman are preserved, and the existence in *Codex Comanicus* of words matching others attested in Romanian is no proof that the latter are Cuman loans.

Attempts by Lazăr Şăineanu and Heinz F. Wendt to establish a chronology of Turkic loans into Romanian are not very convincing, and have been rejected even by most scholars, even those without any expertise in Turkology. Among lexemes of Cuman origin, Şăineanu

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[255] C. R. v. Höfler, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der slavischen Geschichte, I, Die Walachen als Begründer des zweiten bulgarischen Reiches, der Asaniden, 1186–1257," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historische Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 95 (1879), nos. 1–4, pp. 233–237 and 244; A. Hilckman, "Die Aromunen. Ein romanisches Volk im Herzen des Balkans," *Europa Ethnica* 25 (1968), no. 3, pp. 105–106; A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of Balkans. An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London–New York, 1972), pp. 259–261; T. J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People* (New York, 1987), pp. 113 and 116–117; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 317, 357–365, and 434.

[256] Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des Zweiten Bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980), pp. 83–88; L. Rásonyi, "Turcs non-islamisés en Occident (Pétchénègues, Ouzes et Qiptschaqs et leurs rapports avec les Hongrois)," in *History of the Turkic Peoples in the Pre-Islamic Period / Histoire des Peoples Turcs à l'Époque Pré-Islamique*, ed. H. R. Roemer, with the assist. of W.-E. Scharlipp (Berlin, 2000), p. 315; I. Vásáry, "Origins and possible Cuman affiliations of the Asen dynasty," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993–1994), pp. 335–345 (reprint in idem, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries* [Variorum Collected Studies Series] [Aldershot–Burlington, 2007], no. II); idem, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 38–42; V. Stoyanov, "Kumans in Bulgarian history (eleventh–fourteenth centuries)," in *The Turks*, 1, *Early Ages*, eds. H. Güzel, C. C. Oğuz, O. Karatay, chief of the ed. board Y. Halaçoğlu, ed. advisor H. Inalcik (Ankara, 2002), pp. 682–683.

[257] S. Dimitrov, "A contribution to the study of the Bulgarian medieval Turkic language heritage," *Études balkaniques* 36 (2000), no. 4, p. 147.

listed *beci* (cellar), *duşman* (enemy), *olat* (land), and *toi* (climax).[258] In spite of Alexandru Philippide's critique of the criteria, which Lazăr Şăineanu had used to analyze those words,[259] most scholars continued to take them as pre-Ottoman Turkic loans.[260] Others have the following to the list of words of Pecheneg-Cuman origin: *bărăgan* (vast plain), *curgan* (hillock),[261] *odaie* (room), *cioban* (shepherd),[262] *gorgan* (hillock),[263] *buzdugan* (mace), *butuc* (log), *bălăban* (falcon), *medean* (square), *scrum* (ashes), *cinel* (riddle-me-ree),[264] *zăgan* (falcon), *sorliţă* (falcon), *oium / uium* (tithe),[265] *bir* (tribute),[266] and others.

Heinz F. Wendt, on the other hand, went even farther when separating Pecheneg from Cumans, and both from Cuman-Tatar loans. In his opinion, the following Romanian words may be regarded as of Pecheneg origin: *boier* (boyard), *bunduc / bondoc* (chunk), *buzdugan* (mace), *caia* (horse shoe nail), *cioltor / şoltar* (a blanket used under the saddle), *colibă* (hut), *duium* (host), *duşman* (enemy), *fotă* (kind of peasant's skirt) and *schingi* (torture). He also listed the following words as of Cuman origin: *agă* (agha), *bir* (tribute), *buzdugan* (mace), *caravană* (caravan), *casap*

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[258] L. Şăineanu, *Influenţa orientală asupra limbii şi culturii române*, I (Bucharest, 1900), pp. XVI–XVII. See also pp. XVIII–XIX, with a list of other words, such as *fanar, habar, maidan, taman*, or *sarai*.

[259] Philippide, *Originea*, II (see above, n. 59), p. 359.

[260] Boldur, *Istoria Basarabiei* (see above, n. 62), p. 86; S. Puşcariu, *Limba română*, I, *Privire generală*, ed. I. Dan (Bucharest, 1976), p. 314; idem, *Die rumänische Sprache*, trans. H. Kuen (Bucharest, 1997), p. 403; Iordan, "Sprachgeographisches" (see above, n. 59), p. 23; Şt. Pascu, "Condiţiile istorice de dezvoltare a feudalismului timpuriu în secolele XI–XIII," in *Ist.Rom.*, II, p. 71; Ivănescu, *Istoria* (see above, n. 59), p. 437; I. Coteanu, M. Sala, *Etimologia şi limba română* (Bucharest, 1987), p. 143; M. Sala, *De la latină la română* (Bucharest, 1998), p. 96.

[261] Iorga, *Histoire*, III, p. 41. On *Bărăgan* as a Turanian toponym, see C. Jireček, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumanen, sowie über die Völkerschaften der sogennanten Gagauzi und Surguči im heutigen Bulgarien," *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, *Classe für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie* (1889), p. 11; Gh. Popescu-Ciocănel, "Influenţa orientală în toponimia românească," *BSRG* 31 (1910), no. 2, pp. 31–33.

[262] C. C. Giurescu, "Împrumuturi cumane în limba română: *odaie* şi *cioban*," *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice* 12 (1961), no. 2, pp. 205–214; idem, *Formarea poporului român* (Craiova, 1973), p. 135; A. Pandrea, *Pecenegii şi cumanii din Ţara Loviştei* (Aalborg, 1994), p. 29.

[263] G. Mihăilă, *Dicţionar al limbii române vechi (sfîrşitul sec. X—începutul sec. XVI)* (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 105 and 208.

[264] Ivănescu, *Istoria*, p. 437.

[265] Diaconu, *Coumans*, pp. 23–24.

[266] N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Notes sur le *bir*, les esclaves Tatars et quelques charges dans les Pays roumains," in *Raiyyet Rüsûmu. Essays presented to Halil Inalcik on his Seventienth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (= *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10, 1986), pp. 8–10.

(butcher), *ceaun* (cast-iron kettle), *chişleac* (curds), *cioban* (shepherd), *ciorbă* (sour soup, borsch), *cislă* (chatter), *cârmâziu* (crimson), *cobuz* (shepherd's pipe), *cobză* (traditional string instrument), *cucă* (cap with ostrich feathers), *culă / hulă* (vault, fortified house), *dovleac* (pumpkin), *dughiană* (shop), *duium* (host), *dulamă* (homespun coat, cloth mantle), *dulap* (cupboard), *durbac* (wine press handle), *ecpaia* (stuff of a high official), *fanar* (lantern), *harbuz* (water melon), *iliş* (wheat tax), *irmezea* (pollard), *işlic* (fur cap), *leafă* (wages), *lefegiu* (hireling), *mahramă / maramă* (very thin raw silk), *maramă* (headkerchief), *maidan* (waste ground), *mascară* (buffoon), *naht* (cash), *odaie* (room), *paşă / başă* (pasha-basha), *pazmangiu, pil* (whip), *saca* (water cask), *sacnasiu* (small waiting room), *said* (tacked seam), *siric* (oar), *sârmă* (wire), *sucman* (homespun peasant coat), *suliman* (rouge), *surlă* (fife), *şabacă* (embroidery), *şandrama* (shed), *talan* (anthrax), *tarabă* (counter, market stall), *tălmaci* (interpreter), *tărâm* (realm), *teanc* (heap), *teas* (tray), *toi* (climax), *a se tolăni* (to lie down), *tolbă* (quiver), *topuz* (bludgeon), *torbă* (purse), *tulbent* (bride veil), *vătaf, vătăşel* (bailiff), and *zarzără* (apricot).[267]

Recently, the problem of the ancient Turkic loans in Romanian as an indication of the language contact between Romanians and the Turkic nomads has been thoroughly studied by Alexander Coman.[268] According to Coman, more than 250 words in Romanian have clear correspondents in the language of the Cumans: *bacşiş* (tip), *bairam* (carousal), *bălăban* (falcon), *baltag* (battle-axe), *beci* (cellar), *boia* (dye), *bostan* (pumpkin), *butuc* (log), *cadână* (woman), *catifea* (velvet), *catâr* (mule), *cazan* (boiler, copper), *călimară* (ink-pot), *cerşetor* (beggar), *chibrit* (match), *chihlimbar* (amber), *chirpici* (adobe), *ciob* (potsherd), *conac* (manor), *dugheană* (booth), *duşman* (enemy), *fildeş* (ivory), *ghiol* (salt lake), *guzgan* (rat), *hamal* (porter), *hambar* (barn), *han* (khan), *haraci* (tribute), *horă* (round dance), *iaz* (pond), *iurtă* (yurt), *lac* (lake), *lămâie* (lemon), *liman* (liman), *magiun* (jam), *mahala* (suburb), *maidan* (wasteland), *maimuță* (monkey), *murdar* (dirty), *năut* (chick peas), *ovăz* (oats), *scrum* (ashes), *spanac* (spinach), *sufragerie* (dining-room), *sultan* (sultan), *tălmaci* (interpreter), *târnăcop* (pick-axe), *toiag* (staff), *tutun* (tabacco), and others.[269] However, it appears that many such words on Alexander Coman's list are neither Turkic, nor Turkish.

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[267] Wendt, *Die türkische Elemente* (see above, n. 15), pp. 164–168. See also G. R. Solta, *Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Substrats und des Balkanlateinischen* (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 177–178, who regards the following words as of Pecheneg or Cuman origin: *boier, duşman, colibă, tălmaci, bir, dulap, tulipan, calfă, olac*.

[268] A. Coman, *Rumänen, Kumanen, Osmanen. Zur Geschichte und Sprachgeschichte Südosteuropas vom IX.–XX. Jhd.* (Fulda–Hermannstadt, 1998).

[269] Ibidem, pp. 536–541, 552–558.

For instance, *cireş* (cherry-tree), *cânepă* (hemp), and *purice* (flea) have all a demonstrable Latin origin, as they derive from *cerasius, cannabis*, and *pulicem*, respectively.[270] Other words on Coman's "Turkic" lists are also demonstrably Greek or Slavic loans.

Moreover, the idea of separating lexical elements of Pecheneg, Cuman, and Cuman-Tartar origin respectively, and of distinguishing all of them from Turkish-Ottoman loans must be treated with extreme suspicion. It is unlikely, for example, that language contact with the Turkic nomads may have been responsible for such loans as *buzdugan* (mace) and *caia* (horseshoe nail), as the archaeological evidence clearly shows that the nomads rarely used maces in battle and never shoed their horses. In fact, there is only one mace head in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century burial assemblage found in a barrow in Bălăbani (Cahul county, Republic of Moldova), a gold- and silver-plated artifact decorated with Arabic script elements (Fig. 25/9). This is a unique piece for the entire east and south-east European area, and most probably originated in the Near East.[271] As for such words as *bostan* (pumpkin), *dovleac* (pumpkin), *lămâie* (lemon), *spanac* (spinach) and *zarzără* (apricot), whatever their origin, they were certainly not borrowed by speakers of Romanian from communities of nomads with little, if any experience in horticulture and arboriculture.

If one adopts the principles of the *Wörter und Sachen* (words-and-things) approach to language contact, it is unlikely that Romanians would have borrowed words referring to trade, administration, furniture, fabrics and spiritual life from the Pechenegs or the Cumans. The same thing can be said about such terms as *bir* (tribute), which appears in Romanian, but also in Bulgarian and Serbian,[272] a word most likely derived from the Turkish verb *bérmek / vérmek* (to give).[273] True, the Bulgarians, as well as the Romanians in the lands outside the Carpathian Mountains may have well paid tribute to the Turkic nomads for quite some time. But the same cannot be true for the Serbs, who were subject only to the Ottoman rule. It seems illogical to assume that Romanians north

[270] Ibidem, pp. 537–538, 540.

[271] E. Sava, "Necropola tumulară Bălăbani—II," *AM* 19 (1996), pp. 192, 203, and 204; figs. 7/1 and 8.

[272] F. Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in der südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen* (Vienna, 1888), p. 87; A. Grannes, K. R. Hauge, H. Süleymanoğlu, *A Dictionary of Turkisms in Bulgarian* (Oslo, 2002), p. 32.

[273] Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Notes sur le *bir*" (see above, n. 266), pp. 9–10.

of the Danube adopted the word *bir* (= tribute) from the Pechenegs and the Cumans, while Serbs, with whom the Romanians had many lingistic affinities, had it from the Ottomans.[274] A number of other terms of Turkic origin, which appear in both Romanian and South Slavic languages may have equally been borrowed from Ottoman Turkish, and not from the Turkic languages spoken by the nomads north of the Black Sea. In reality, there are still many unsolved problems regarding the language contact between speakers of Romanian and of pre-Ottoman Turkic languages.

It is perhaps worth mentioning in this context that terms in Romanian said to be of Pecheneg or Cuman origin rarely have corresponding matches in Hungarian. According to Géza Bárczi, Hungarian words that appear to have been adopted from Pecheneg and Cuman mercenaries in the royal army include the following: *bicsak* (penknife, corresponding to Romanian *brişcă, briceag*), *buzogány* (mace), *csákány* (hack, pickaxe; corresponding Romanian *ciocan* 'hammer'), *csökönyös* (restive), *csődör* (stallion), *csősz* (field-watchman), *kalauz* (conductor, guide; corresponding Romanian *călăuză* 'guide', Turkish *kylavuz* 'guide', Neo-Greek *kalouzis* 'guide'), *kalóz* (helmsman), *kobak* (skull; corresponding Romanian *coboacă* 'skull' or *coboc* 'goblet', as well as Ukrainian *kobok* 'goblet'), *koboz* (sound; Romanian *cobuz* 'traditional string instrument'), *ködmön* (leather jacket), *komondor* (a breed of dogs), and possibly *balta* (axe; corresponding Romanian *baltag* 'battle-axe'). Equally Turkic are the ethnic names *besenyő* (Pecheneg), *kun* (Cuman), and probably *örmény* (Armenian).[275] Lajos Tamás even believes that the Romanian word *călăuză* was adopted as a consequence of contact not with Turkic idioms spoken by Pechenegs, Oghuz, or Cumans, but with Hungarian.[276]

Language contact implies a two-way street model of transmission, in which Romanian words were also borrowed by speakers of Turkic idioms. Some proper names recorded in *Codex Comanicus* have therefore been given a Romanian origin.[277] Although the possibility of some

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[274] V. Spinei, "Aspecte controversate ale contactelor românilor cu turanicii în secolele X–XIII," *AM* 19 (1996), pp. 272–273.

[275] G. Bárczi, *Geschichte der ungarischen Sprache*, trans. A. Friedrich (Innsbruck, 2001), pp. 157–158.

[276] L. Tamás, *Etymologisch-historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Elemente im Rumänischen (unter Berücksichtigung der Mundartwörter)* (London–The Hague–Paris [Budapest], 1967), p. 174.

[277] W. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel* (Vienna, 1882), p. 51; Iorga, *Histoire*, III, p. 74.

Romanian influence on Turkic idioms cannot of course be discounted, the evidence presented so far for that case is not very convincing.

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Contacts between Turkic nomads and Romanians during the long period of the former's control of the Carpathian-Dniester region were not restricted to language. Most significant for cultural contacts seem to have been the typical features of the Turkic way of life, from horsemanship, to pastoralism and warlike nomadism. Given the emphasis the nomads placed on pastoralism, ensuring grazing grounds and water was a vital problem for them. This is in fact the explanation for the westward movement of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes, during which they occupied the lands of the sedentary agriculturists in the Bugeac and the Bărăgan. Removing the agricultural communities from that region was a long-drawn process. The famers' life and activities must have been disturbed by the cyclic migrations of the nomads towards summer pasture lands. A substantial presence of the nomads in the area depended upon weather and vegetation. However, even without a massive occupation of the area, the frequent raids of the nomads against native settlements must have procured supplements for their subsistence economy and, at the same time, disturbed even more the life of the local population.

The traditional interpretation of the relations between natives and nomads maintained that the latter were a semi-parasitical society, unable to survive without food taken from sedentary communities, which they coerced into accepting all sorts of exactions. However, such an interpretation is contradicted by contemporary testimonies, which indicate that the nomads produced their own food. A semi-parasitical existence is actually inconceivable, since the Turkic nomads often lived at a considerable distance from farming communities. Raids on such communities were meant to procure a surplus, either of goods or of slaves. True, the nomads may have indeed imposed the payment of a tribute on the local population. Written sources often mention plundering expedition, as well as violence as means of extracting dues. By contrast, enslavement is rarely mentioned and seems to have been a much later in the development of nomad society. Romanians had to put up with plundering expeditions and enslavement. They must have therefore intermittently affected by the movements of various Turkic groups.

In order to understand the directions and consequences of the migration of the Turkic nomads, it is necessary to correlate the chronology of the settlements of the Dridu and Răducăneni cultures with that of burial assemblages attributed to the nomads. In many cases, both settlements and "nomadic" burial assemblages were found on one and the same site. For example, both Dridu settlements and burial assemblages attributed to the Turkic nomads have been found in Banca, Bârlad, Costeşti, Etulia, Gura Bâcului, Ogorodnoe, Olăneşti, Purcari, Strumoc, Suvorovo, Tudora and Umbrăreşti in southern Moldavia,[278] as well as Bucharest-Lacul Tei," Jilava, Curcani, Oltenița, Lişcoteanca and Râmnicelu in eastern Wallachia.[279] In addition, Răducăneni settlements have been found in Banca, Băneasa and Bârlad.[280] Of all those cases, only in Curcani was a burial assemblage attributed to a nomadic horseman found in a pit dug through the occupation layer of a Dridu settlement, an observation which has led to the conclusion that the settlement was earlier than the grave.[281] At Cârnățeni, fragments of clay kettles found in the burial mound suggest that the grave co-existed with a Răducăneni settlements.[282] Almost all other burial assemblages have been assigned the same dates as those applying to Dridu and Răducăneni settlements, but no relative chronology could be established. Although the possibility cannot be excluded that in certain cases burial assemblages and settlements coincided in time, the evidence suggests that more than not burials post-dated settlements.

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[278] G. F. Chebotarenko, "Материалы к археологической карте памятников VIII–X вв. южной части Пруто-Днестровского междуречья," in *DPM*, pp. 216–218, 224, and 228–229; idem, "Поселение Этулия VI," in *AIM (1972 g.)* (1974), pp. 173–182; Coman, *Statornicie*, pp. 56 and 71.

[279] D. V. Rosetti, "Siedlungen der Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit bei Bukarest," *Germania* 18 (1934), no. 3, pp. 209–210; S. Morintz and B. Ionescu, "Cercetări arheologice în împrejurimile oraşului Oltenița (1958–1967)," *SCIV* 19 (1968), no. 1, pp. 96 and 103; N. Harțuche, "Preliminarii la repertoriul arheologic al județului Brăila," *Istros* 1 (1980), pp. 325 and 328–329.

[280] V. Spinei, "Considerații cu privire la populația locală din zona centrală şi meridională a Moldovei în secolele XI–XII," *CIs*, SN, 12–13 (1981–1982), pp. 176–179.

[281] M. Sâmpetru and D. Şerbănescu, "Mormîntul de călăreț nomad descoperit la Curcani," *SCIV* 22 (1971), no. 3, p. 443.

[282] T. I. Demchenko, G. F. Chebotarenko, "Погребения кочевников в курганах нижнего Поднестровья," in *Средневековые памятники Днестровско-Прутского междуречья*, eds. P. P. Bârnea (gen. ed.), G. F. Chebotarenko, A. A. Nudel'man, N. P. Tel'nov, E. N. Abyzova (Kishinev, 1988), p. 96.

The most important aspect of the relations between Romanians and Turkic nomads appears to have political. The nomads had a considerably negative influence on local society, and were primarily responsible for the delayed formation of local political entities. The principality led by Gelou in central Transylvania was attacked by Pechenegs at the time Gelou had to deal also with the Hungarian incursions from Pannonia. As the Turkic nomads appear to have been quite a threat for the region to the east of the Carpathian Mountains, the destruction in that region must have been that much greater. There is no indication of any attempt to organize a resistance, for whatever military capacity the Romanians may have had, it was hopeless in the face of the much greater military prowess of the steppe horsemen, who had managed to keep all the neighbouring states at bay. The Hungarians, who had been defeated by the Pechenegs, were capable of spreading terror in Germany, Italy and even in France during the first half of the tenth century. In their turn, the Pechenegs, the Uzes and the Cumans wrought havoc in Russia, Byzantium, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Because of the incursions of the nomads, the southern frontiers of the Rus' principalities shifted many miles to the north, while Byzantium lost for many years the control over the northern Balkan provinces.

Ninth- to eleventh-century settlements in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains cluster in the lowlands and in the hills (Fig. 2).[283] By contrast, the villages in Moldavia attested in the earliest charters of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century (722 in total) have a very different distribution: there almost no such settlements in the Bugeac, the Bălți Plain, south of the Cogâlnic Plateau, and in the Covurlui Plain; in addition, fewer villages existed in Bessarabia than in the region between the Prut River and the Carpathian Mountains.[284] Judging by

[283] Fedorov, Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*; Spinei, *Moldova*, pp. 83–91 and figs. 2 and 5; Ş. Olteanu, *Societatea românească la cumpănă de milenii (secolele VIII–XI)* (Bucharest, 1983), pp. 24–25 (map) and 223–227; A. T. Smilenko, A. A. Kozlovskii, "Средневековые поселения в приморской части Днестро-Дунайского междуречья," in *Днестро-Дунайские междуречье в I-начале II тыс. н.э.* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 67–83; Gh. Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistrean (secolele V–XIII)* (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 100–108, 125–127, 325–326, 344, 348, 350, 380–383 (maps 6–9), and 404–405 (maps 30–31).

[284] P. P. Bârnea, "Карта сельских поселений Молдавии XV века," *PGM* 1, 1966, pp. 112–119. See also L. L. Polevoi, *Очерки исторической географии Молдавии XIII–XV вв.* (Kishinev, 1979), pp. 18–27; S. Tabuncic, "Satele din răsăritul Țării Moldovei din secolele XIV–XV în lumina izvoarelor diplomatice interne," *Revista de Istorie a Moldovei* (1998), nos. 3–4 (35–36), pp. 62–95; idem, "Habitatul rural din

the data from the census of 1772–1774 and from other sources,[285] the settlement pattern did not change much between *ca.* 1400 and *ca.* 1800. By contrast, there is a distinct difference between the fourteenth- to fifteenth- and the ninth- to eleventh-century settlement patterns. Between ca. 1000 and ca. 1400, the lowlands of southern Moldavia witnessed a complete demographic collapse, which could be more precisely dated to the twelfth and thirteenth century. No surprise, therefore, that the blank spots on the map of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century villages in Moldavia are precisely those, which had no forest cover, i.e., no natural protection for the human habitat. Moreover, the lowlands and hilly areas of Moldavia, otherwise famous for their chernozem soils, have also the grazing fields richest in grass, which was of course sought after by nomadic pastoralists.

Contacts between Romanians and nomads were not restricted to the displacement of the former, but also involved exactions in the form of tribute payments. Besides the demographic losses, the local society was also seriously affected economically. The native population forced to move out from the lowlands had to put up with the limited resources of the hilly and mountain regions to which it fled and which, though offering protection in densely forested areas, were nevertheless not as good for agriculture. With the lowlands north of the Danube and the Black Sea now occupied by nomads, the transhumant practices of the local pastoralists were interrupted. Also interrupted were the traditional trade and cultural relations with the Byzantine Empire. The economic stagnation caused by nomads had profound effects on the development of the local society and seem to have contributed to a delay of the social stratification. Any attempts at building stable polities were most likely nipped in the bud by the neighboring nomads, who regarded them as potential threats.

The Turkic nomads had a strong impact first and foremost upon the lowlands of southern Moldavia, as well as on the valleys of the Dniester and Prut rivers and on those of their major tributaries (Fig. 4). Moving northwards along those valleys, the nomads brought under their control the hilly regions of the eastern half of the Carpathian-Dniester region. The only protection against them was offered in the

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răsăritul Ţării Moldovei în secolele XIV–XVI, oglindit în izvoarele arheologice," in *Civilizaţia medievală şi modernă în Moldova. In honorem Demir Dragnev*, ed. L. Zabolotnâi (Chişinău, 2006), pp. 34–47.

[285] P. G. Dmitriev, *Народонаселение Молдавии* (Kishinev, 1973), p. 39 ff.

densely forested areas of the hilly and mountain regions of northern and western Moldavia, which the nomads had no desire to control.

Much like other mountain ranges of Europe (Alps, Pyrenees, Balkans, Caucasus), the Carpathian Mountains may have offered protection during foreign invasions, thus preventing the extermination or assimilation of the local population. By contrast, the lowlands offered no protection and no possibility to organize a military resistance. Indeed, most peoples inhabiting the lowlands exclusively (from Scythians and Sarmatians, to Huns, Avars, Khazars, Pechenegs, Uzes, and Cumans) were vulnerable to attacks by stronger neighbors.

The contrast between the lowlands in southern Moldavia and the hilly or mountainous regions in northern-central Moldavia is underlined also by the linguistic difference between the sub-dialects of Romanian spoken in those two regions, especially from a phonetical and lexical point of view. While the northern-central sub-dialect shows strong similarities with that of Transylvania, the one in southern Moldavia is closer to the sub-dialect of Wallachia.[286] This may be the indirect result of the late migrations of the Turkic nomads, which had led to drastic demographic changes within the region inhabited primarily by Romanians.

Nicolae Iorga believed that the relations between Romanians and nomads were of cooperation, a phenomenon which, according to him, strengthened the local elite and encouraged the creation of the political entities in the region between the Carpathian Mountains, the Black Sea, and the Danube River.[287] Iorga's interpretation was most likely influenced by developments in the Balkans, where the natives co-operated with the Pechenegs, thus effectively escaping the control of the Byzantine administration for a few decades at the end of the eleventh century. Similarly, the Cumans appear to have had a significant role in the creation of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom under the Asenid dynasty. By the same token, the during the second half of the thirteenth century, Bulgarian tsars were members of the Terter dynasty of Cuman origin. Local rulers in fourteenth-century Dobrudja—Balica

[286] Ivănescu, *Istoria* (see above, n. 59), pp. 460–462.

[287] Iorga, "Imperiul cumanilor" (see above, n. 64), pp. 97–103; idem, *Histoire*, III, pp. 34–44 and 68–74. For a correction of Iorga's views on this matter, see Şt. Ştefănescu, "Începuturile statelor româneşti în viziunea lui Nicolae Iorga," *RIs* 24 (1971), no. 4, pp. 673–681; H. H. Stahl, *Studii de sociologie istorică* (Bucharest, 1972), pp. 54–55; Ş. Papacostea, "Nicolae Iorga şi evul mediu românesc," in Iorga, *Studii asupra evului mediu românesc* (see above, n. 64), pp. 418–420.

(Balyk-?) and Dobrotich—were also of Turkic origin. Iorga's interpretation found support in the putative Turkic origin of *Basarab(a)*, the name of the first voivode of independent Wallachia. Following Iorga, many historians therefore assumed that the leading dynasty of Wallachia was of Cuman origin.[288] However, as in the case of the earliest recorded Hungarian chieftains (Arpad, Almos, Zoltan), whose names are clearly Turkic, the name *Basarab* is no indication that the voivode with that name was a Cuman. *Basarab* was a fairly common name among Romanians of medieval Transylvania and Wallachia. It also appears in place names often associated with high-altitude mountains,[289] regions which the Turkic nomads rarely, if ever, visited. Even if the ancestors of Basarab "the Founder" were of Turkic origin, he certainly regarded himself as a member of the Romanian political elite of Wallachia. This is substantiated by the fact that after the great Mongol invasion of 1236–1242, Turkic groups north of the Lower Danube had completely lost their political independence.

Without excluding the possibility that some Cumans may have been assimilated into the ruling class of the local society, it is important to note in this respect that, judging by the existing evidence, the number of boyars of undoubtedly Turkic origin is very small. It is therefore difficult to accept the idea that the Turkic nomads may have had a significant role in the rise of the medieval Romanian states and in their internal political development. Boyars serving at the Moldavian or Wallachian courts, who had names of Turkic origin, appear only occasionally in documents. Names of Turkic origin are also found in the lower strata of society. Among those named *Coman* during the

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[288] L. Rásonyi, "Contributions à l'histoire des premières cristalisations d'État des Roumains. L'origine des Basaraba," *AECO* 1 (1935), nos. 1–4, pp. 243–253; idem, *Tarihte Türklük* (Ankara, 1971), pp. 150–151; idem, *Hidak a Dunán* (see above, n. 16), pp. 141–142. See also A. Veress, "Originea stemelor Ţărilor Române," *RIR* 1 (1931), no. 2, p. 230; Gy. Györffy, "Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez (II)," *Történelmi szemle* 7 (1964), nos. 3–4, pp. 543–544; L. Krăstev, "Une hypothèse concernant l'origine du voïévode valaque Jean Basarab (env. 1324–1352)," *Études balkaniques* 36 (2000), no. 4, pp. 108–116; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars* (see above, n. 256), pp. 151–155; N. Djuvara, *Thocomerius—Negru Vodă, un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Ţării Româneşti*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 160–166.

[289] Drăganu, *Românii* (see above, n. 15), pp. 520–527. It is quite possible that the name of *Martinus Basababa*, a merchant of Durazzo mentioned in a document of 1249, was also a distorted version of *Basaraba*. See Ducellier, *La façade maritime* (see above, n. 188), p. 193. The name *Basarab* appears in Slovakia. See Y. Blaşkoviç (Kumanoğlu), "Çekoslovakya topraklarinda eski türklerin izleri," in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için* (Ankara, 1966), p. 349.

fourteenth and fifteenth century, almost half were Gypsy slaves. This is of course no mirror of social reality, for many more boyars, especially those serving at the princely court, were mentioned in the documents than commoners or Gypsy slaves. If personal names were an indication of ethnic background—an otherwise questionable assumption—then it appears that most Cumans were slaves, not boyars. It is also very unlikely that the names of Tatar slaves appearing in fifteenth-century documents referred to persons who were not only of Tatar, but also of Cuman origin.[290]

Comparisons between the co-existence of natives and nomads in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains with the situation in the neighboring areas have proved to be irrelevant. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Rus', and Georgia, the relations between natives and nomads were often strengthened by dynastic alliances, and seem to have been perceived by both sides as mutually profitable.[291] Marrying into the Cuman aristocracy seems to have been a relatively common practice in Rus'[292] and Bulgaria.[293] That to the author of an apocryphal chronicle written in eastern Bulgaria during the second half of the twelfth century,[294] Bulgarians and Cumans were alike simply reflects the significance of the Turkic involvement in the political developments in the Balkans, as well as the existence of close ties between the Cuman and the Bulgarian aristocracies.[295]

In principle, it is of course possible that similar relations of cooperation existed between Romanians and Turkic nomads, but they certainly were not as extended as in the Bulgarian or Rus' case. In the early

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[290] B. P. Hasdeu, "Cetatea Neamţul," in idem, *Studii de lingvistică şi filologie*, 1, ed. G. Brâncuş (Bucharest, 1988), pp. 143–144; Al. I. Gonţa, *Satul în Moldova medievală. Instituţiile* (Bucharest, 1986), p. 312; Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Notes sur le *bir*" (see above, n. 266), pp. 12–14.

[291] P. B. Golden, "Nomads and their sedentary neighbors in pre-Činggisid Eurasia," *AEMA* 7 (1987–1991), pp. 72–73.

[292] V. V. Trepavlov, "Eastern influences: The Turkic nobility in medieval Russia," *Coexistence* 32 (1995), pp. 9–16; S. V. Gurkin, "К вопросу о русско-половецких матримониальных связях," *Донская археология* 2 (1999), pp. 40–50; P. P. Tolochko, *Кочевые народы степей и Киевская Русь* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 146, 149, 152, and 154.

[293] P. Diaconu, "Cumanii şi originea familiei lui Dobrotiţă," *Revista istorică* 5 (1994), nos. 3–4, pp. 283–288; I. A. Biliarsky, "The despots of mediaeval Bulgaria," *Byzantinobulgarica* 9 (1995), pp. 150–151.

[294] *Сказанїе Исаїе пророка како вьзнесень дысть аггеломь до з-го невесы*, ed. L. Stojanović, in *Споменик Српска Краљевска Академија*, III (Belgrade, 1890), pp. 190–193.

[295] S. Dimitrov, "The Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle and Bulgarian ethnic history," *Études balkaniques* 29 (1993), no. 4, p. 97 ff.

eleventh century, Romanians (*Blökumenn*) are known to have fought side by side with Pechenegs against Iaroslav the Wise, the prince of Kiev. No evidence exists of a similar military cooperation between Romanians and Cumans, if one leaves aside the possibility that Lazarus, the chieftain mentioned in the context of the Byzantine expedition against the Cumans north of the Danube was in fact a Romanian. However, there is plenty of evidence for the military assistance the Cumans offered to the Asenid rebels and, later, rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire. It is also possible to imagine cooperation between Romanians and newly converted Cumans in the Cuman Bishopric.

Prior to the Mongol invasion, at a time when the Turkic nomads controlled the steppe corridor north of the Black and Caspian seas, and no Romanian polities are known to have been created in their vicinity, Romanians were forced into political submission. The nomadic aristocracy must therefore have not regarded any alliance with the local natives as particularly profitable. Conversely, when the Cumans and other Turkic groups submitted to the Golden Horde, the emerging Romanian elites could not have gained much from any form of political cooperation with them. Moreover, it is unlikely that the Mongols would have tolerated any special arrangements between subject populations, which were not controlled from Sarai.

True, contacts between Romanians and Turkic nomads were not limited to violence and exaction of tribute. They must have also involved mutual, advantageous and peaceful relations. Since both Romanians and nomads were engaged in trade with the neighboring polities, it was only natural for them to have also established exchange relations between them. That no artifacts of native, local origin have so far been found in burial assemblages attributed to the nomads is an indication not of the absence of such relations, but of the conservatism of burial customs. By contrast, artifacts produced by nomads have been found on local settlement site: an iron snaffle-bit with a rigid-bar mouth-piece and movable rings in Simila (Vaslui county) (Fig. 7/1); a bronze bladed pendant in Brăhăşeşti (Galaţi county); and an oval antler pendant with open-work decoration in Murgeni (Vaslui county) (Romania), etc. The bridle bit was found during excavations, the other artifacts were found during field survey signaling the existence on those respective sites of tenth- to eleventh-century settlements. A bronze pendant, very similar to that from Brăhăşeşti, was discovered on a Dridu settlement site excavated in Bucharest (suburb of Străuleşti). The iron snaffle-bit and the antler pendant may be regarded as local replicas of nomadic artifacts,

but the bronze bladed pendants were without any doubt produced by the nomads. By contrast, arrow heads and other artifacts, which have initially been regarded as evidence of contact with the nomads,[296] are now interpreted as of local origin.

All in all, the number of artifacts of alleged Turkic origin found on local, Romanian settlement sites is thus small, and cannot be cited as evidence of either extensive or permananent contacts between natives and nomads. That nomads often preferred to raid local communities, when not exacting tribute from them, could not have encouraged peaceful exchange relations with the natives. The very existence within local communities of a surplus destined for exchange remains doubtful, given the subsistence character of the local economy.

One persistent stereotype among historians of eastern European countries is that the civilization of the sedentary populations was superior to that of the more primitive nomads. This may, to some extent, be true about Byzantium, Kievan Rus', and Bulgaria. However, it is difficult to find any similarity between the developments to those societies and that of the Romanian in the Carpathian-Danube area. Nor can it be assumed, on the other hand, that the society of the Turkic nomads in the steppe lands to the west from the Dnieper was identical to that of the nomads in central Asia or in the area between the Volga and the Dnieper rivers. Judging from the archaeological evidence of burial assemblages, tribal chieftains in the lands to the west from the Dnieper river were much poorer then their counterparts ruling to the east of that river: very few gold or silver artifacts, no Runic inscriptions, and only a very small number of stone statues. This contrast must have had a significant influence upon contacts between natives and nomads in the area north of the Danube Delta.

An important issue pertaining to the problem of the relations between nomads and natives is that of the sedentized Turkic groups which were later absorbed into the local population. There is no agreement among historians as to the nature and degree of that assimilation process.

As Friedrich Ratzel once noted, the abandonment of the nomadic way of lie in favor of sedentarization was nowhere a spontaneous process or even one willingly initiated by nomads themselves (*Der Übergang vom Nomadismus zur Ansässigkeit ist nirgends, von wir ihn beobachten können,*

[296] Spinei, "Relations" (see above, n. 75), pp. 271–273.

freiwillig).[297] This is also true for the Turkic nomads of the steppe lands to the north from the Black and Caspian seas. As long as a tribal union maintained its autonomy and control over pasture lands sufficiently large for the survival of its members, there no incentive to switch to a different lifestyle. Even when groups of nomads were forced to abandon their lands in the steppe by stronger neighbors, they stubbornly clung to nomadism and opposed any attempts at sedentization. This is true for the Pechenegs who migrated to Byzantium and for the Cumans who went to Hungary, Byzantium and the Latin Empire. Nomadic groups were forced to accept a semi-sedentary and, later, sedentary form of life at the same time as their conversion to Christianity, only when they detached themselves completely from the world of the steppes and when under pressure from the states to which they had fled in the first place. In the western steppe lands of Eurasia, a shift to agriculture and a semi-nomadic lifestyle is known to have taken place only in a few cases, where at stake was the survival of impoverished small communities. It is important to note that all known cases post-date the Mongol invasion and its dramatic consequences for the deterioration of the economic well-being of certain nomadic communities in the steppe.

When considering the possibility of sedentization of Turkic nomads in the lands north of the Lower Danube, one must therefore take into account the obstinate rejection of any other forms of life than traditional nomadism. Up to 1200, no political force existed in the area, which could have forced them to abandon nomadism and adopt a sedentary mode of life. Nor the internal developments of the nomadic society leading to any such development. This changed suddenly during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, together with the Hungarian encroachment into the region outside the Carpathian Mountains and the concurrent dissolution of the Cuman tribal confederacies, The Cumans in the Cuman Bishopric who had accepted to convert to Christianity must have also been expected to adopt, at least in part, a sedentary form of life. The papal letters of 1228 mention that they had expressed a wish to build "towns and villages,"[298] in other words to abandon nomadism. Six years later, Pope Gregory IX reminded the

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[297] F. Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, I, *Grundzüge der Anwendung der Erdkunde auf die Geschichte*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1921), p. 104.

[298] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 111; *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241) e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit* A. L. Tăutu (*Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, Series III, III) (Vatican, 1950), pp. 208–209.

heir to the Hungarian throne of his promise to build a church for the Cumans,[299] a promise which the prince would only later fulfill, given that the Cumans had not in fact completely abandon a nomadic mode of life. Even if all Cumans would have been willing to give up nomadism, the Mongol invasion, a few years later, must have effectively prevented the completion of the process.

After the Mongol conquest of Desht-i Qipchaq, those Cumans who did flee away from the Mongols fell under their rule. No emigration from the lands under the control of the Golden Horde was tolerated by the khans, and fearing Mongol reprisals, their neighbors refused to accept any significant number of refugees from the Mongol territories.

In Hungary, archaeological excavations of Cuman cemeteries have well documented the gradual transition from paganism and nomadism to Christianity and sedentary life.[300] By contrast, there is no indication of such a shift in the region outside the Carpathian Mountains. The non-Christian features of burials excavated in Hansca, which have

[299] Hurmuzaki, I, p. 131; *Acta Honorii III*, pp. 283–284.

[300] A. Pálóczi-Horváth, "A felsöszentkirályi kun sírlelet," *Cumania* 1, *Archaeologia* (1972), pp. 177–204; idem, "Situation des recherches archéologiques sur les Comans en Hongrie," *AOH* 27 (1973), no. 2, pp. 201–209; idem, "Bericht über die Ausgrabung des mittelalterlichen Dorfes Szentkirály," *Folia Archaeologica* 26, (1975), pp. 183–190; idem, "A Lászlófalván 1969–1974—ben végzett régészeti ásatások eredményei," *Cumania* 4, *Archaeologia* (1976), pp. 275–309; idem, *Petchenegen, Kumanen, Jassen. Steppenvölker im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest, 1989), pp. 111–120; idem, *Hagyományok, kapcsolatok és hatások a kunok régészeti kultúrájában* (Karcag, 1994); L. Selmeczi, "Angaben und Gesichtspunkte zur archäologischen Forschung nach den Kumanen im Komitat Szolnok," *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1971) [1974], no. 2, pp. 187–197; idem, "The settlement structure of the Cumanian settlers in the Nagykunság," in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in honour of Julius Németh*, ed. G. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest, 1976), pp. 255–262; idem, *Régészeti—néprajzi tanulmányok a jászokról és a kunokról* (Debrecen, 1992), pp. 5–47 and 61–99.

For the Cuman integration in Hungary, see also Gy. Györffy, "A kunok feudalizálódása," in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetének Magyarországon a 14. században*, ed. Gy. Székely (Budapest, 1953), pp. 248–275; M. P. Murguliia, V. P. Shusharin, *Половцы, Грузия, Русь и Венгрия в XII–XIII веках* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 173–183; N. Berend, "How many medieval Europas? The 'pagans' in Hungary and regional diversity in Christendom," in *The Medieval World*, eds. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London–New York, 2001), pp. 77–92; eadem, "Cuman integration in Hungary," in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*, eds. A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink (Richmond, Surrey, 2001), pp. 103–127; eadem, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 244–267; A. B. Malyshev, "Половцы в Венгрии и Золотая Орда во второй половине XIII в.," in *Дешт-и-Кипчак и Золотая Орда в становлении культуры евразийских народов*, ed. D. M. Nasilov (Moscow, 2003), pp. 76–83.

been attributed to the nomads,[301] are more likely an indication of populations of eastern origin, which lived in close proximity to native communities and were on their way to complete sedentization. Judging by the existing evidence, therefore, the number of nomads who became sedentary among the Romanian communities was small. The settlement of Turks among the natives did not involve large groups, but, perhaps, only isolated families, whose assimilation took place within a relatively short time.

Despite more than four hundred years of of co-habitation within the Carpathian-Dniester region, there was no real symbiosis between Romanians and Turkic nomads. Those two ethnic communities, so different from each other from an ethnic, religious and cultural point of view, as well as in regards to their way of life, economic system and socio-political organization, may have lived in relatively close quarters, but in fact did not intermingle very much. Given the violence of contact, the nomads had a certain negative influence upon the development of the Romanian society, but not on its structure. The alterity of the nomadic form of life made it impossible for the natives to adopt any sustainable models of social organization from their Turkic neighbors. Perhaps the conservatism of the Romanian society may also be responsible for the relative lack of influence of the nomads on the natives. If the Turkic nomads exercised any influence on the natives worth considering, it was not as artisans or artists, but as shepherds and warriors. This in fact explains why one of the only direct influences upon Romanians was a form of warfare dominated by light cavalry, an influence to which the Mongols, however, must have contributed as well.

The nomads were content with plundering and exacting tribute, without any attempt to alter the traditional organization of the natives, their occupations and social structure. They also seem to have tolerated the lifestyle and the religion of their subject people. To some extent, the nomads were ready to offer military protection to the natives, provided that the latter continued to produce goods to pay their tribute.[302]

The Romanian influence on the Turkic nomads was even less marked. This is also to be explained in terms of the conservatism of the nomadic society, as well as a consequence of the relative short period any one

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[301] Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 263; G. F. Chebotarenko, *Население центральной части Днестровско-Прутского междуречья в X–XII вв.* (Kishinev, 1982), p. 56.

[302] Stahl, *Studii de sociologie istorică* (see above, n. 285), pp. 45–48.

of the Turkic groups spent in the steppes north of the Lower Danube before moving farther. From a Romanian point of view, contact with all those groups must have been the same, given that they all shared in the same mode of life. Though for many centuries, various groups of nomadic horsemen came to control the lowlands north of the river Danube, no symbiosis with the sedentary agricultural populations took place. Paradoxically, such a symbiosis did occur in regions, which the nomads did not control politically. At the western end of the Eurasian steppe corridor, the lowlands of the Lower Danube were not particulary favorable to nomadic pastoralists, who, when pushed by other steppe nomads, often took refuge in the Balkans or in the Pannonian Plain. There they found more or less favourable conditions, and there they turned sedentary and were eventually assimilated by natives by virtue of a true symbiosis. The lowlands outside the Carpathian Mountains were abandoned by defeated hordes as soon as new stronger nomads approached. The local communities were thus forced into a precarious mode of life, marked by lack of political stability and impoverishment, as a result of repeated invasions. Such circumstances could not possibly stimulate the intruders to join the Romanians in any way.

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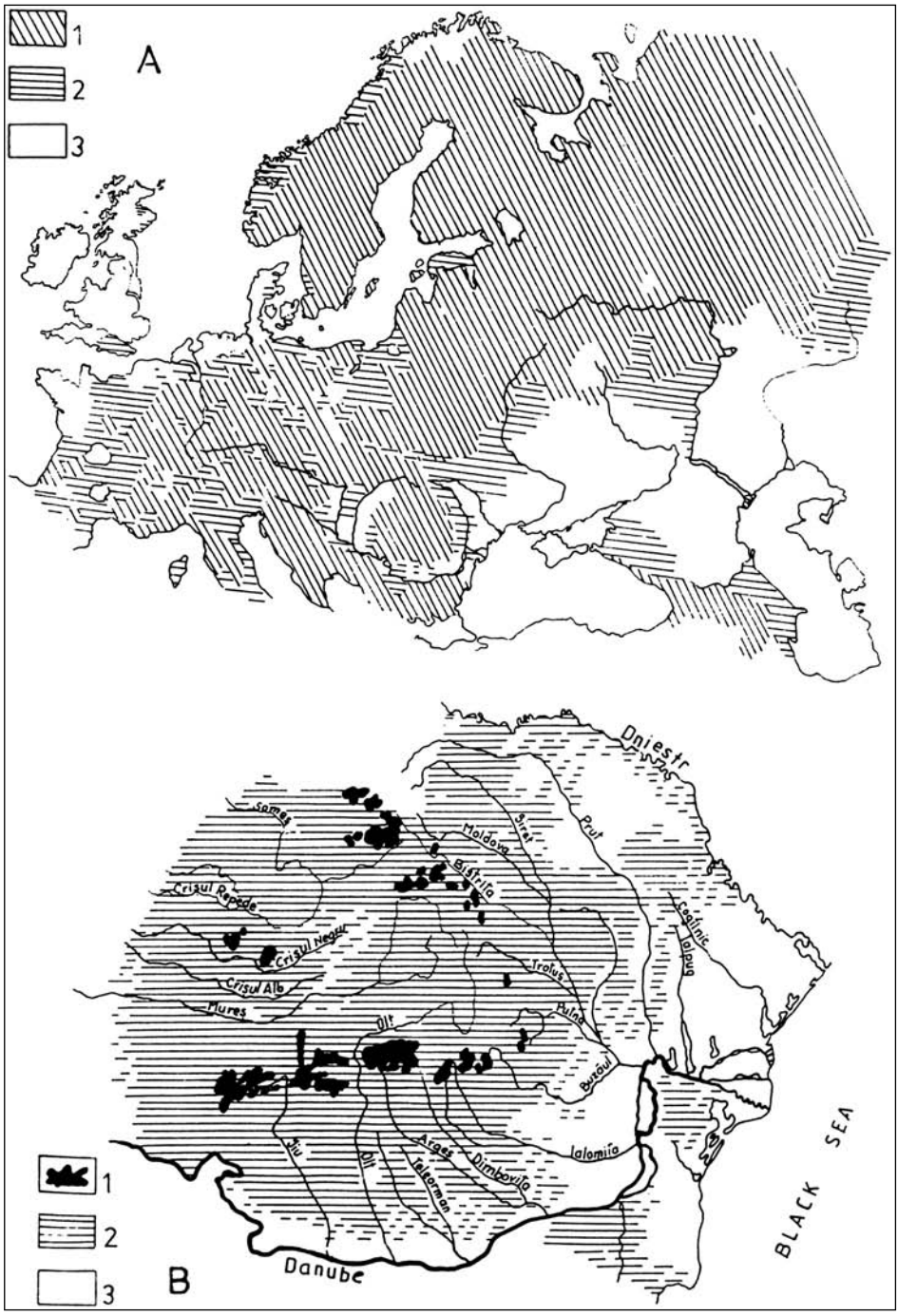

Fig. 1. A. Map of forest spreading in Europe in 1910, drawn up by I. Riedel. The timbered surface more than 20% (1), of 10–20% (2) and under 10% (3); B. Map of the probable forests in ancient Dacia and in the Middle Ages, drawn up according to the maps of soils, of vegetation and of the aridity index. 1—Alpine pastures; 2—Forests; 3—Grassy-steppe zones.

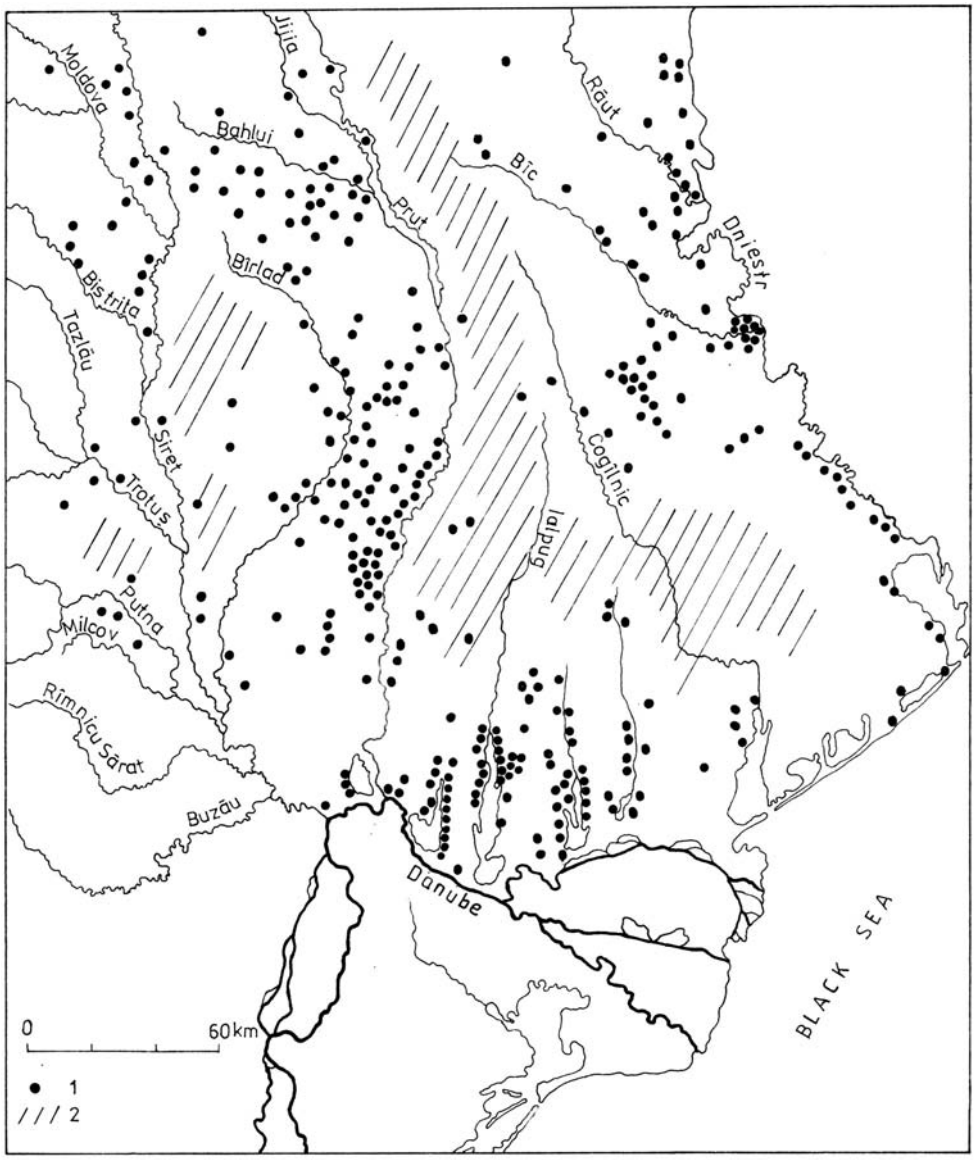

Fig. 2. Map of discoveries of local population settlements in the central and southern Moldavia of the ninth–eleventh centuries (Dridu culture). 1—Settlements; 2—Areas which have been only little investigated.

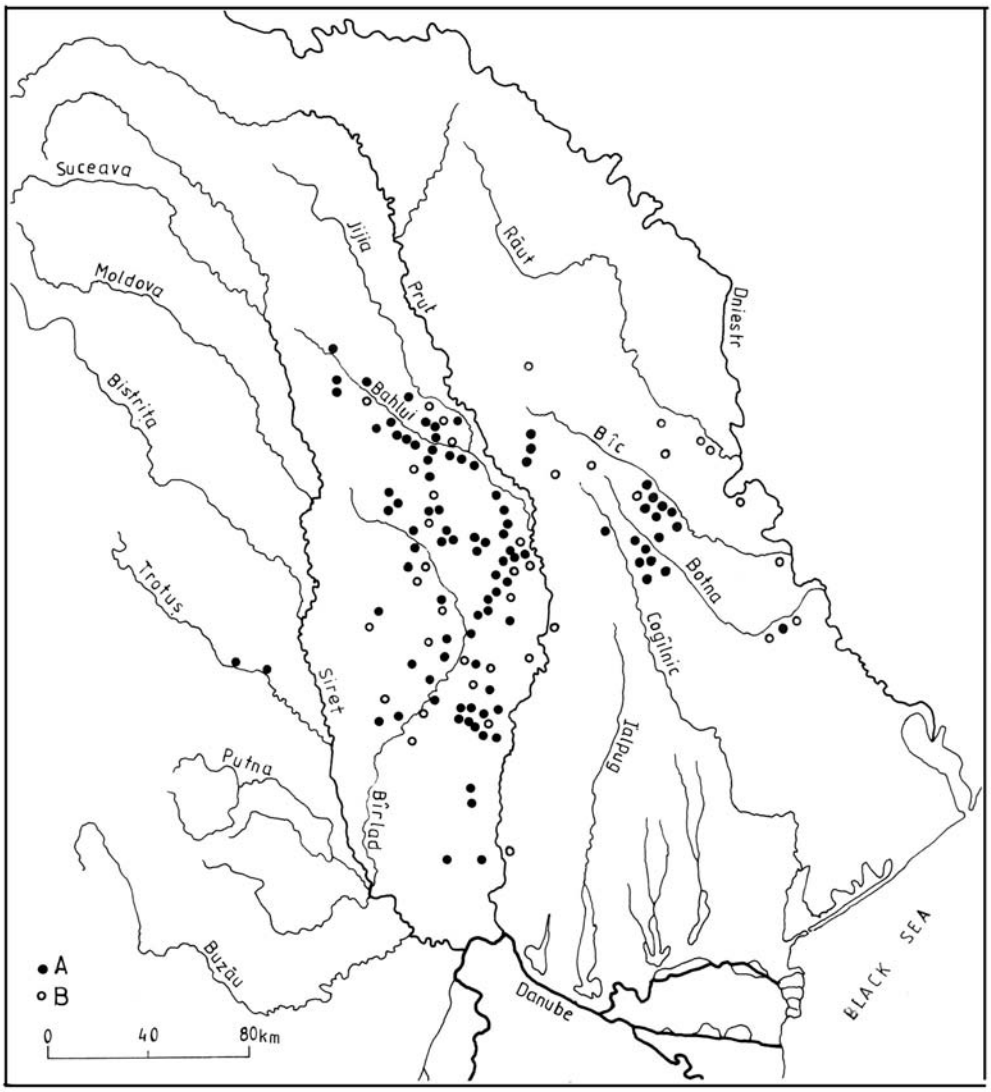

Fig. 3. Map of discoveries of local population settlements in the central and southern Moldavia of the eleventh–twelfth centuries (Răducăneni culture). A—Certain discoveries; B—Discoveries that are going to be confirmed.

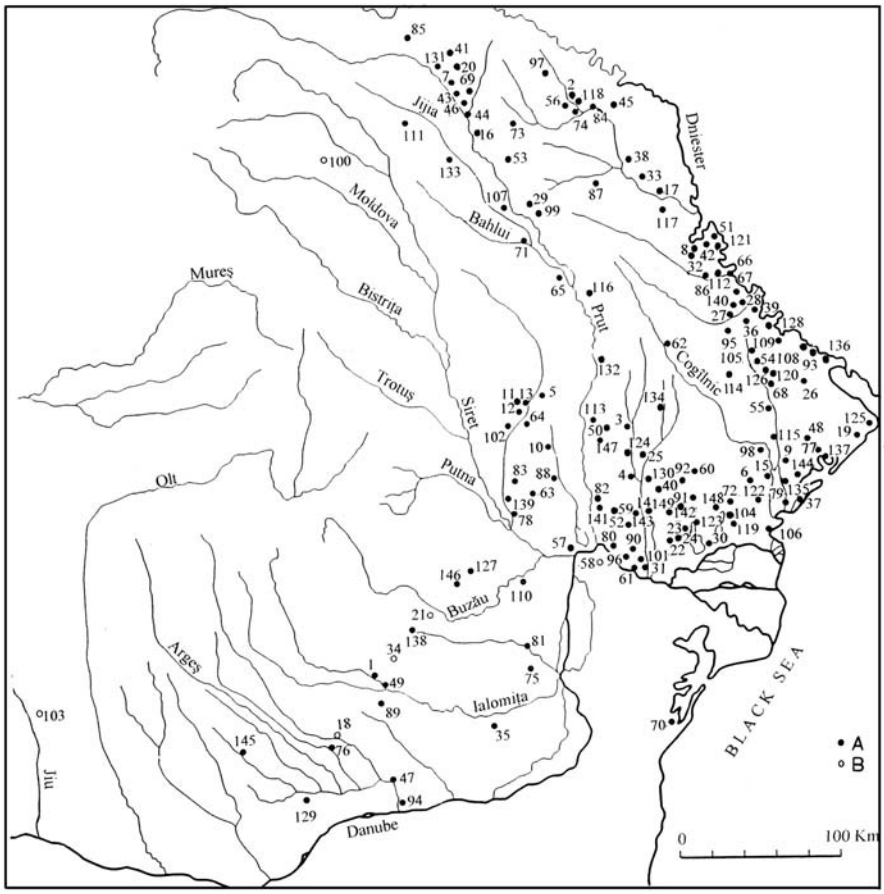

Fig. 4. Map of Turkic nomad-grave discoveries of the tenth–thirteenth centuries in the outer-Carpathian Romanian regions. A—Certain discoveries; B—Uncertain discoveries.

1, Adâncata; 2, Alexandrovca; 3, Alexeevca-Svetlâi; 4, Balabanu; 5, Banca; 6, Baştanovca; 7, Bădragii Vechi; 8, Bălăbăneşti; 9, Belolesie; 10, Bereşti; 11, Bârlad-"Dealul Ţuguieta"; 12, Bârlad-"Moara lui Chicoş"; 13, Bârlad-"Parc"; 14, Bolgrad; 15, Borisăuca (= Borisovka); 16, Braniştе; 17, Brăviceni; 18, Bucharest-"Lacul Tei"; 19, Budachi (= Primorskoe); 20, Burlăneşti; 21, Buzău; 22, Calanciac; 23, Camenca; 24, Camenca-"Ocniţa"; 25, Cazaclia; 26, Căplani; 27, Căuşeni; 28, Chircăieşti; 29, Chirileni; 30, Chisliţa; 31, Ciauş; 32, Cimişeni; 33, Ciocâlteni; 34, Cireşanu; 35, Ciulniţa; 36, Cârnăţeni; 37, Cocicovatoe; 38, Codrul Nou; 39, Copanca; 40, Copceac; 41, Corjeuţi; 42, Corjova; 43, Corpaci; 44, Costeşti; 45, Cotiujeni; 46, Cuconeştii Vechi; 47, Curcani; 48, Divizia; 49, Dridu-"Snagov"; 50, Doina; 51, Dubăsarii Vechi; 52, Etulia; 53, Făleşti; 54, Feşteliţa; 55, Fridensfeld (= Mirnopole); 56, Frumuşica; 57, Galaţi-"Seromgal"; 58, Garvăn-Dinogetia; 59, Găvănoasa; 60, Gorodnee; 61, Grădeşti (Gradeşka); 62, Grădişte; 63, Griviţa-Galaţi c.; 64, Griviţa-Vaslui c.; 65, Grozeşti; 66, Gura Bâcului; 67, Hagimus; 68, Hajilar; 69, Hancăuţi; 70, Histria (= Istria); 71, Holboca; 72, Holmskoe; 73, Iablona; 74, Ivanovca; 75, Însurăţei; 76, Jilava; 77, Joltâi Iar; 78, Lieşti; 79, Liman; 80, Limanskoe-"Fricăţei"; 81, Lişcoteanca; 82, Manta; 83, Matca; 84, Mărculeşti; 85, Medveja; 86, Mereni; 87, Mândreşti; 88, Moscu; 89, Moviliţa; 90, Nagornoe; 91, Novokamenka; 92, Ogorodnoe; 93, Olăneşti; 94, Olteniţa; 95, Opaci; 96, Orlovca; 97, Palanca; 98, Pavlovca; 99, Petreşti; 100, Pârteştii de Jos; 101, Plavni; 102, Pogoneşti; 103, Poiana; 104, Pomezani; 105, Popeasca; 106, Primorskoe; 107, Probota; 108, Purcari; 109, Răscăieţii Noi; 110, Râmnicelu; 111, Roma; 112, Roşcani; 113, Rumeanţev; 114, Săiţi; 115, Sărata; 116, Sărăteni; 117, Selişte; 118, Sevirova; 119, Shevcenkovo (Pomazani); 120, Slobozia; 121, Speia; 122, Strumoc; 123, Suvorovo; 124, Svetlâi; 125, Şabalat (= Sadovoe); 126, Ştefan-Vodă; 127, Ştiubei; 128, Talmaza; 129, Tangâru (Stoeneşti); 130, Taraclia; 131, Teţcani; 132, Tochile-Răducani; 133, Todireni; 134, Tomai; 135, Trapovca; 136, Tudora; 137, Tuzla; 138, Ulmeni; 139, Umbrăreşti; 140, Ursoaia; 141, Vadul lui Isac; 142, Vasilevca; 143, Vinogradovca-"Curci"; 144, Vişnevoe; 145, Vităneşti; 146, Ziduri; 147, Zârneşti; 148, Zânelor, Staţia-; 149, Kalcheva (Kal'chevo).

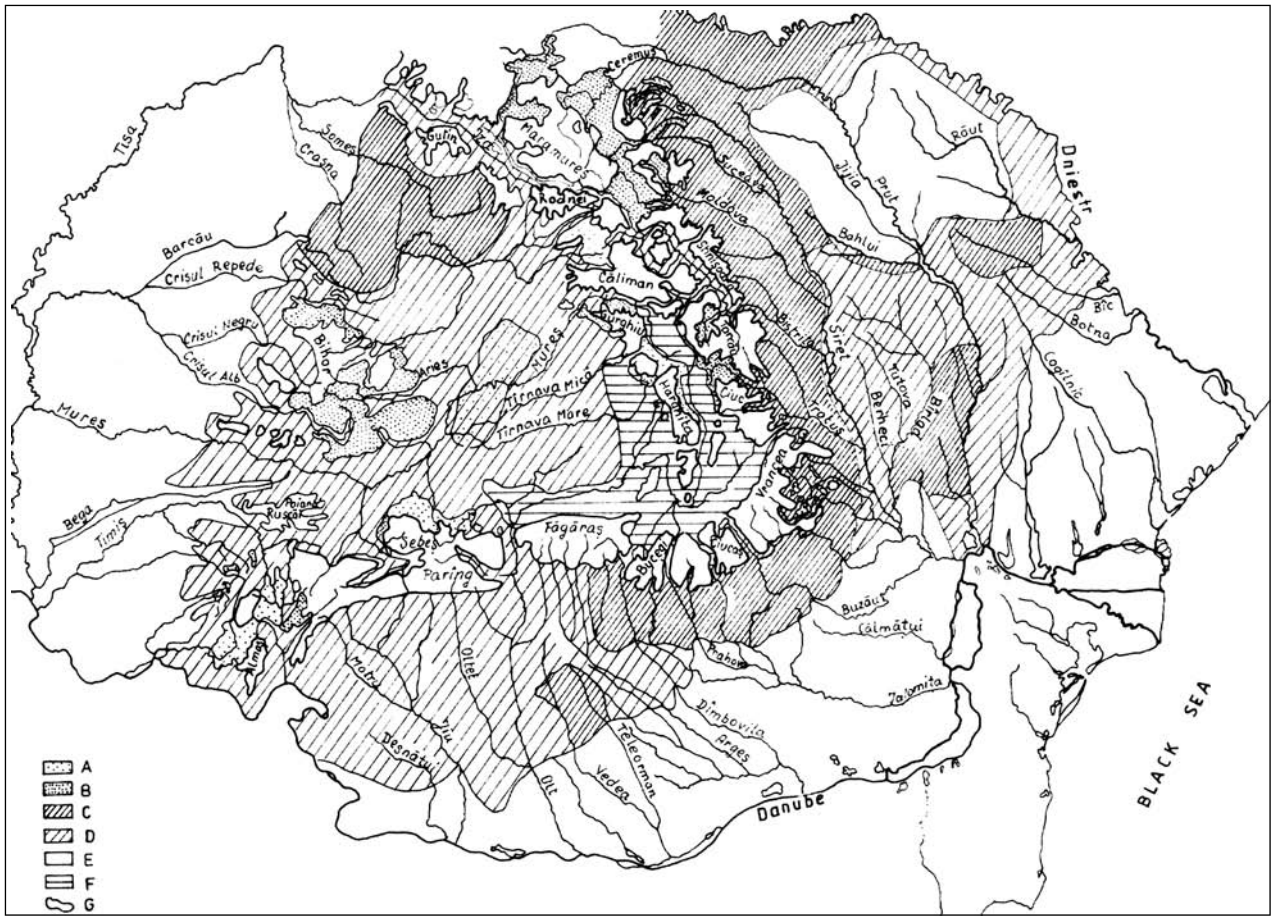

Fig. 5. Map of the main types of rural settlements of Romania. A—Pastoral dwellings; B—Scattered (or spread) villages; C—Dispersed villages; D—Villages with grouping tendency; E—Grouped type villages (associated with mansions, dwellings, farms); F—Compact villages (a variant of the grouped type); G—Groups of mountains (with or without sheepfolds).

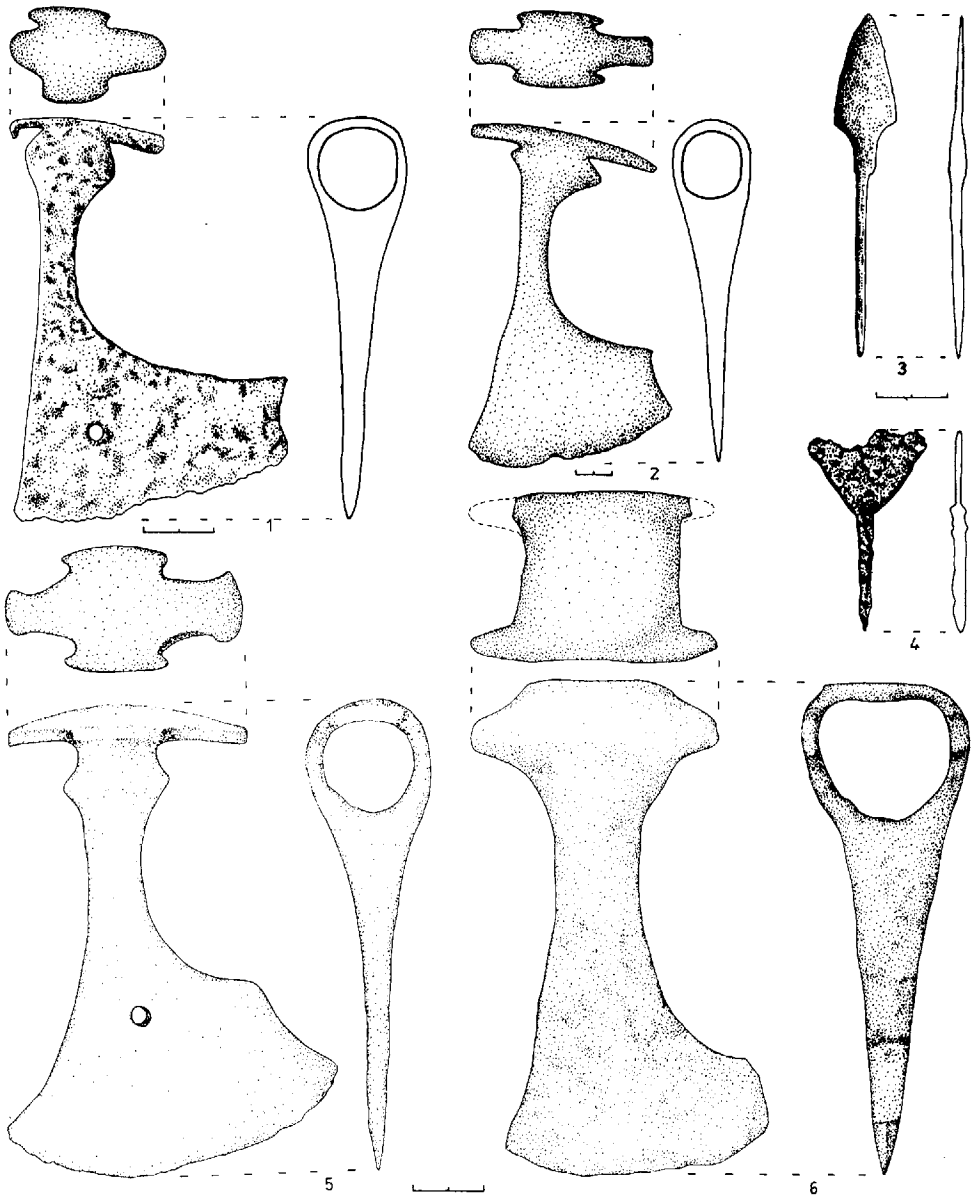

Fig. 6. Iron axes (1, 2, 5, 6) and arrowheads (3, 4) of the tenth–eleventh centuries discovered at Fedeşti (1), Jariştea (2), Cîmpineanca (3), Hlincea-Iaşi (4), Siliştea Nouă (5) and Bârlăleşti (6).

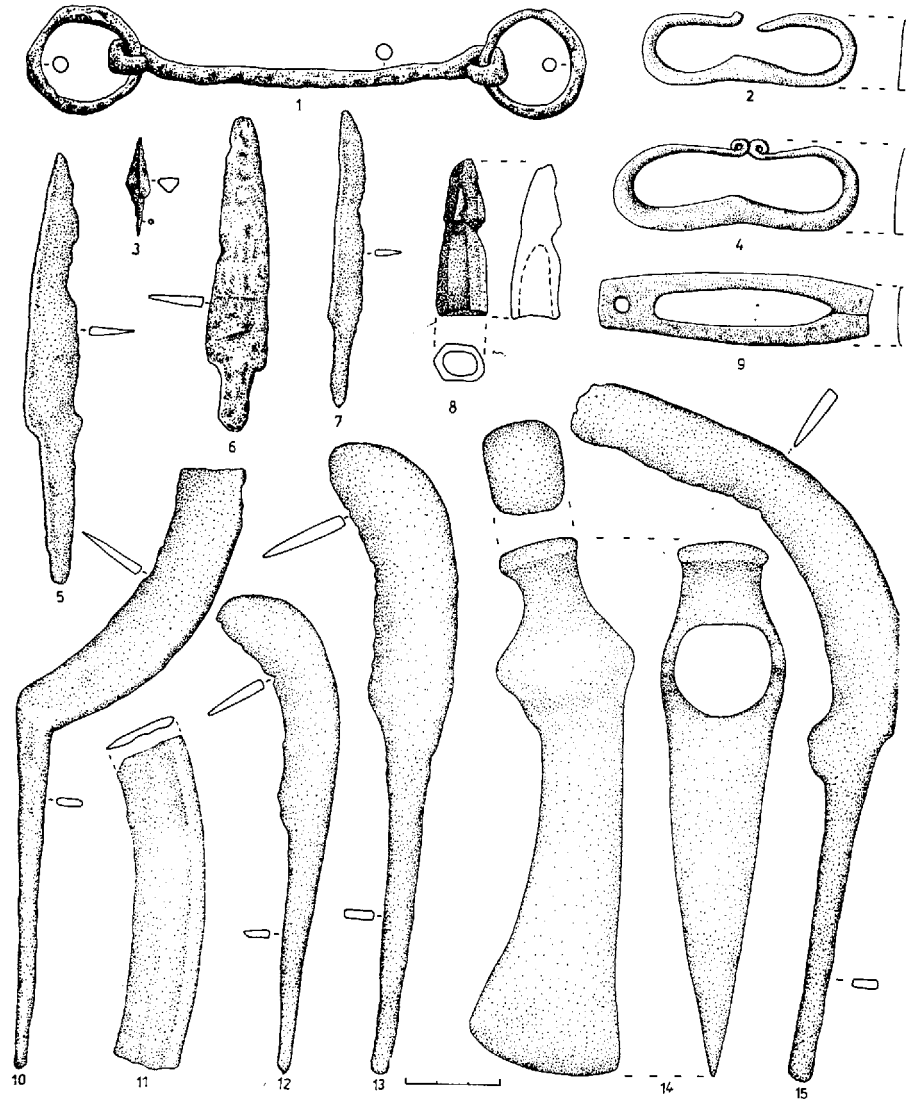

Fig. 7. Iron (1–7, 9–15) and horn (8) objects from the settlements of the tenth–eleventh centuries discovered at Simila (1), Murgeni (2, 4, 9), Hlincea-Iaşi (3, 8), Gârbovăţ (5, 7, 11–15) and Bârlăleşti (6, 10).

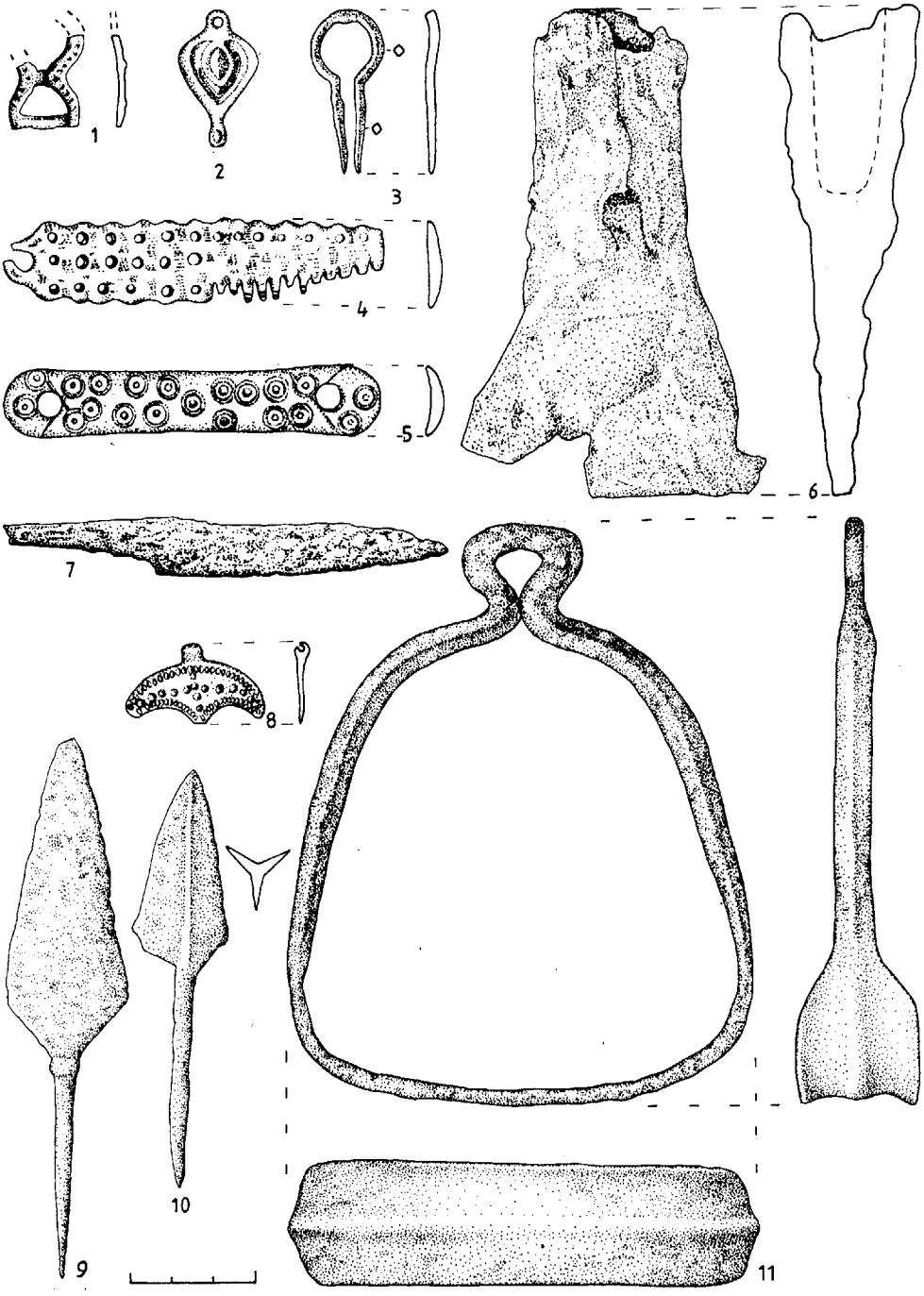

Fig. 8. Bronze (1, 2, 8), iron (3, 6, 7, 9–11) and horn (4, 5) objects of the ninth–twelfth centuries discovered at Ciorteşti (1), Dăneşti (2, 5), Băiceni (3, 4, 8), Umbrăreşti (6), Câmpineanca (7), Crucişoara (9), Roşcani (10) and Grumezoaia (11).

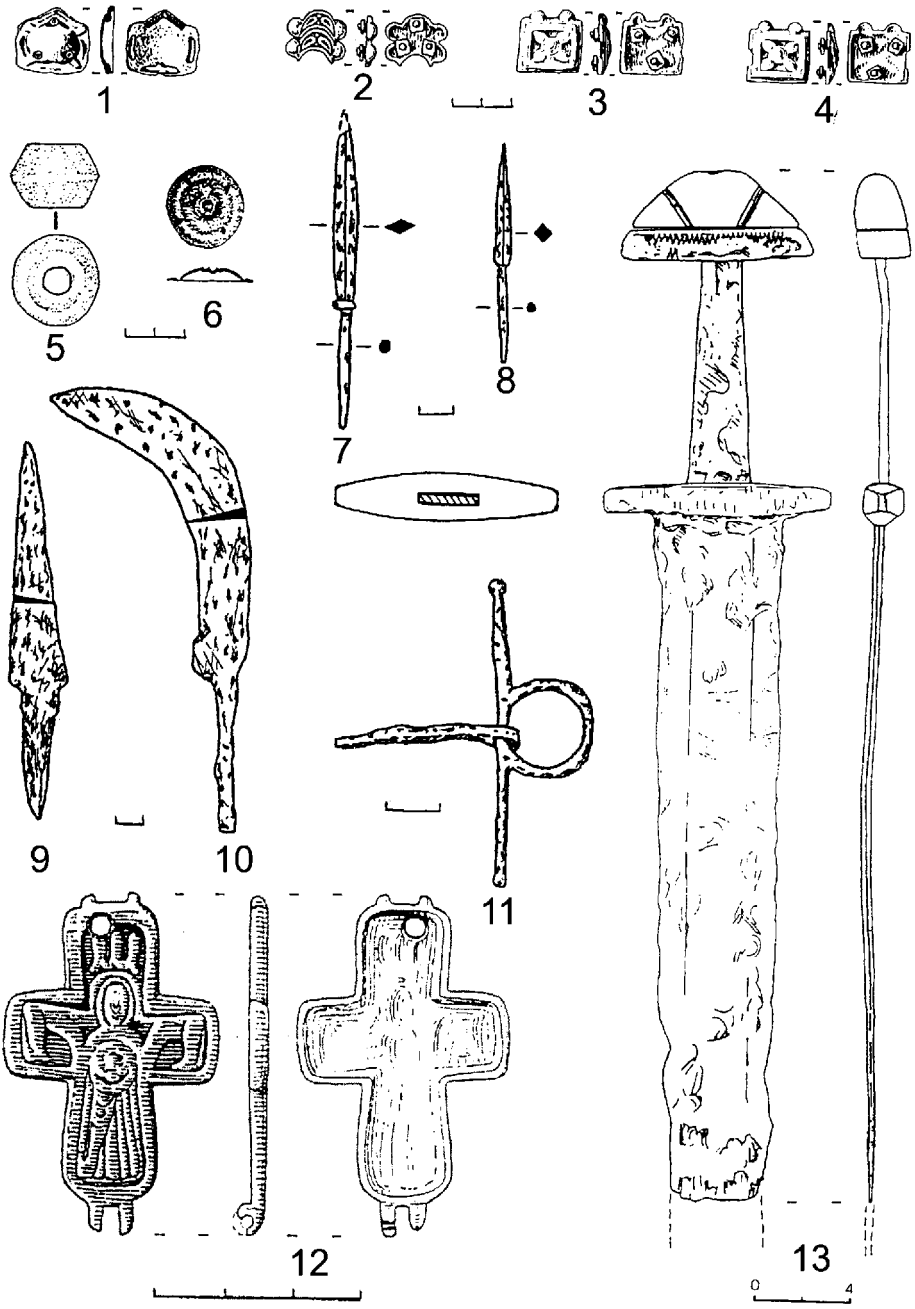

Fig. 9. Silver (1, 6) and bronze (2–4) brackets, bronze reliquary cross (12), stone spindle-whorl (5), iron arrowheads (7, 8), knife (9), snaffle-bit (11) and sword (13) of the ninth–eleventh centuries discovered at Hansca (1–6, 12), Bogatoe (7–11) and Paşcani (13).

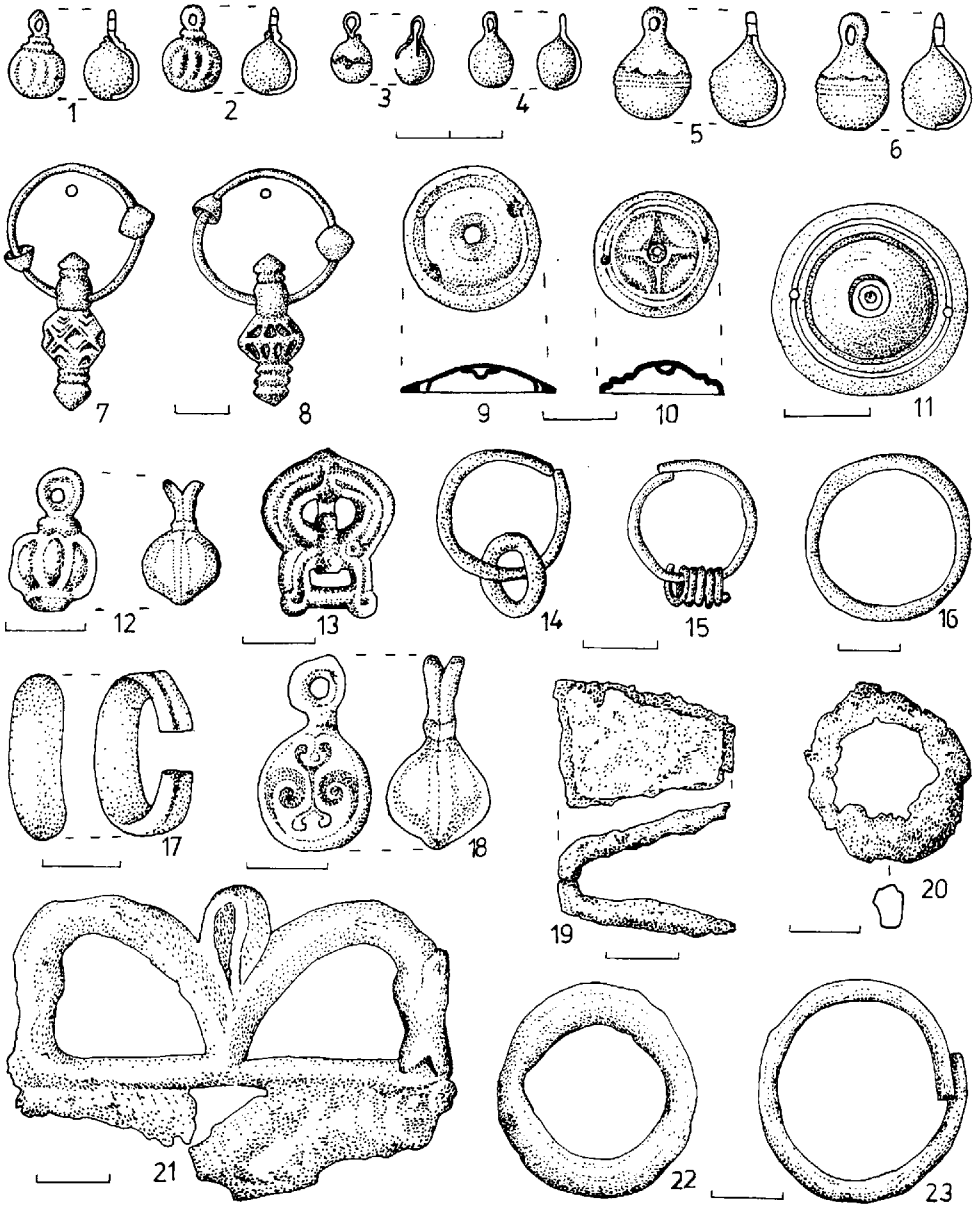

Fig. 10. Adornment objects and other metal pieces discovered in the tenth–twelfth centuries necropoleis at Arsura (1–8) and Hansca-"Căprăria" (9–23).

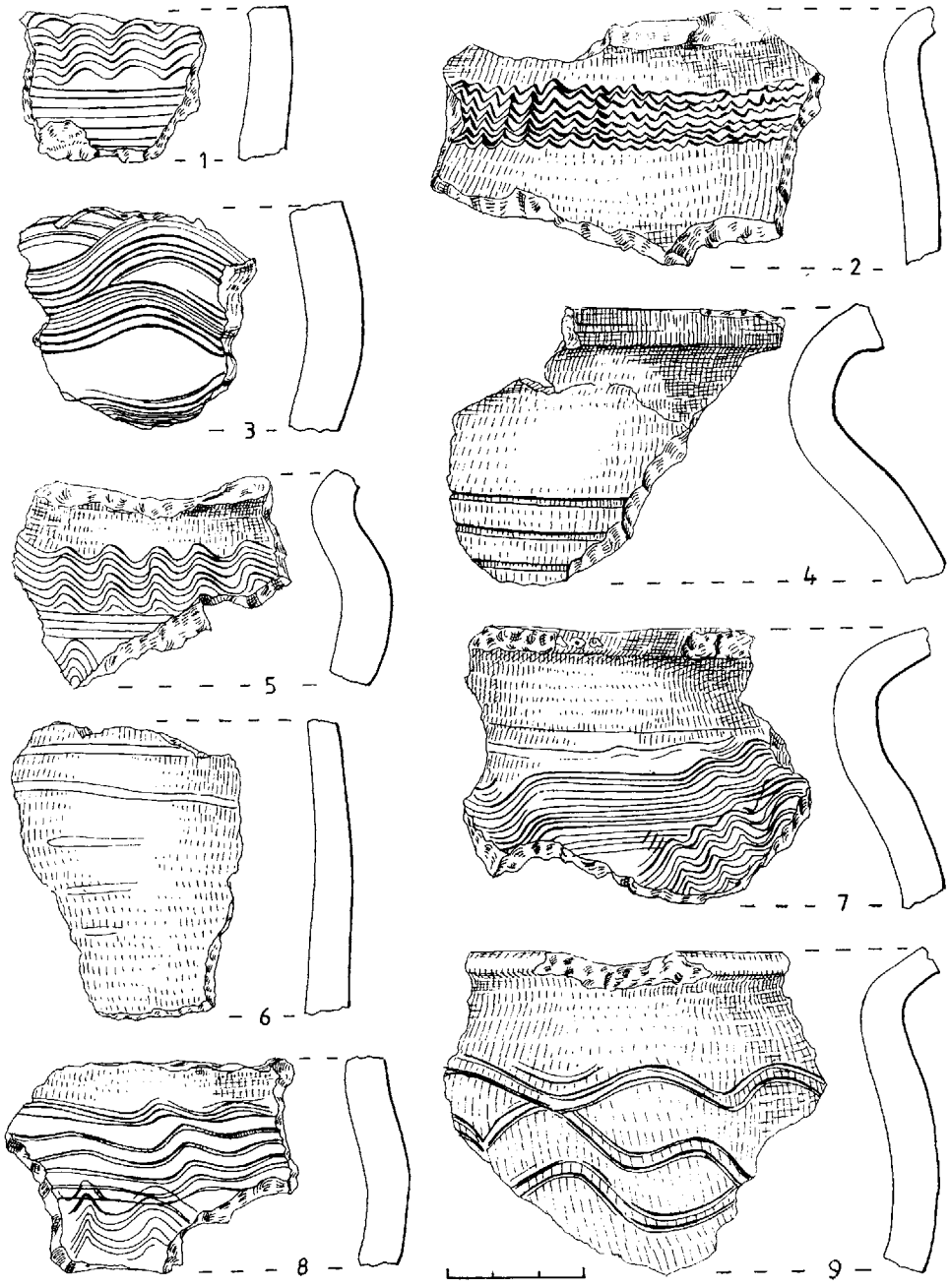

Fig. 11. Potsherds discovered in the ninth–tenth centuries settlement of Bârlad-"Prodana".

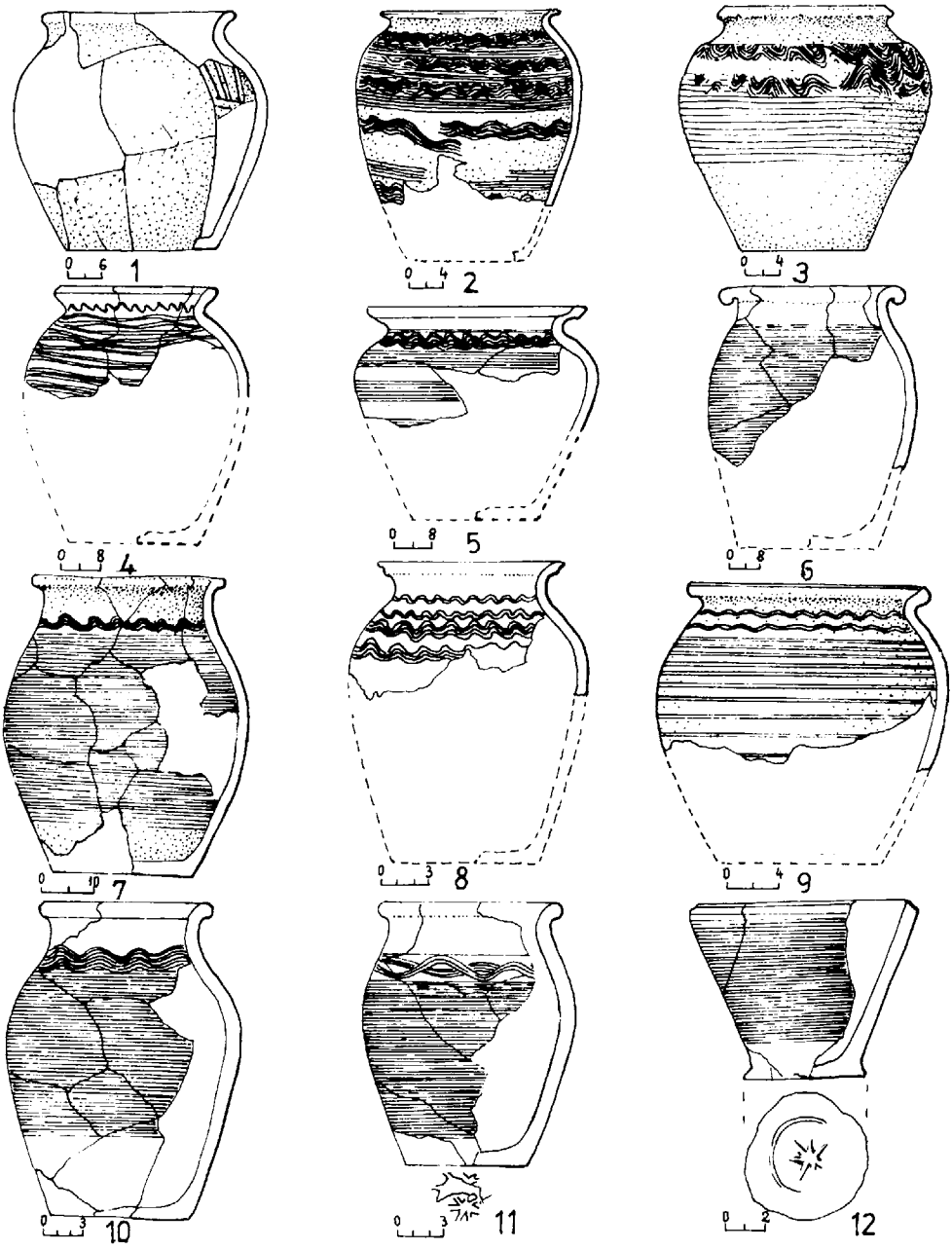

Fig. 12. Pottery of the tenth–eleventh centuries discovered in the settlements of Calfa (1–3, 9) and Orhei-"Petruha" (4–8, 10–12).

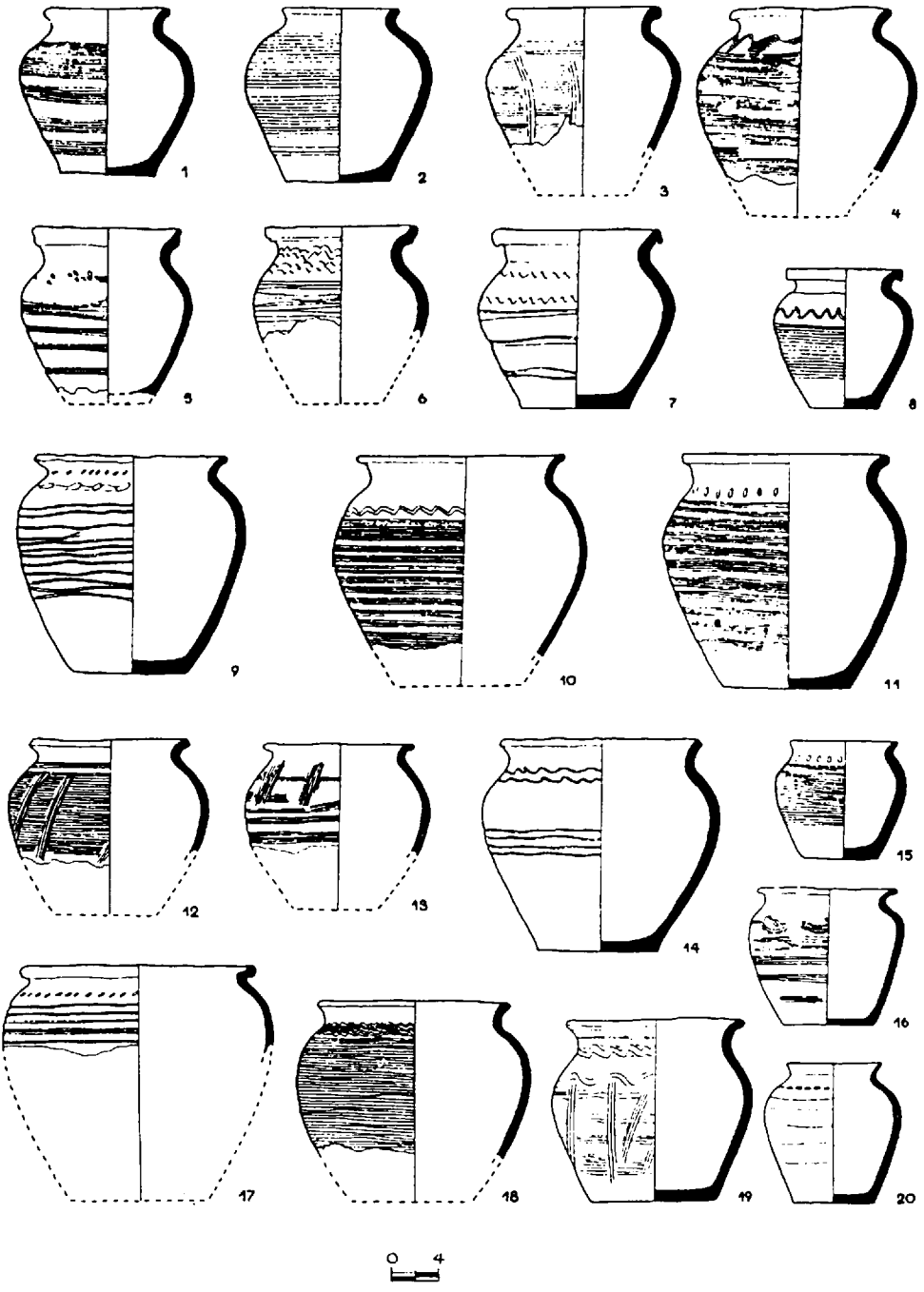

Fig. 13. Pottery of the tenth–eleventh centuries discovered in the settlement of Hansca.

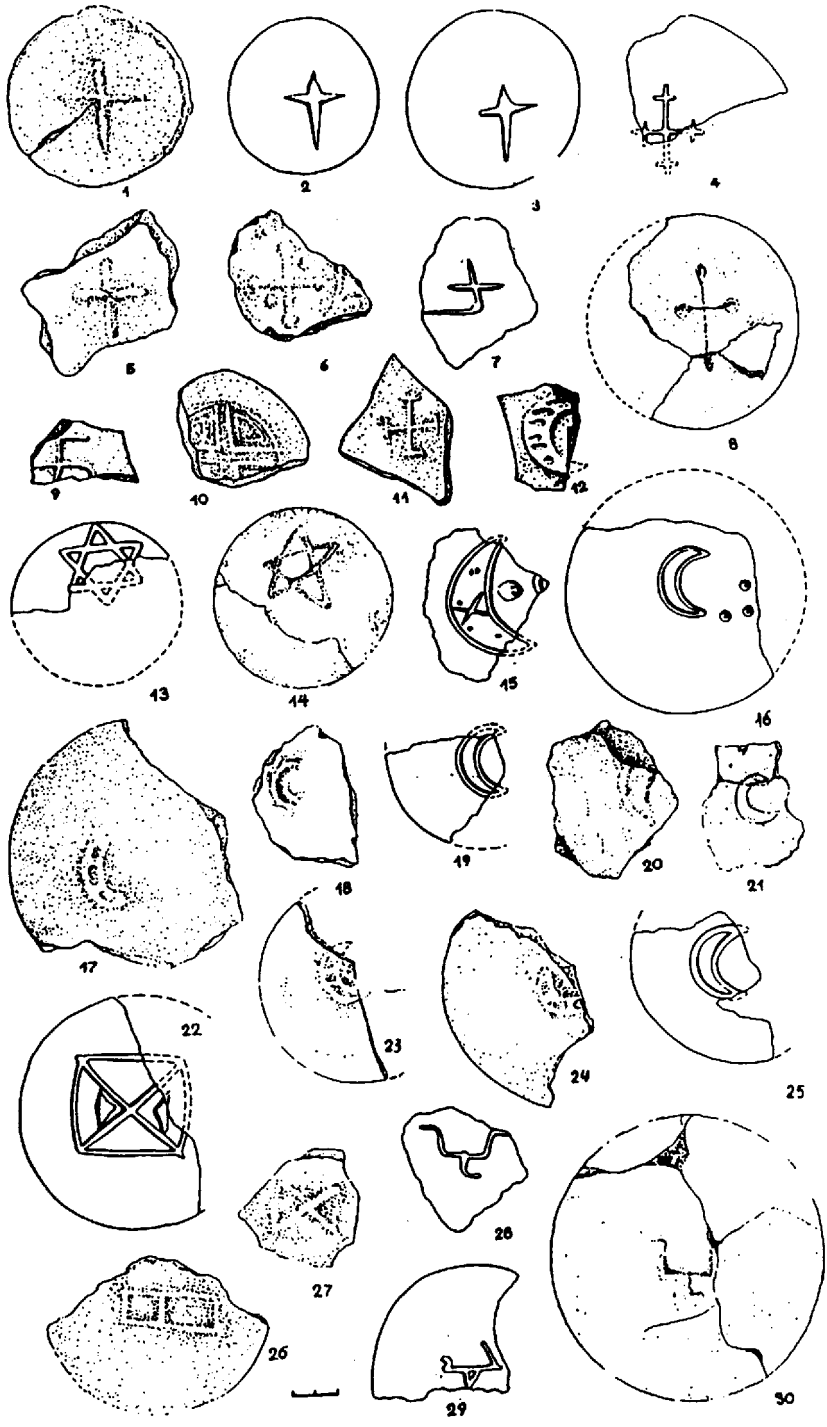

Fig. 14. Stamps on the bottom of the tenth–eleventh centuries pots discovered in the settlement of Hansca.

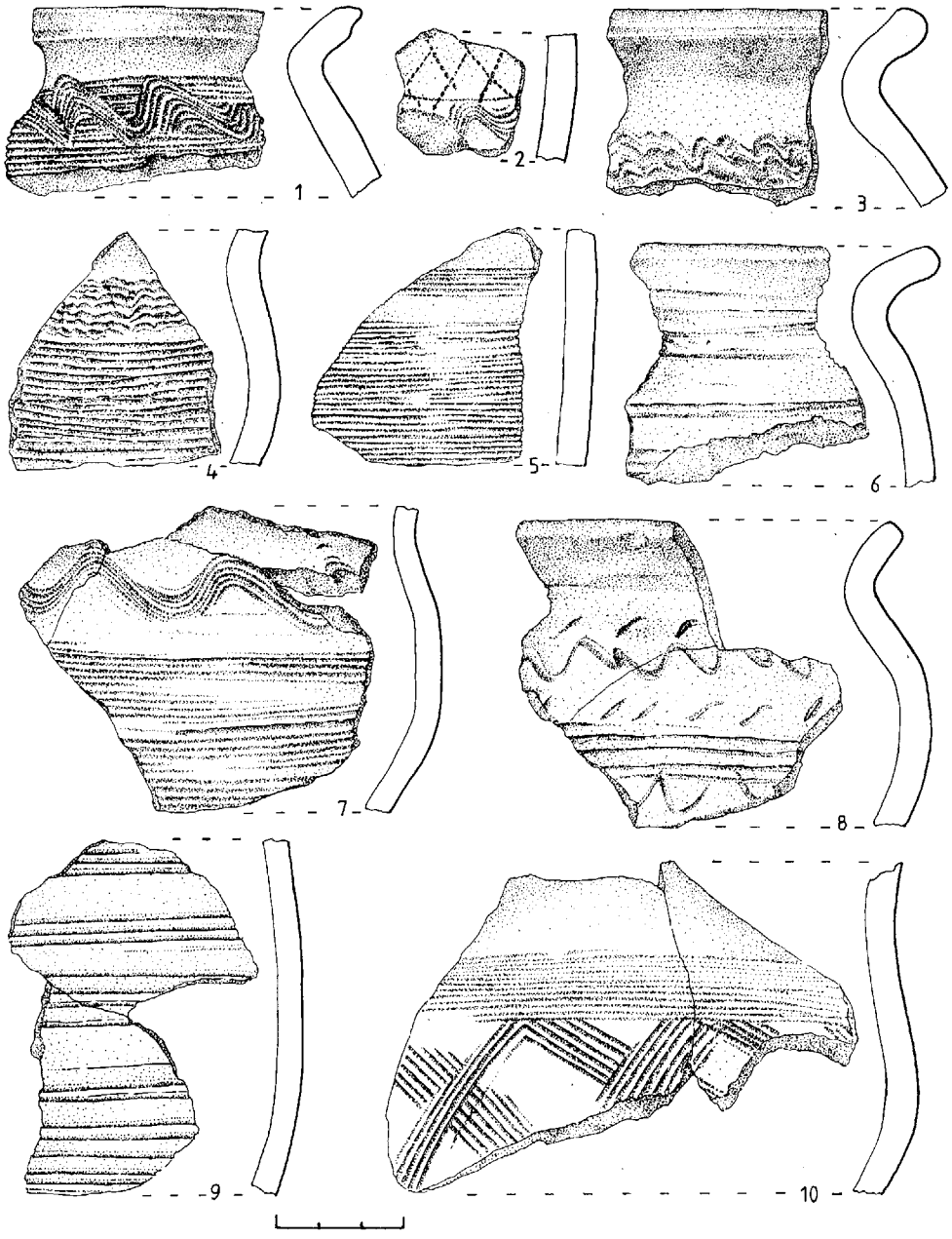

Fig. 15. Potsherds of the tenth–eleventh centuries discovered in the settlement of Bârlăleşti.

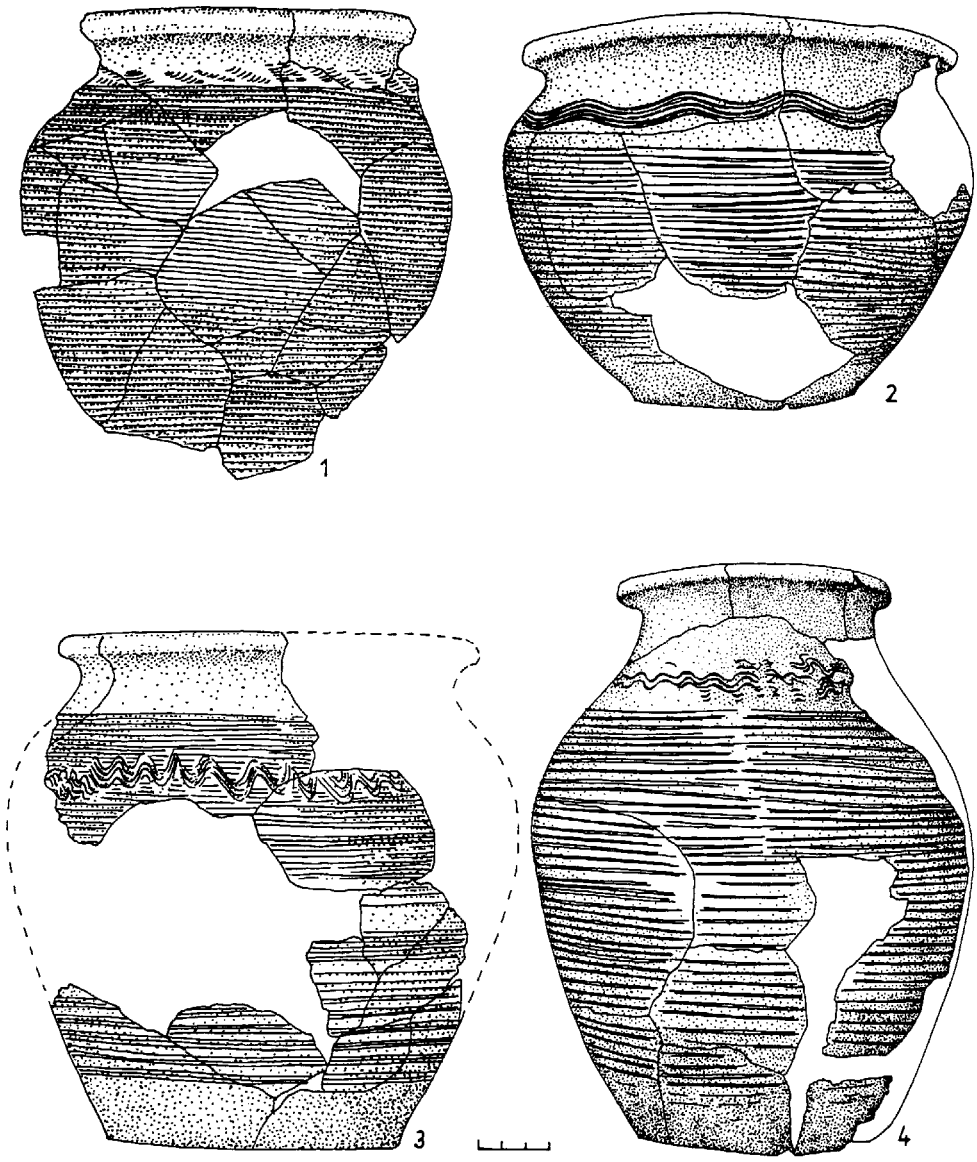

Fig. 16. Pottery of the tenth–eleventh centuries (1, 3) and eleventh–twelfth centuries (2, 4) discovered in the settlements of Bârlăleşti (1, 3) and Răducăneni (2, 4).

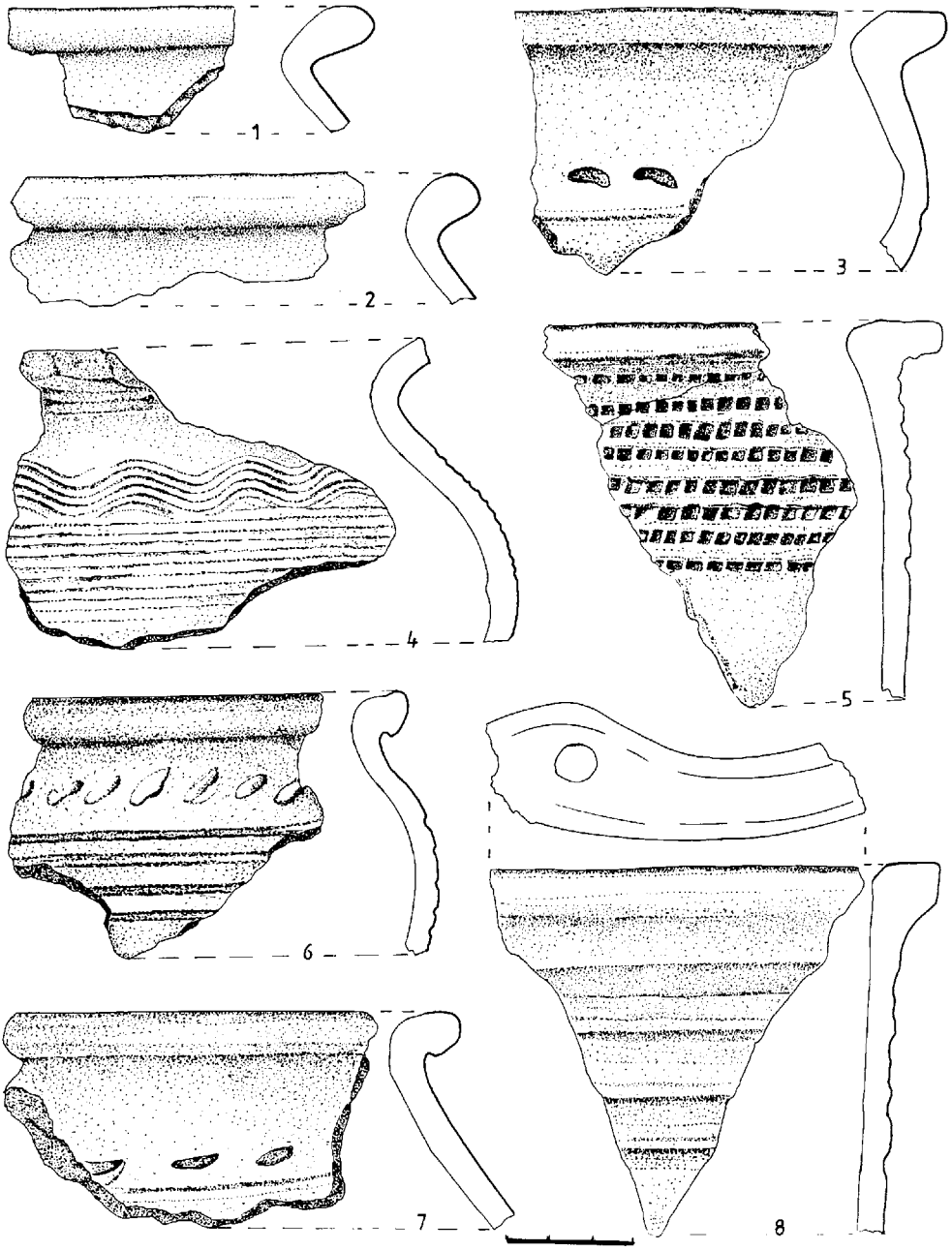

Fig. 17. Potsherds of the eleventh–twelfth centuries discovered in the settlements of Dăneşti (1, 2) and Răducăneni (3–8).

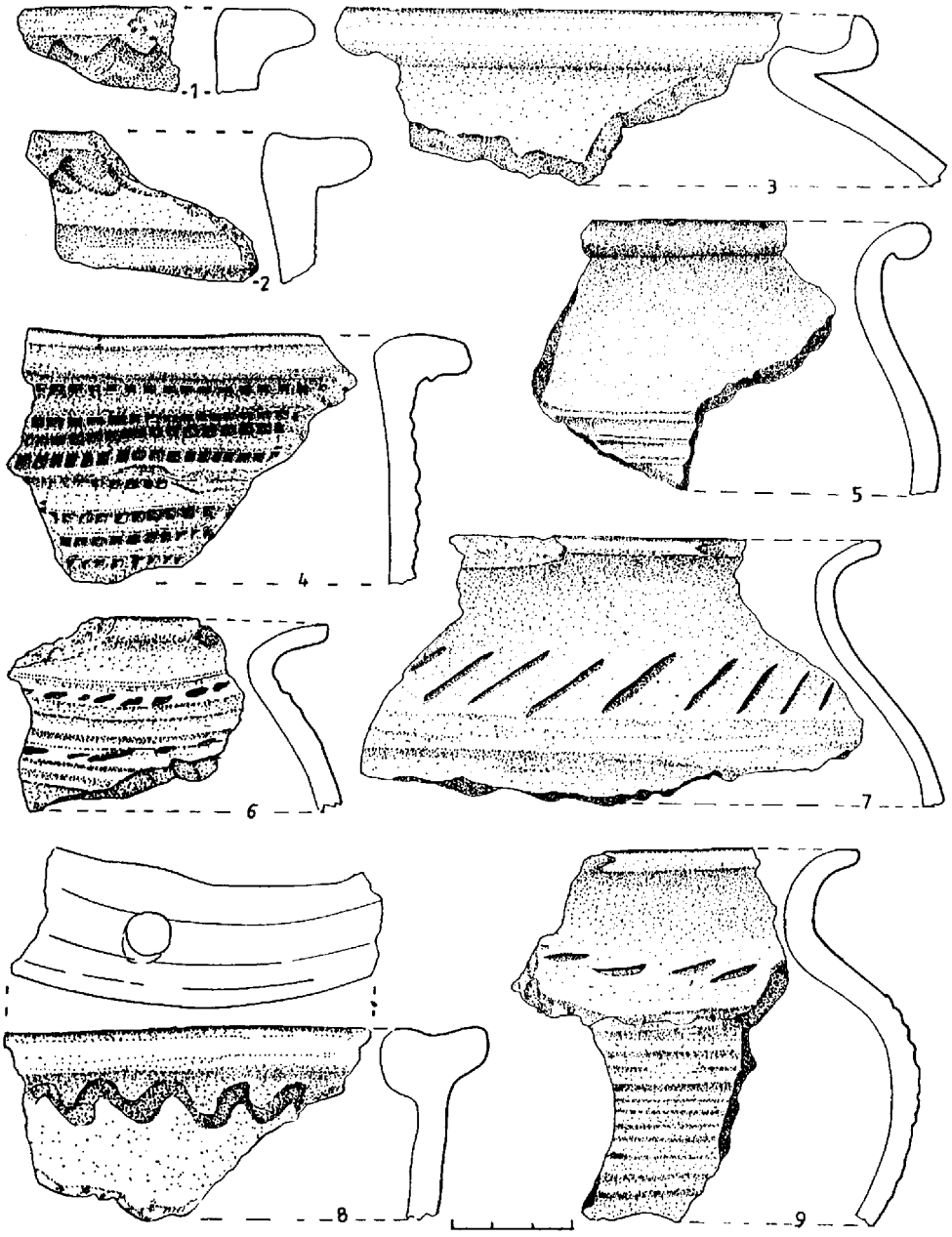

Fig. 18. Potsherds of the eleventh–twelfth centuries discovered in the settlements of Pâhneşti (1, 2) and Răducăneni (3–9).

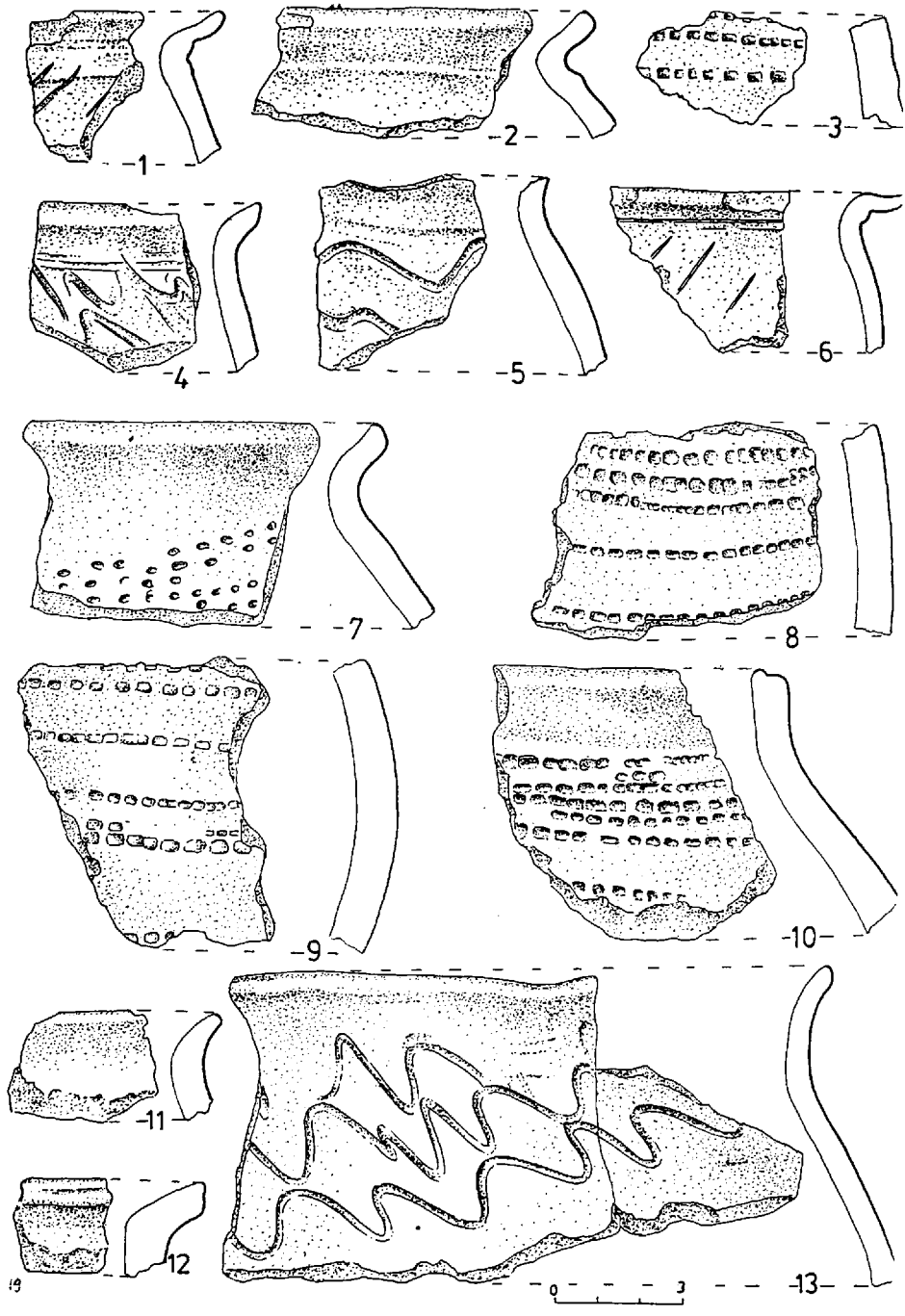

Fig. 19. Potsherds of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries discovered in the settlement of Iaşi-"Nicolina".

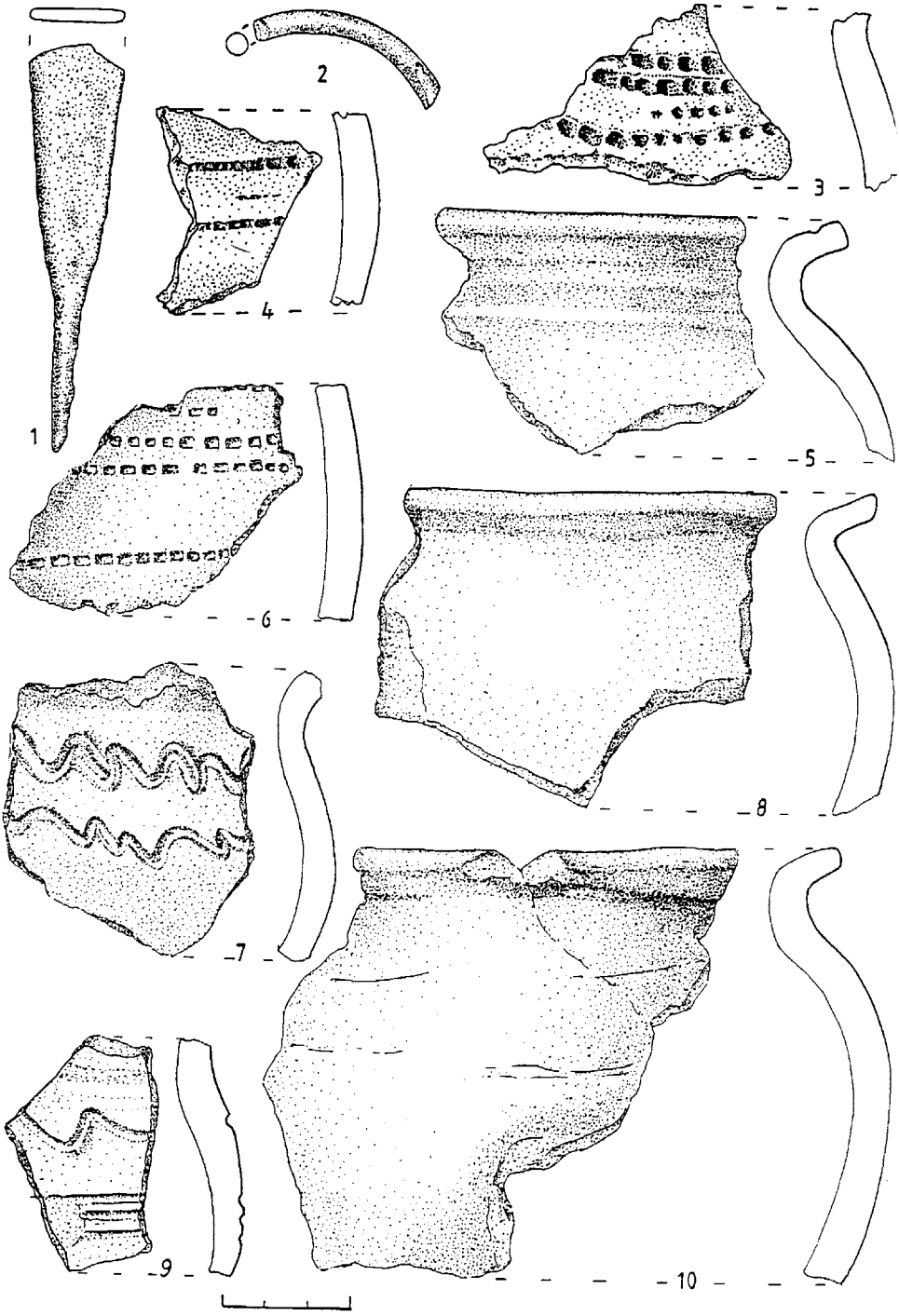

Fig. 20. Iron arrowhead (1), glass bracelet (2) and potsherds (3–10) from the twelfth–thirteenth centuries settlement of Iaşi-"Nicolina".

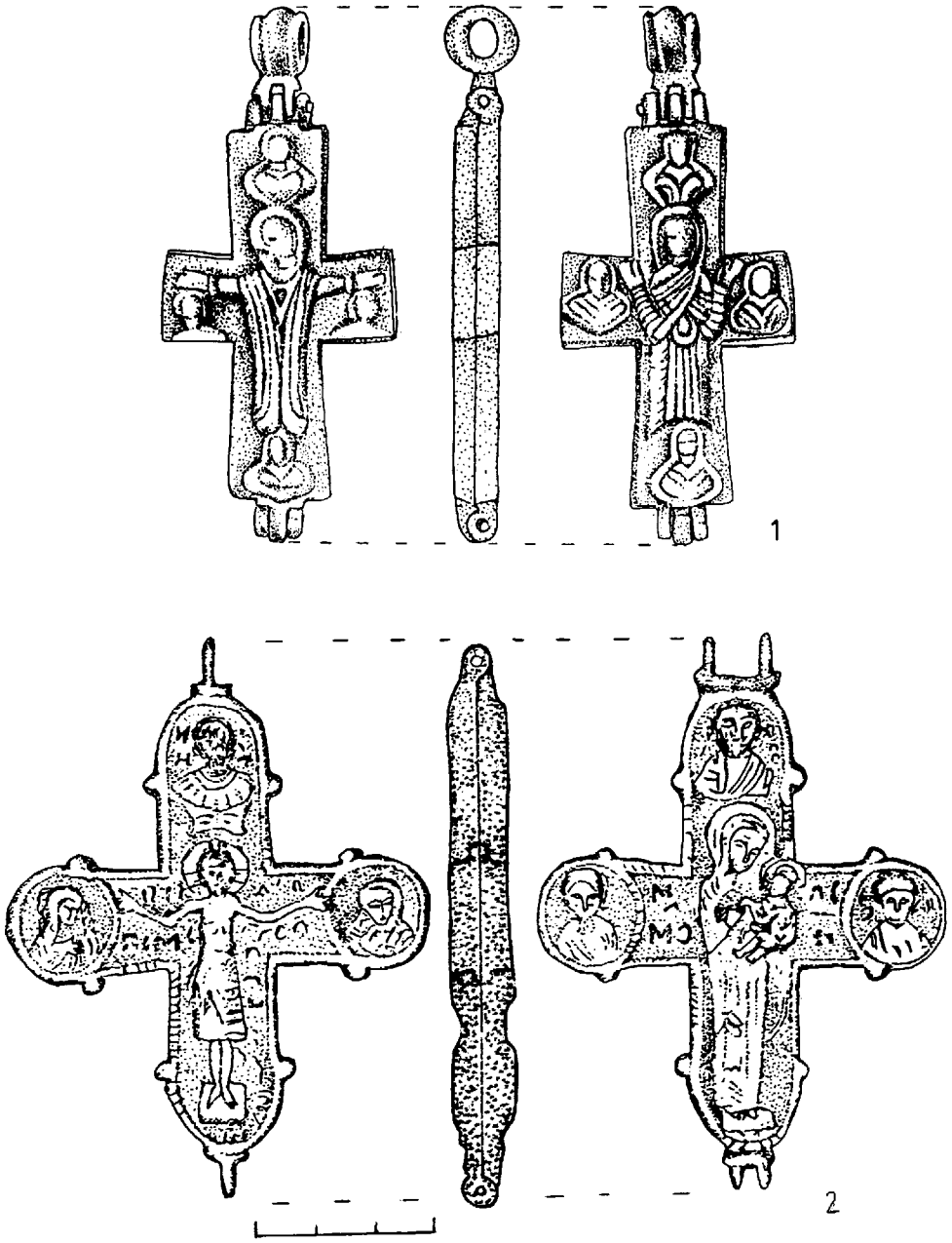

Fig. 21. Byzantine (1) and Russian (2) bronze double reliquary crosses of the tenth–eleventh (1) and twelfth–thirteenth (2) centuries from Şuletea (1) and from an unidentified place in the Suceava area (2).

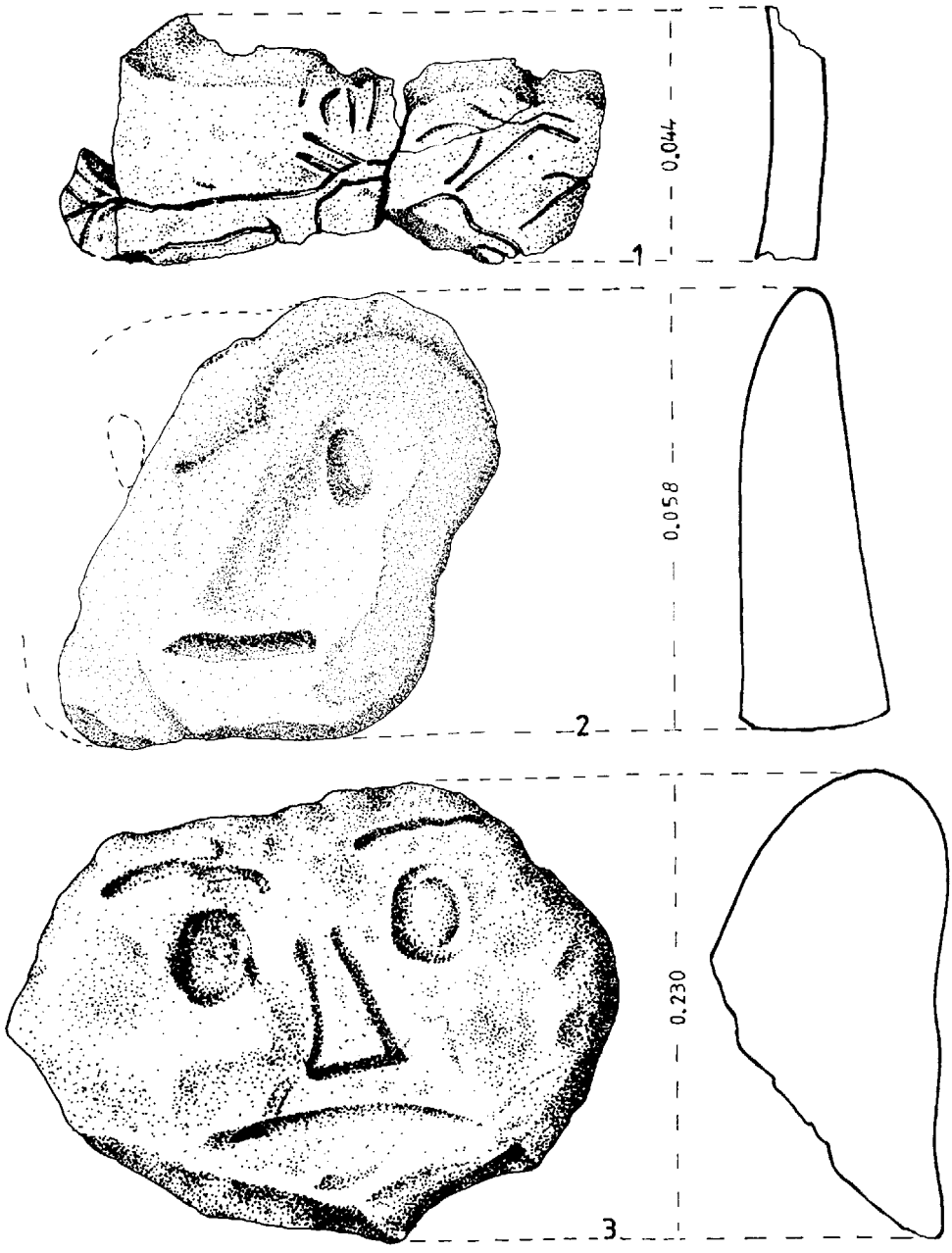

Fig. 22. Ceramic decorated with zoomorphic motifs (1) and human figures beings carved in gritstone (2, 3) of the ninth–tenth centuries discovered at Gara Banca (1, 2) and Deleşti (3).

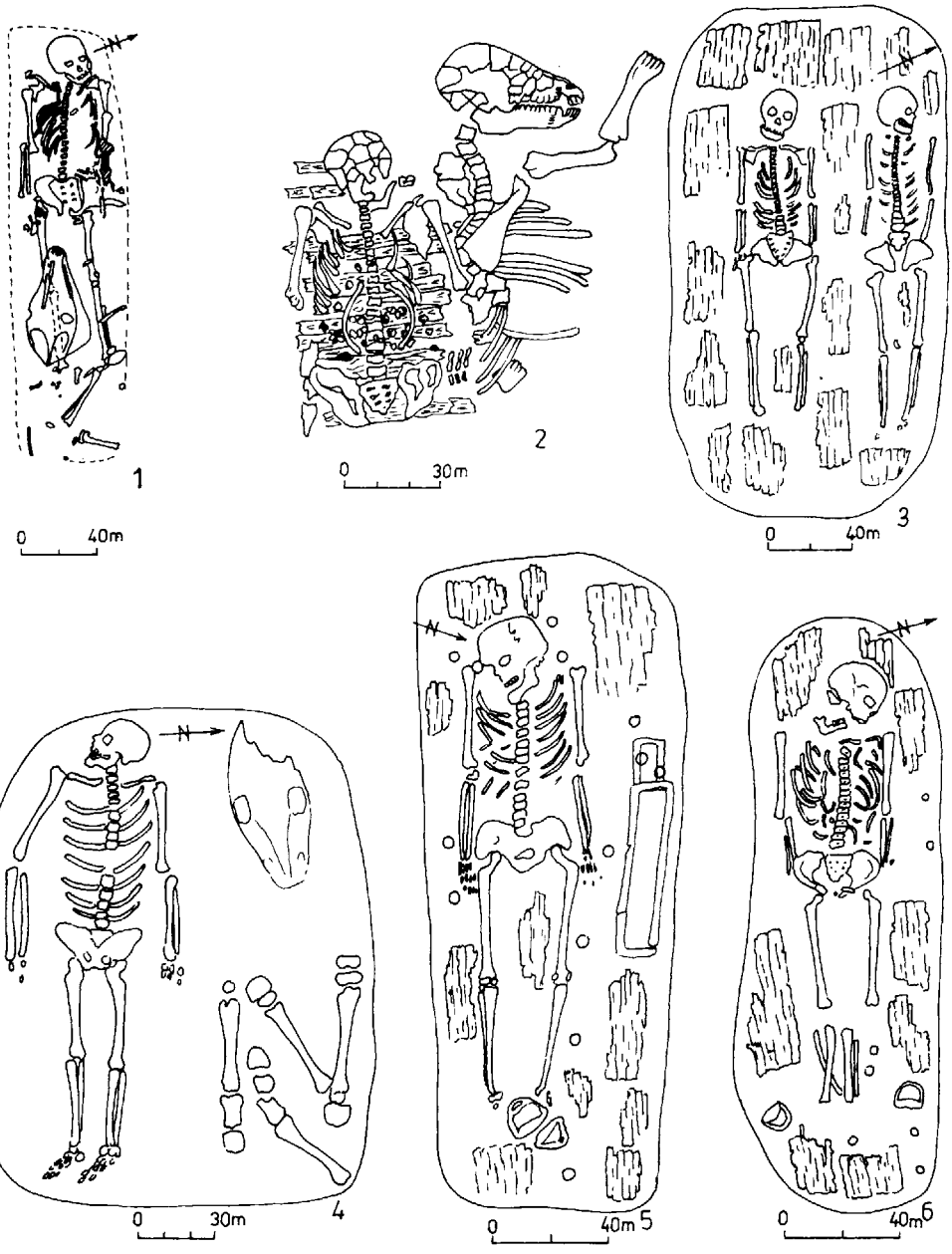

Fig. 23. Plan of the Turkic nomads' graves at Probota (1), Trapovca (2), Selişte (3, 5, 6) and Zârneşti (4)

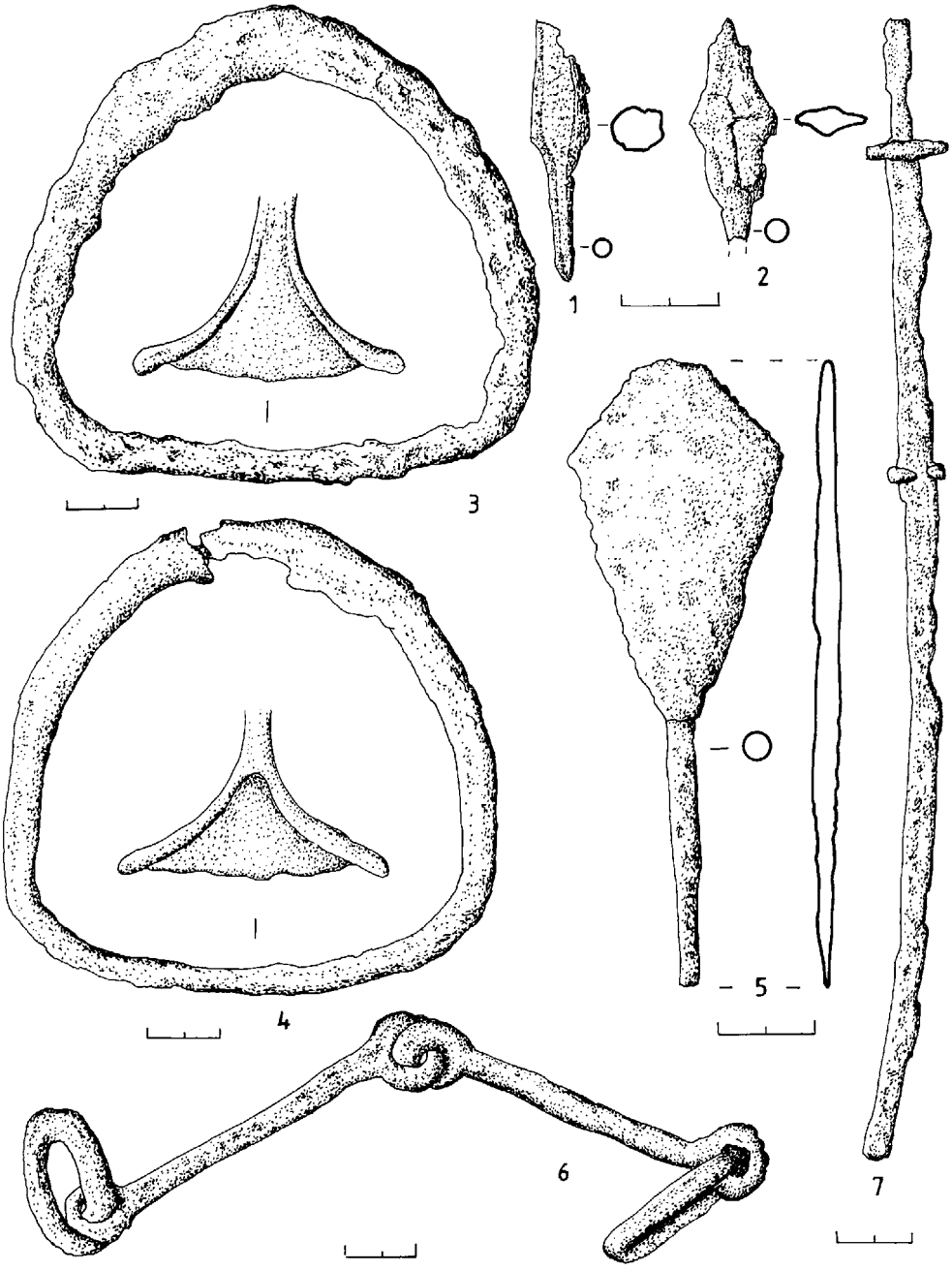

Fig. 24. Iron objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Balabanu.

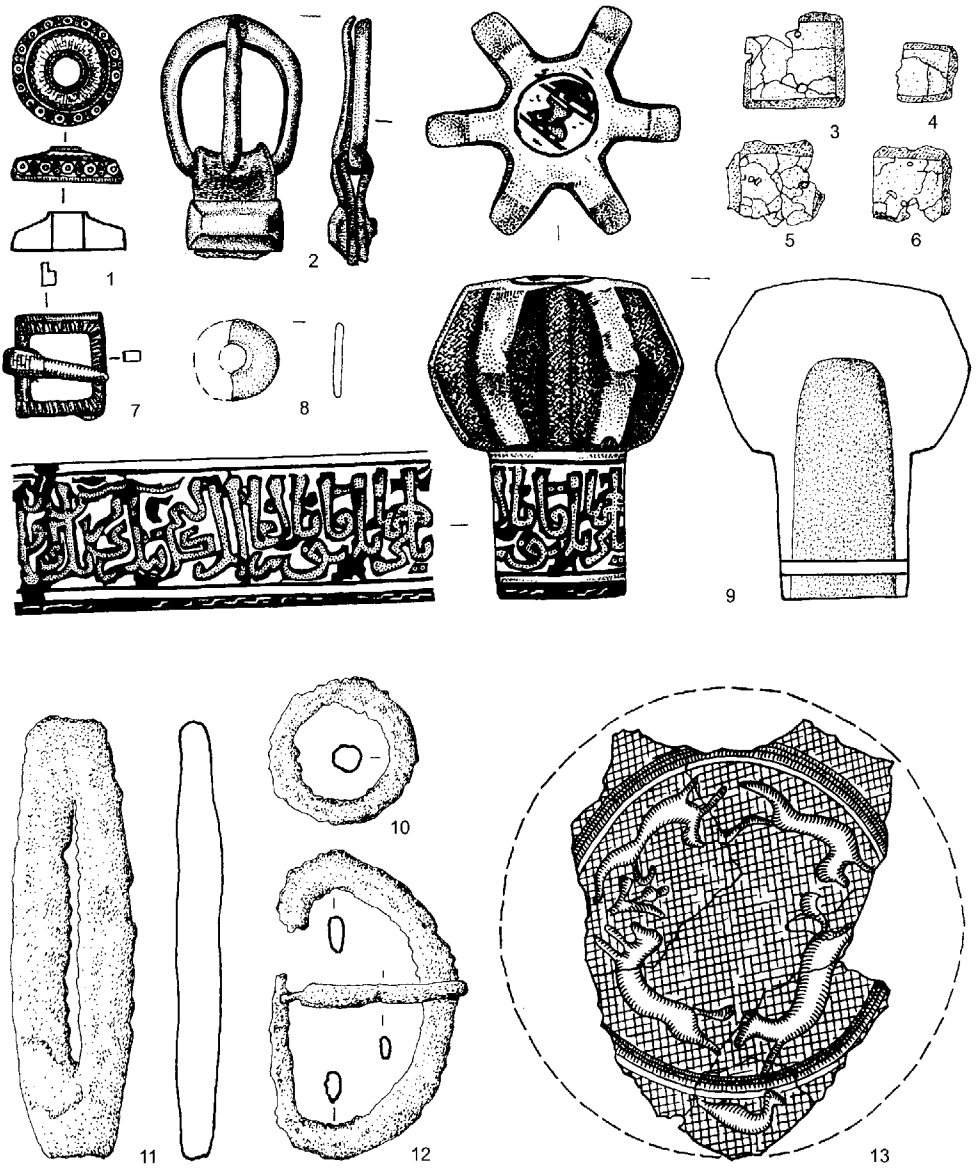

Fig. 25. Objects of horn (1), silver (2, 8) gold (3–6), bronze (7, 13), gilded and silvered iron (9) and iron (10–12) from the inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Balabanu.

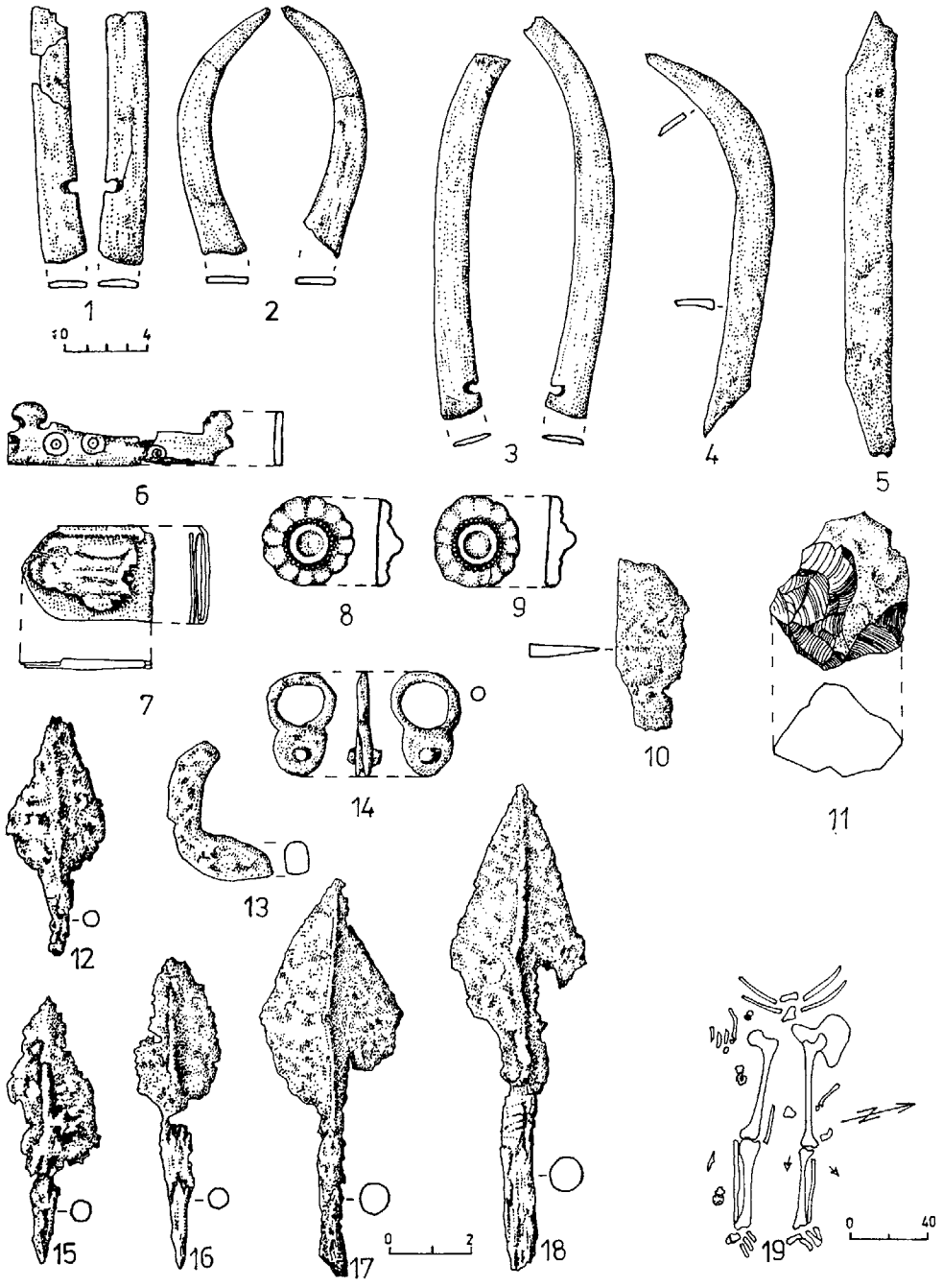

Fig. 26. Plan of a destroyed grave (19) and the funerary inventory (1–18) of the Turkic nomads' graves at Banca.

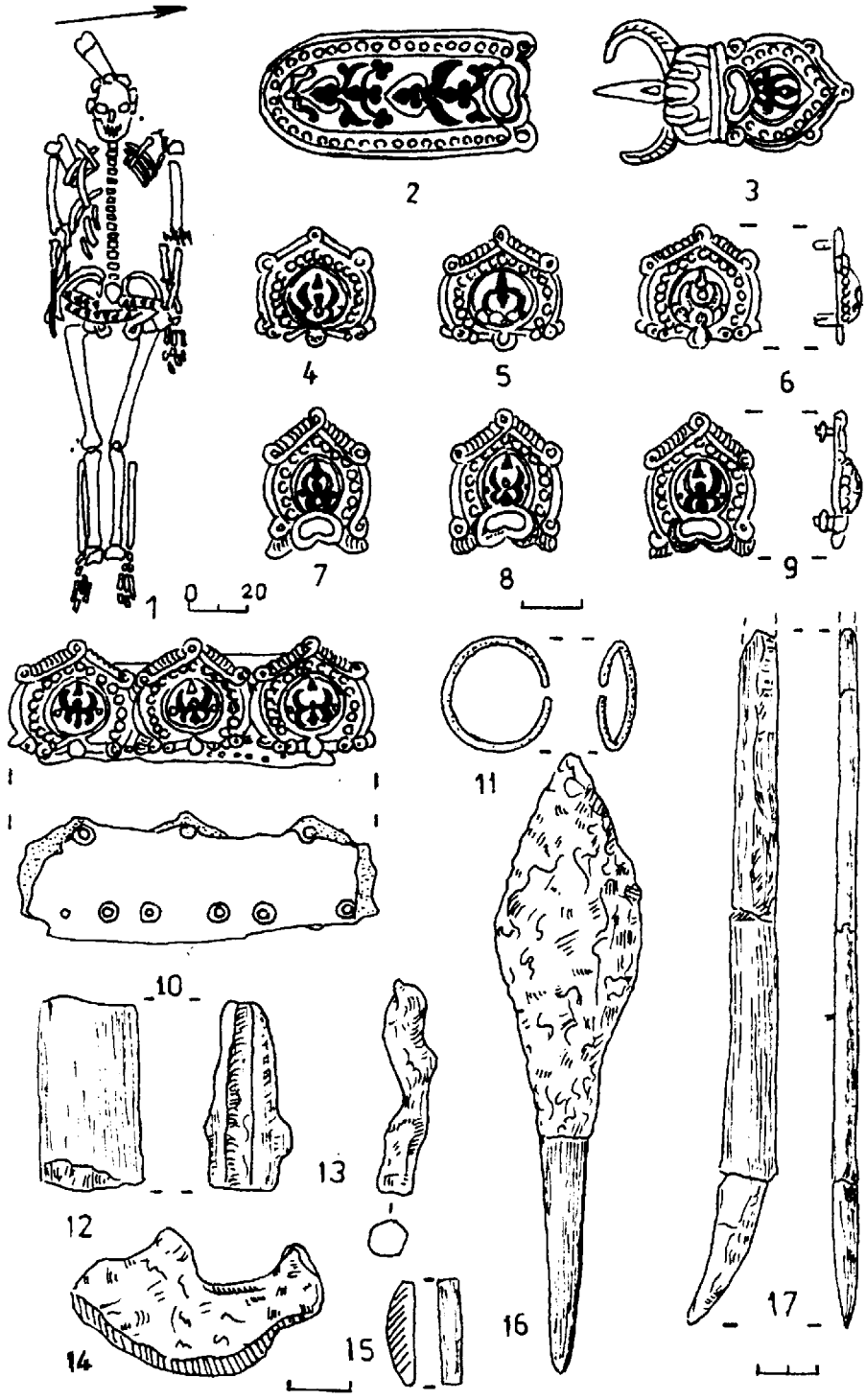

Fig. 27. Plan of a Turkic nomads' grave at Bădragii Vechi (1) and silver (2–10), gold (11), bone (12, 15) and iron (13, 14, 16, 17) objects from its funerary inventory.

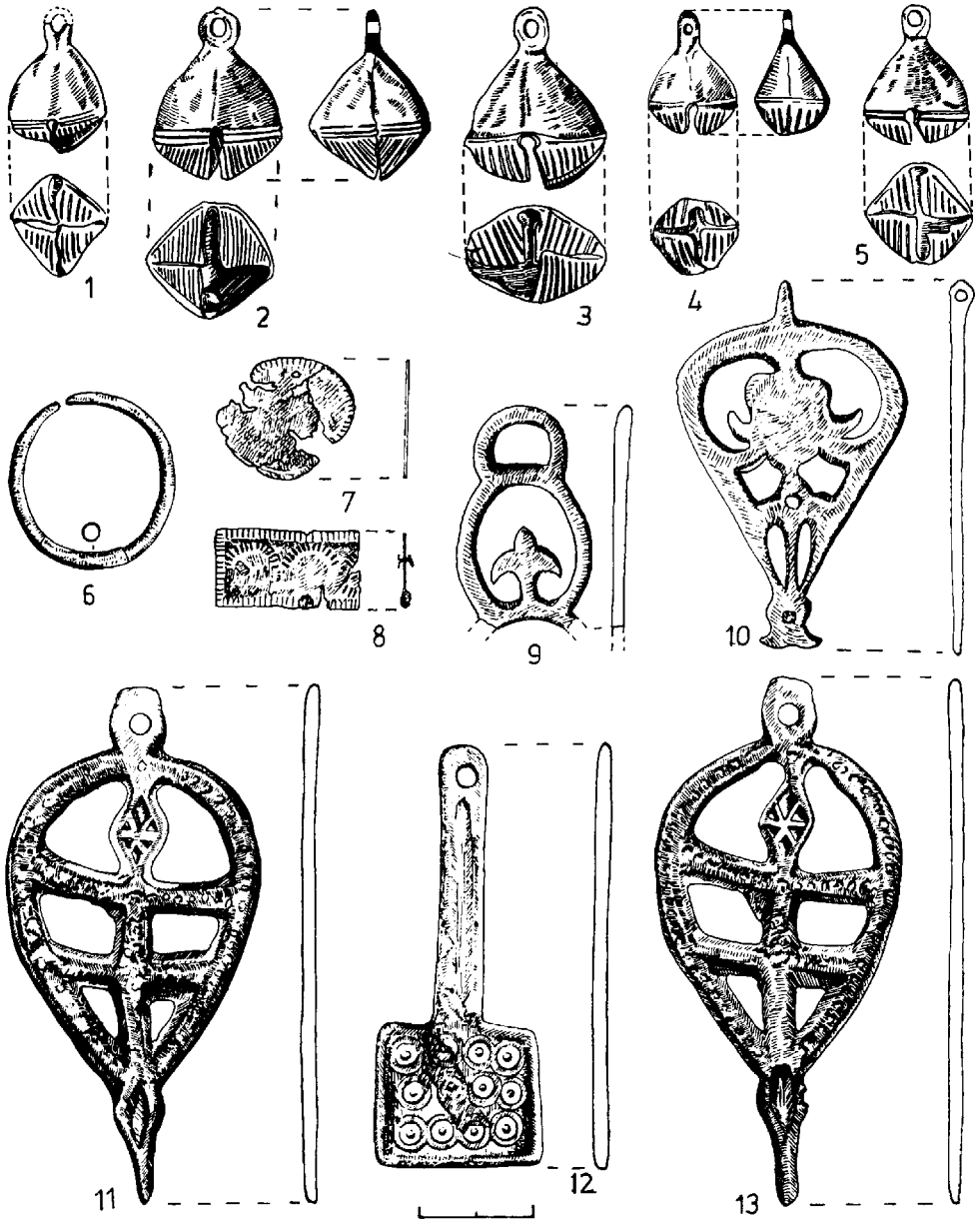

Fig. 28. Metal objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Bârlad-"Parc" (1–6), Pogoneşti (7, 8), Bereşti (9, 10) and Todireni (11–13).

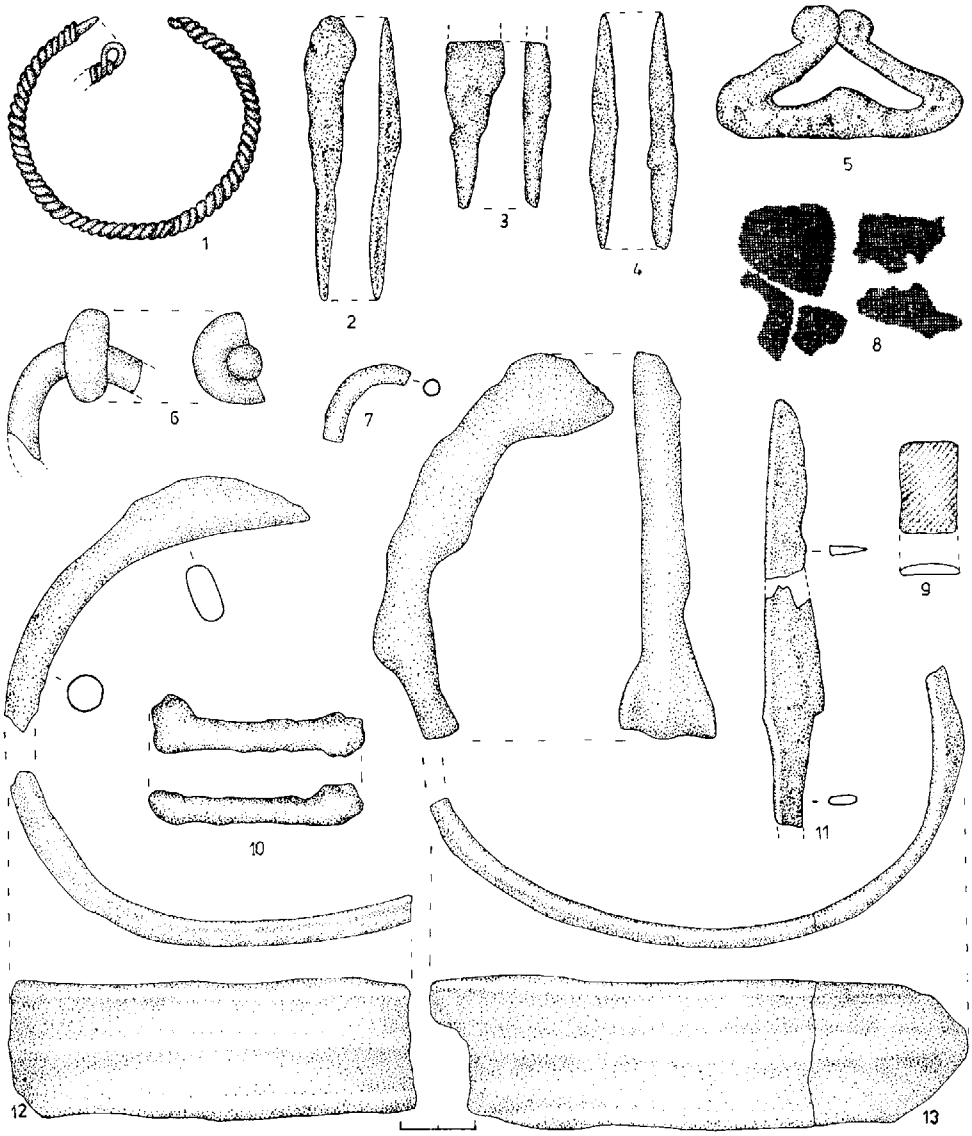

Fig. 29. Metal (1–7, 10–13) and horn (9) objects and pieces of gold thread tissue (8) from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomad's grave at Fridensfeld (= Mirnopole).

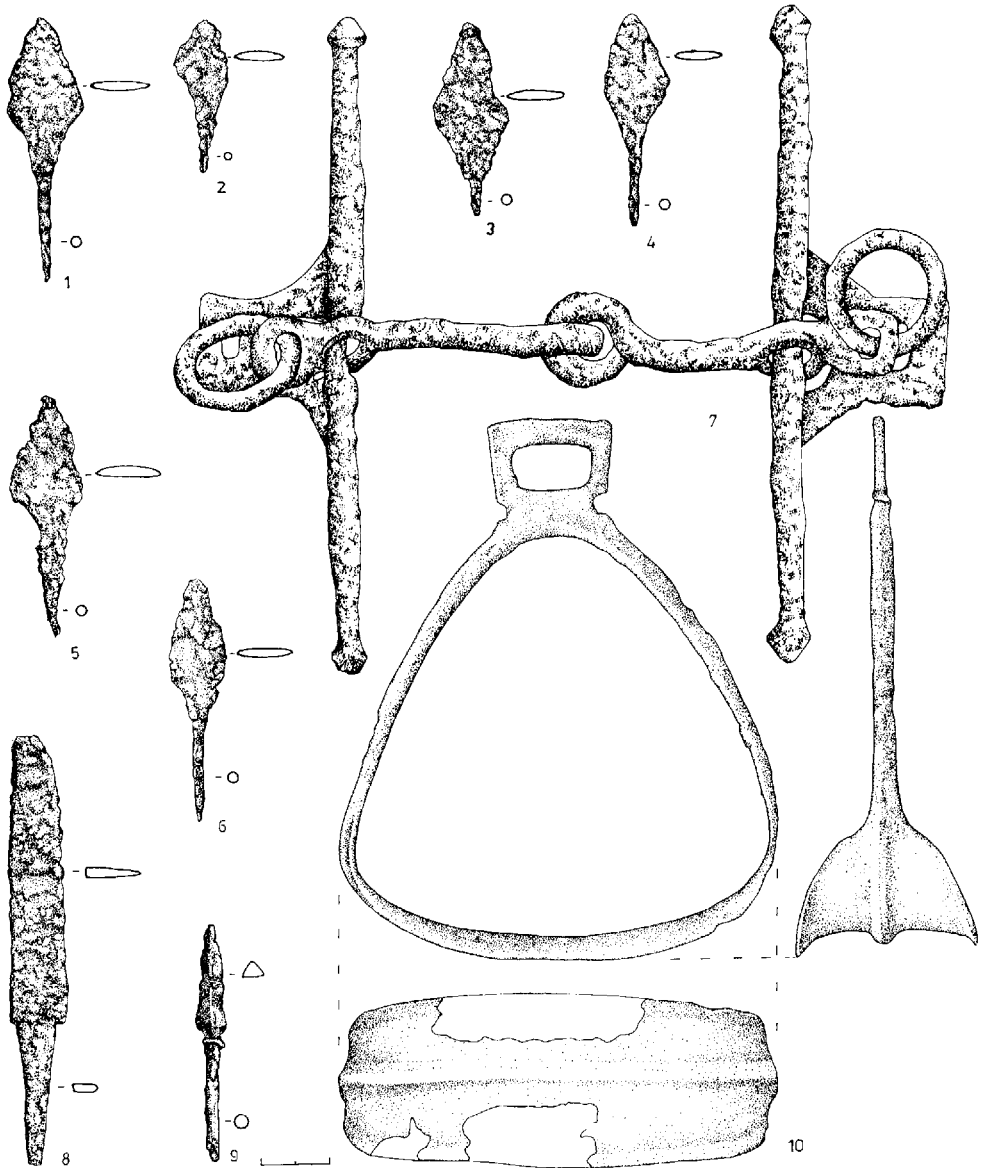

Fig. 30. Iron objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomad's grave of Grozeşti.

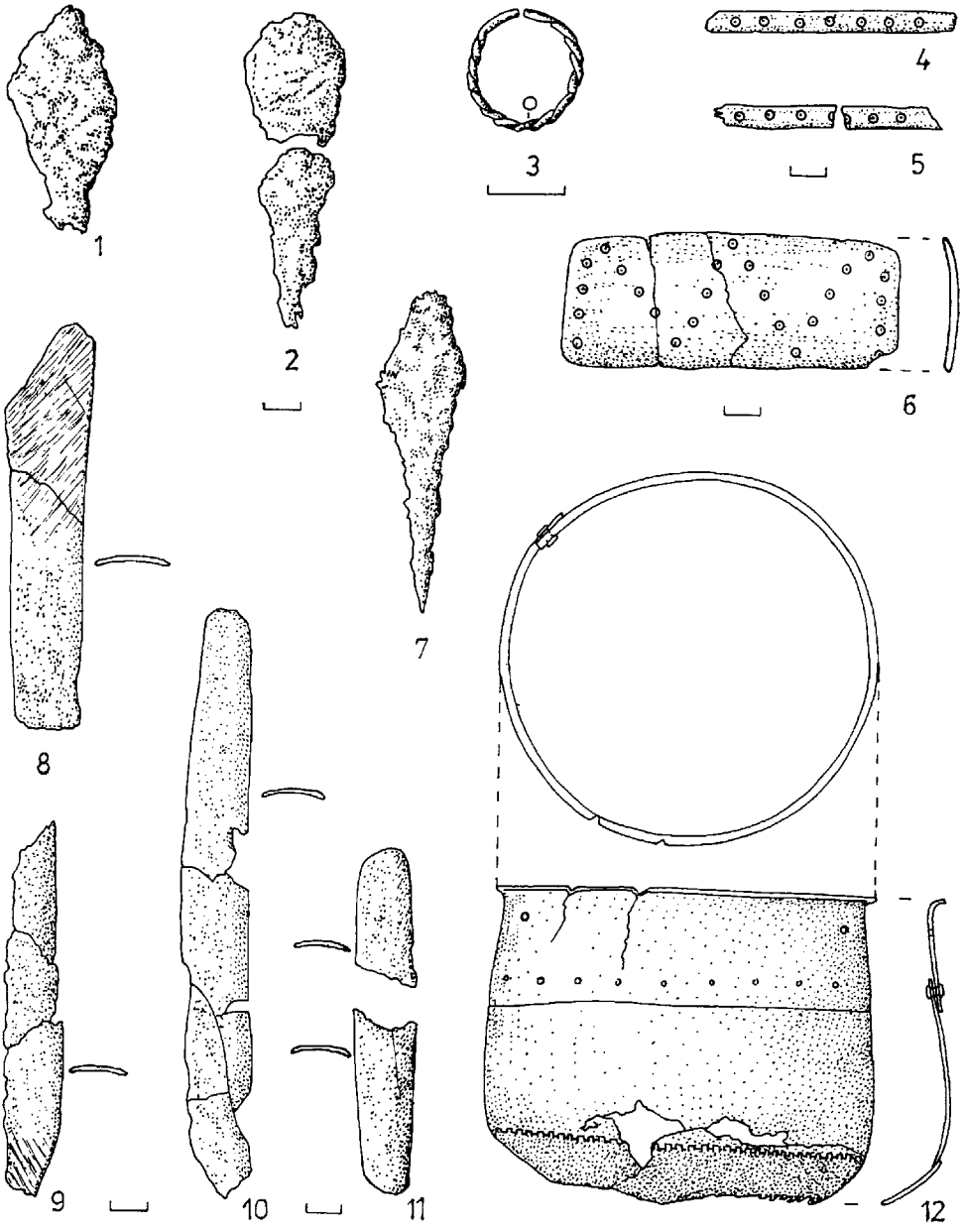

Fig. 31. Metal (1–3, 7, 12), horn and bone (4–6, 8–11) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves of Holboca (1–11) and Pogoneşti (12).

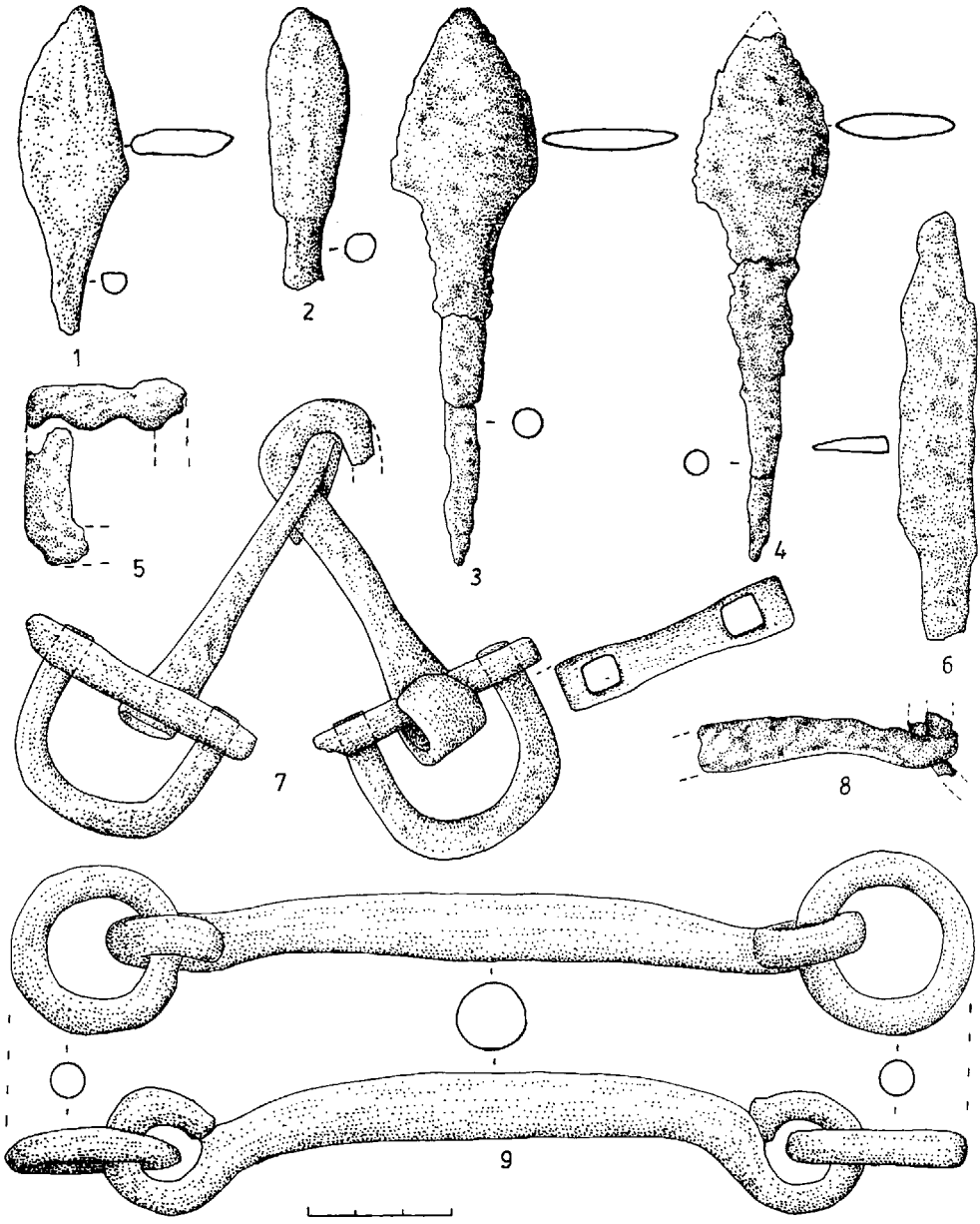

Fig. 32. Iron objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Mândreşti (1, 2), Probota (3, 4), Griviţa-Vaslui (5, 6, 9), Pogoneşti (7) and Bârlad-"Moara lui Chicoş" (8).

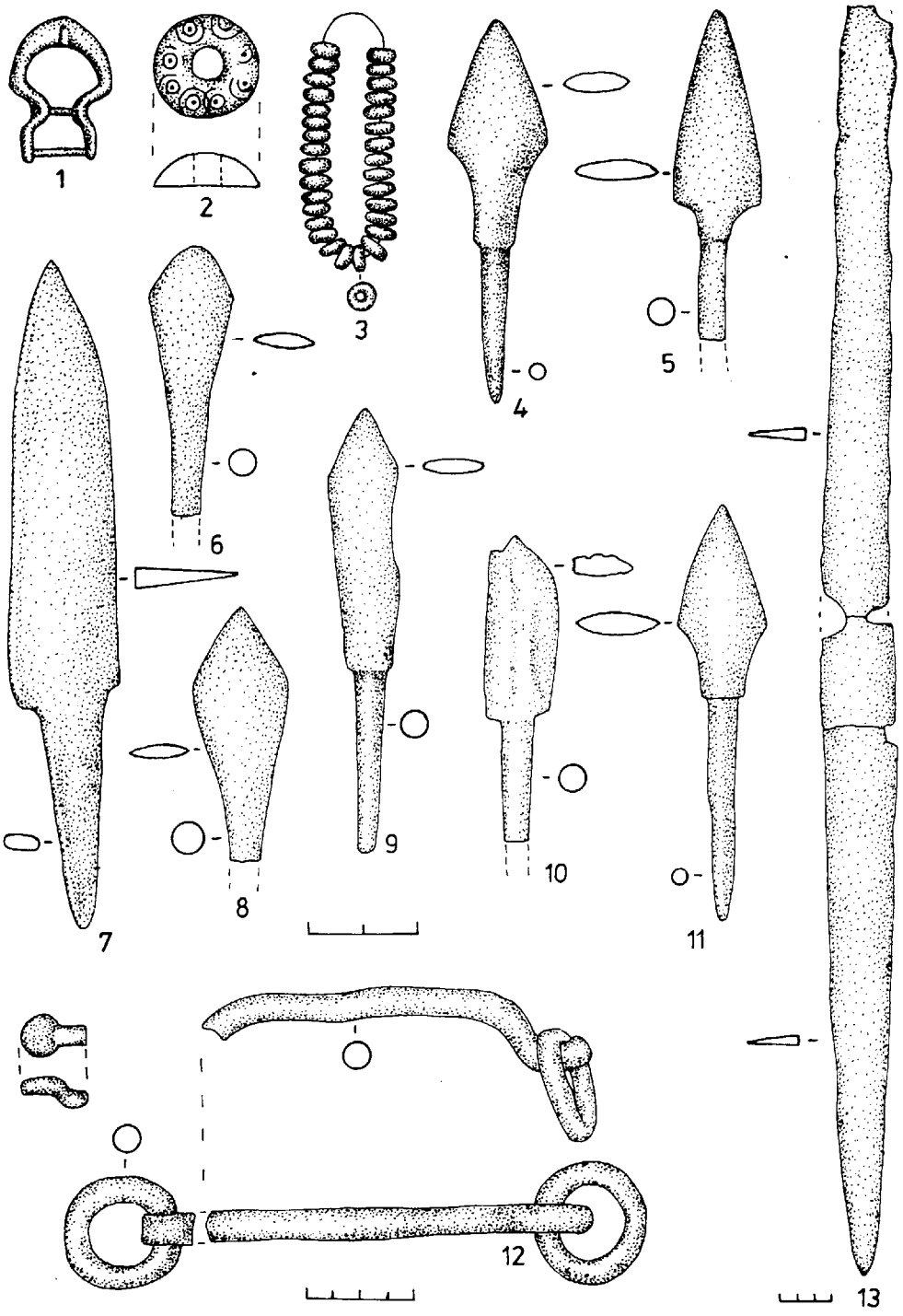

Fig. 33. Objects of metal (1, 4–13), horn (2) and glass paste (3) from the funerary inventory of a Turkic nomad's grave at Pavlovca.

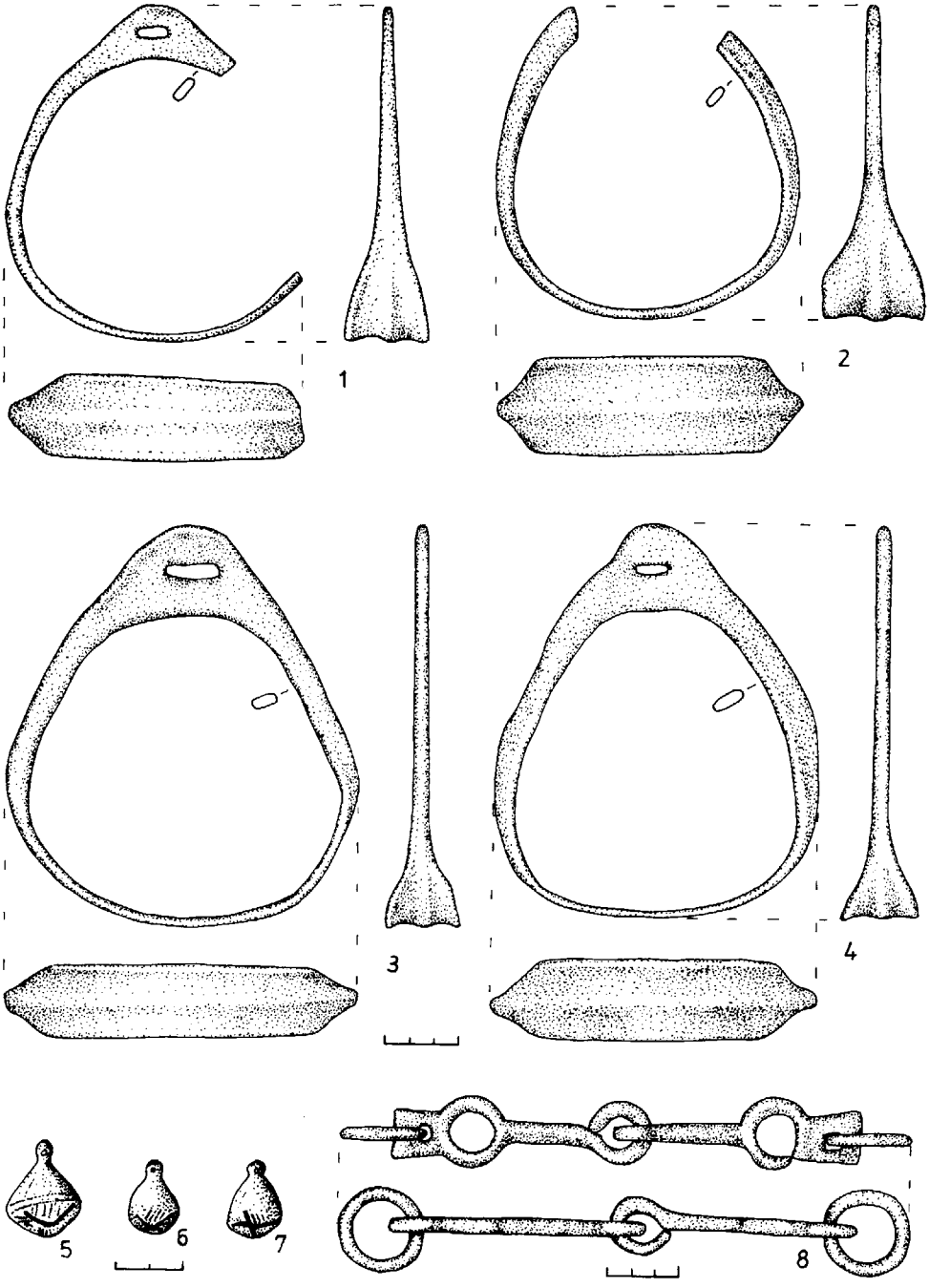

Fig. 34. Metal objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Pavlovca (1, 2), Şabalat (= Sadovoe) (3, 4, 8) and Gura Bâcului (5–7).

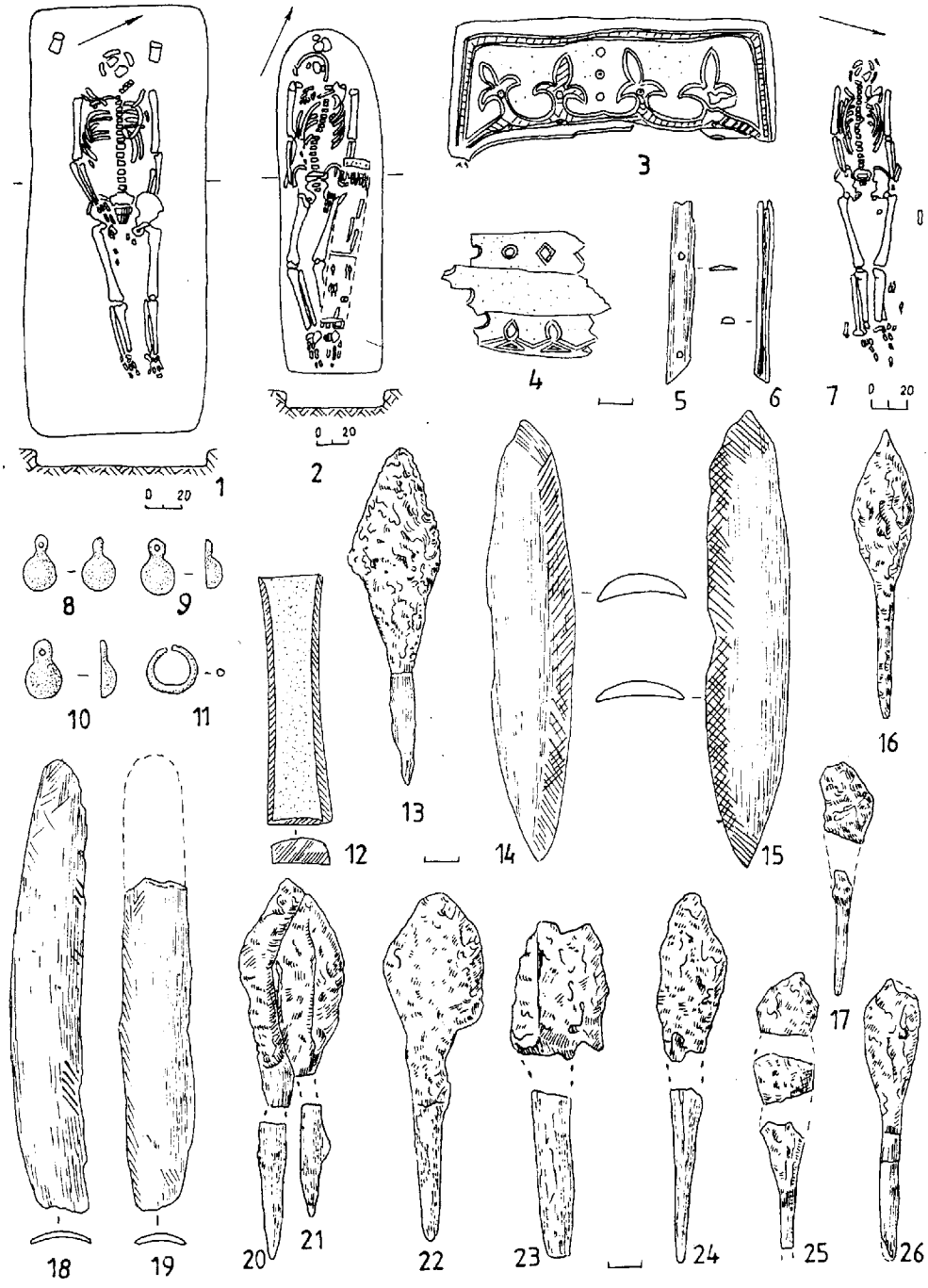

Fig. 35. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1, 2, 7) and their funerary inventory (3–6, 8–26) at Petreşti (1, 7–11, 16–26) and Bădragii Vechi (2–6, 12–15).

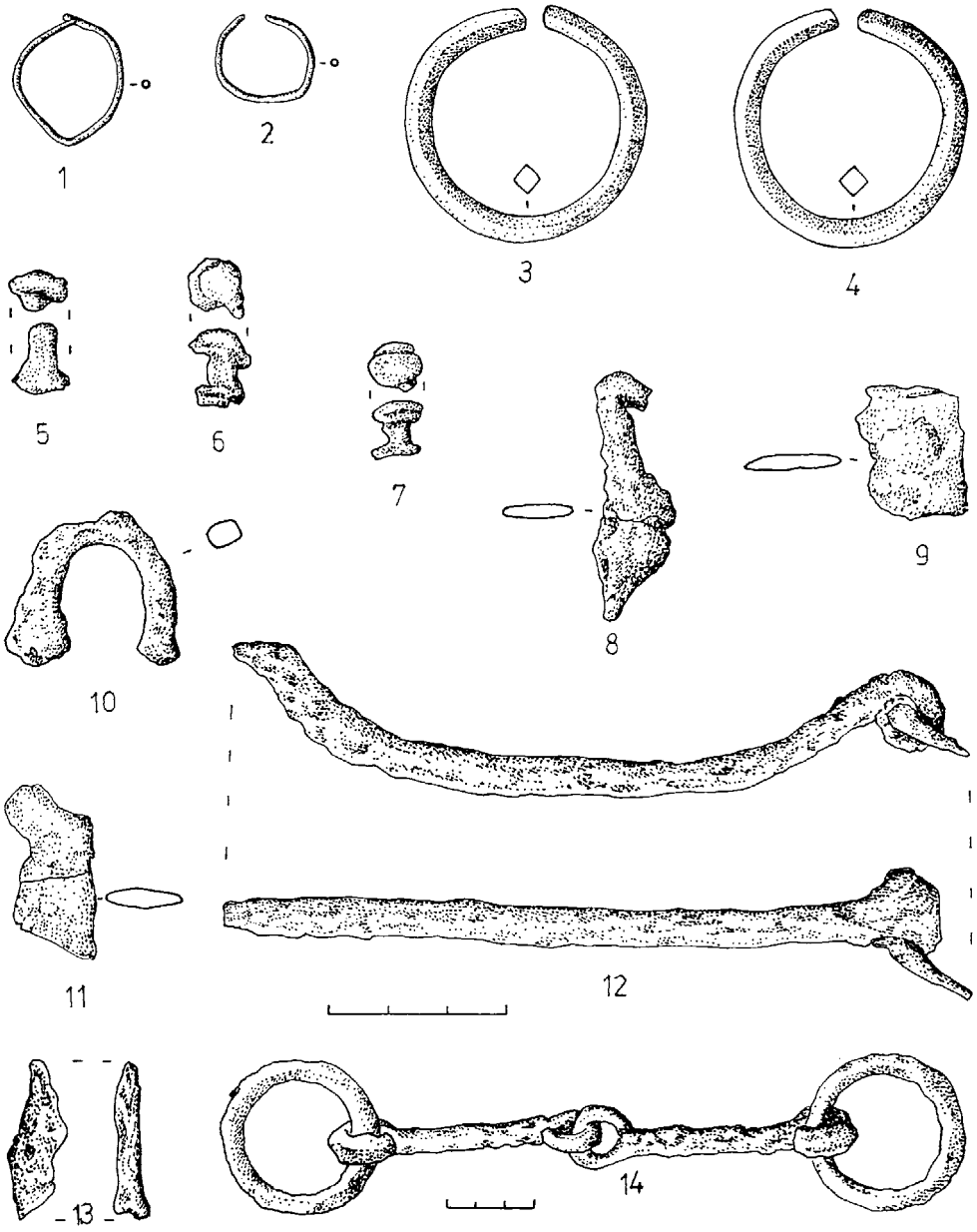

Fig. 36. Metal objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Probota (1, 2), Bârlad-"Moara lui Chicoş" (3, 4), Umbrăreşti (5–13) and Moscu (14).

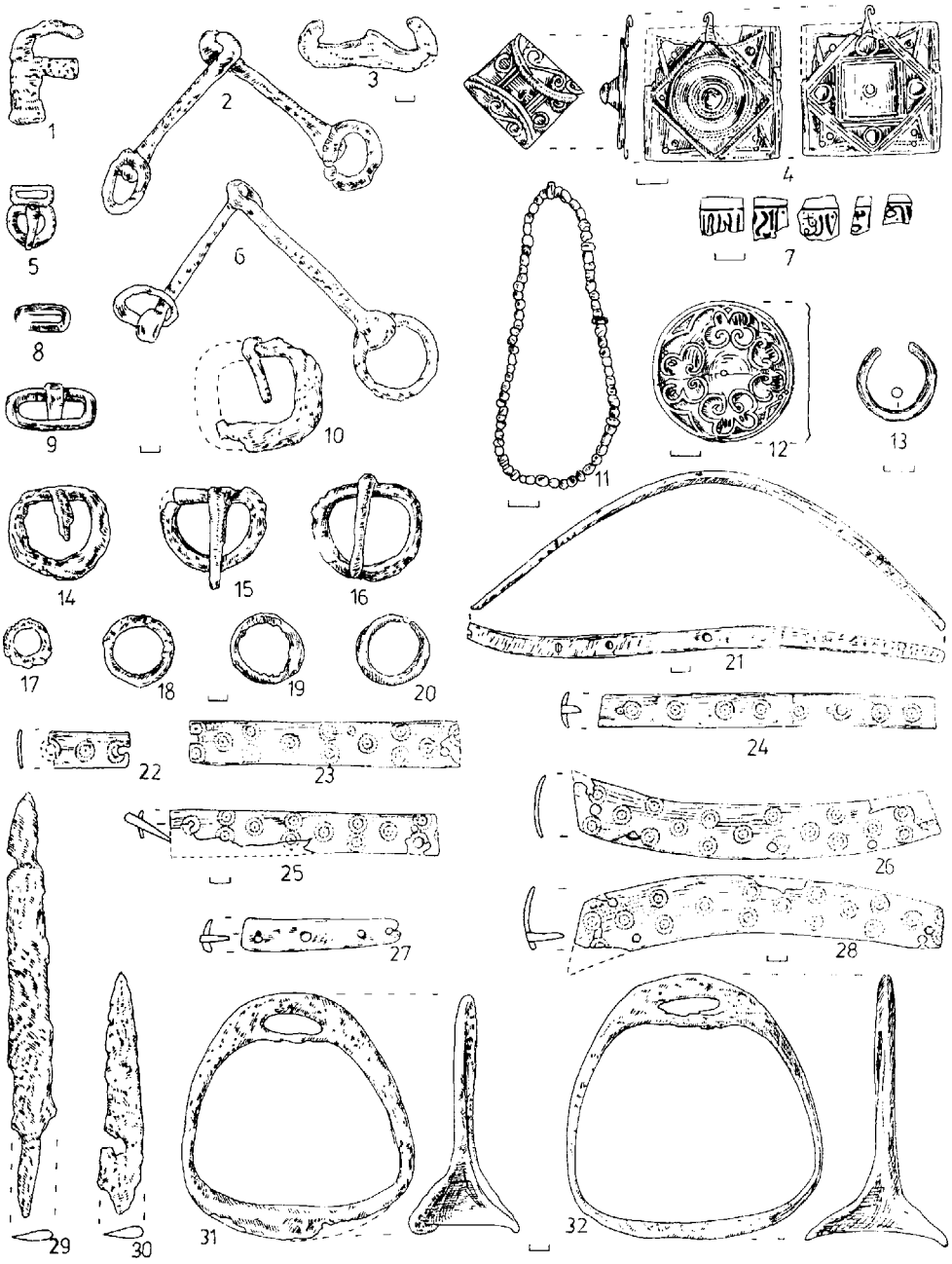

Fig. 37. Objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Selişte.

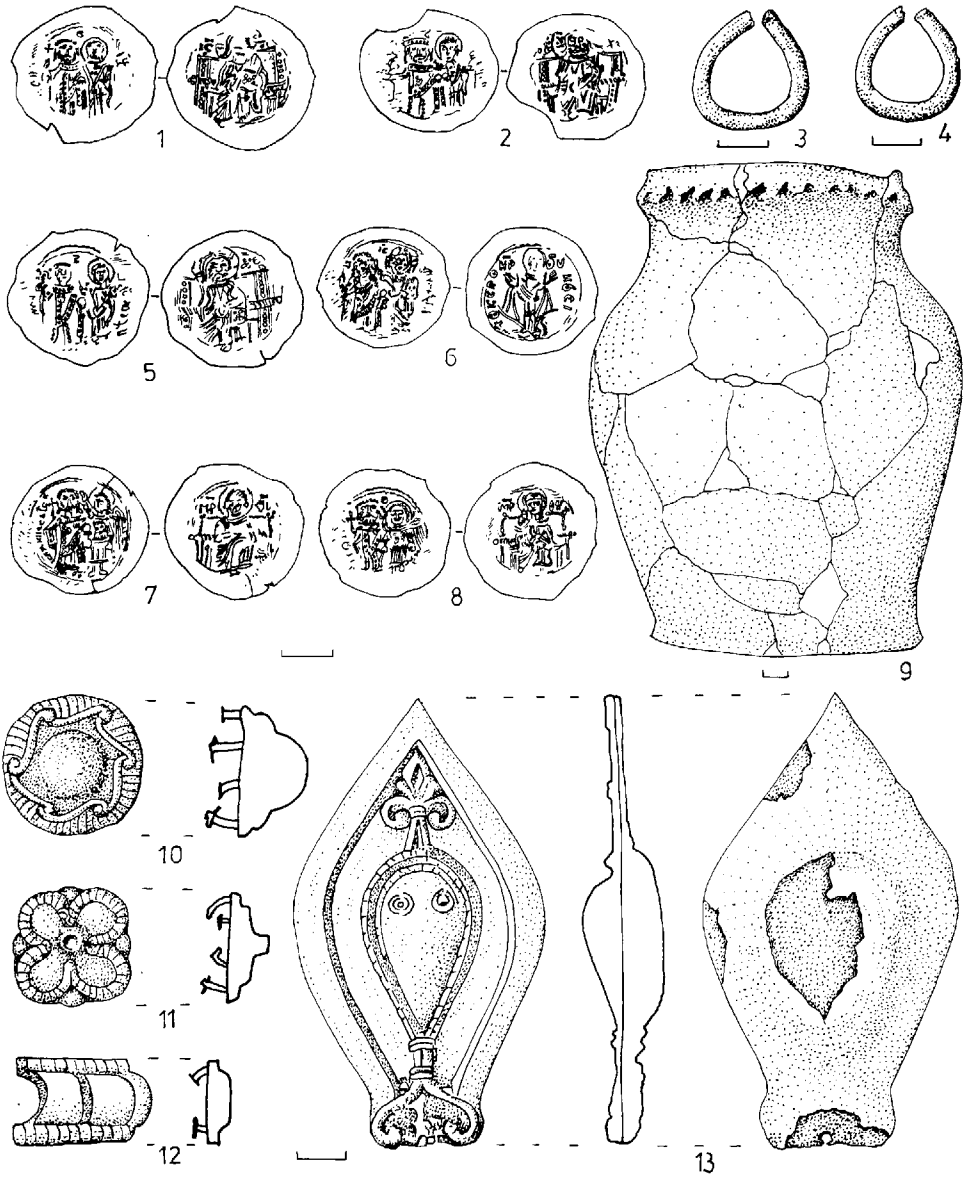

Fig. 38. Byzantine coins (1, 2, 5, 8), adornement objects (3, 4, 10–13) and clay pot (9) from the funerary inventory of Turkic nomads' graves at Suvorovo (1, 2, 5–8) and Tuzla (3, 4, 9–13).

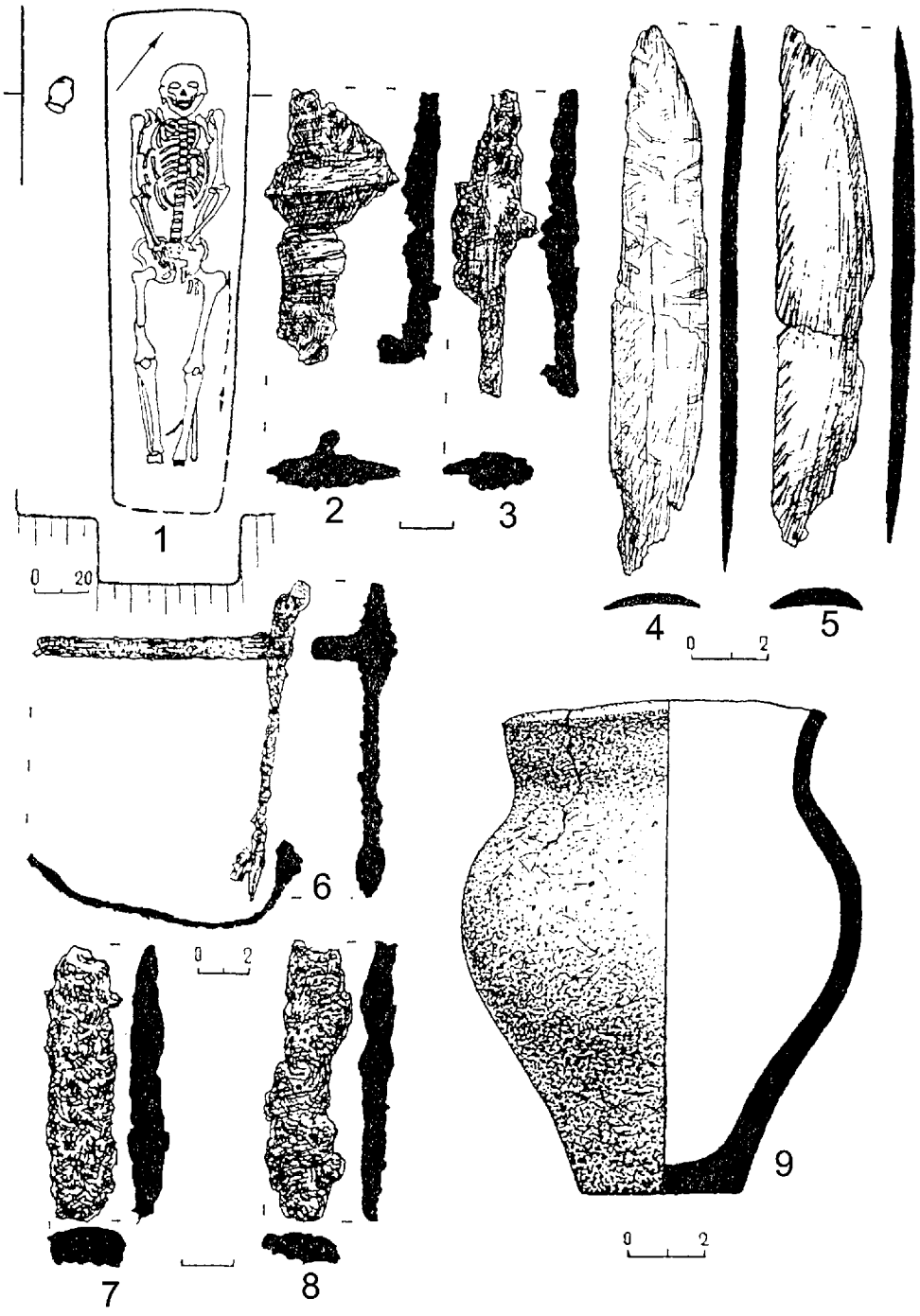

Fig. 39. Plan of a Turkic nomads' grave at Chirileni (1), iron (2, 3, 6–8) and bone (4, 5) objects and clay pots (9) from its funerary inventory.

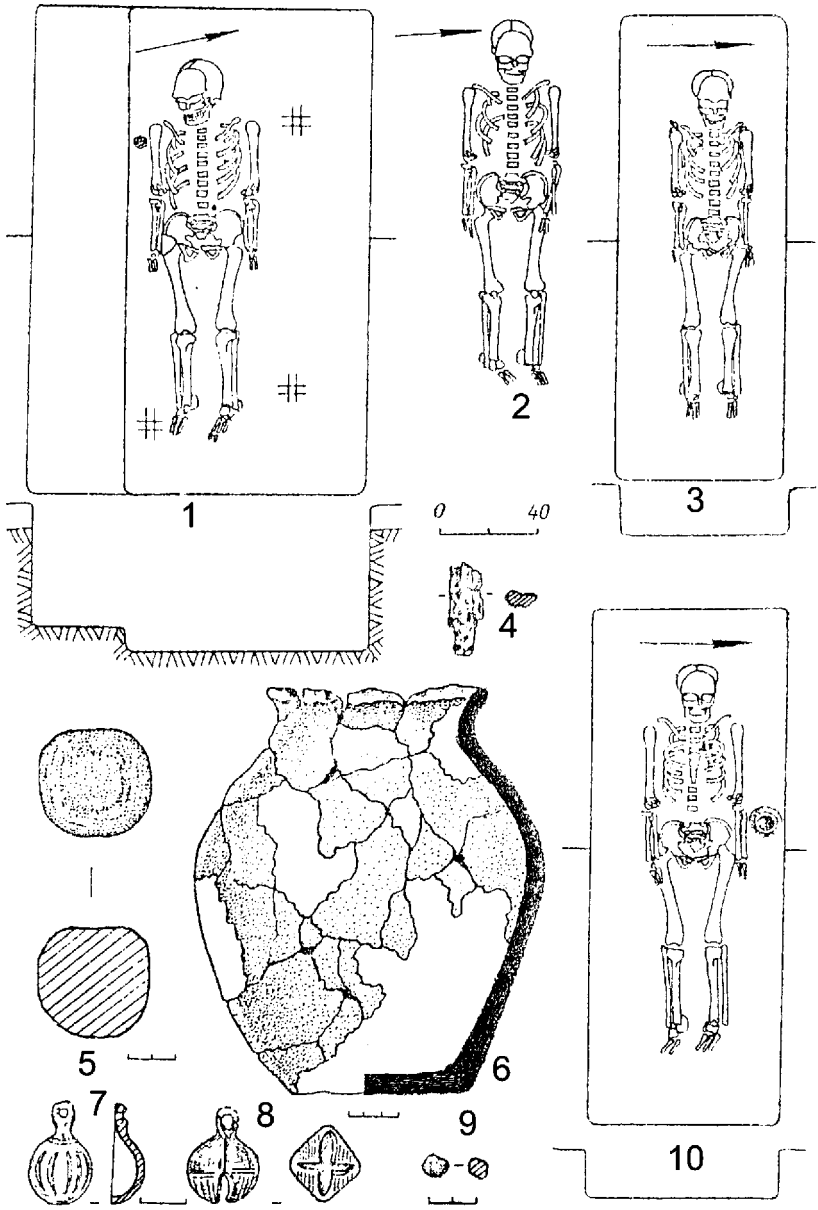

Fig. 40. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1–3, 6) and their funerary inventory (4–9, 10) at Ursoaia.

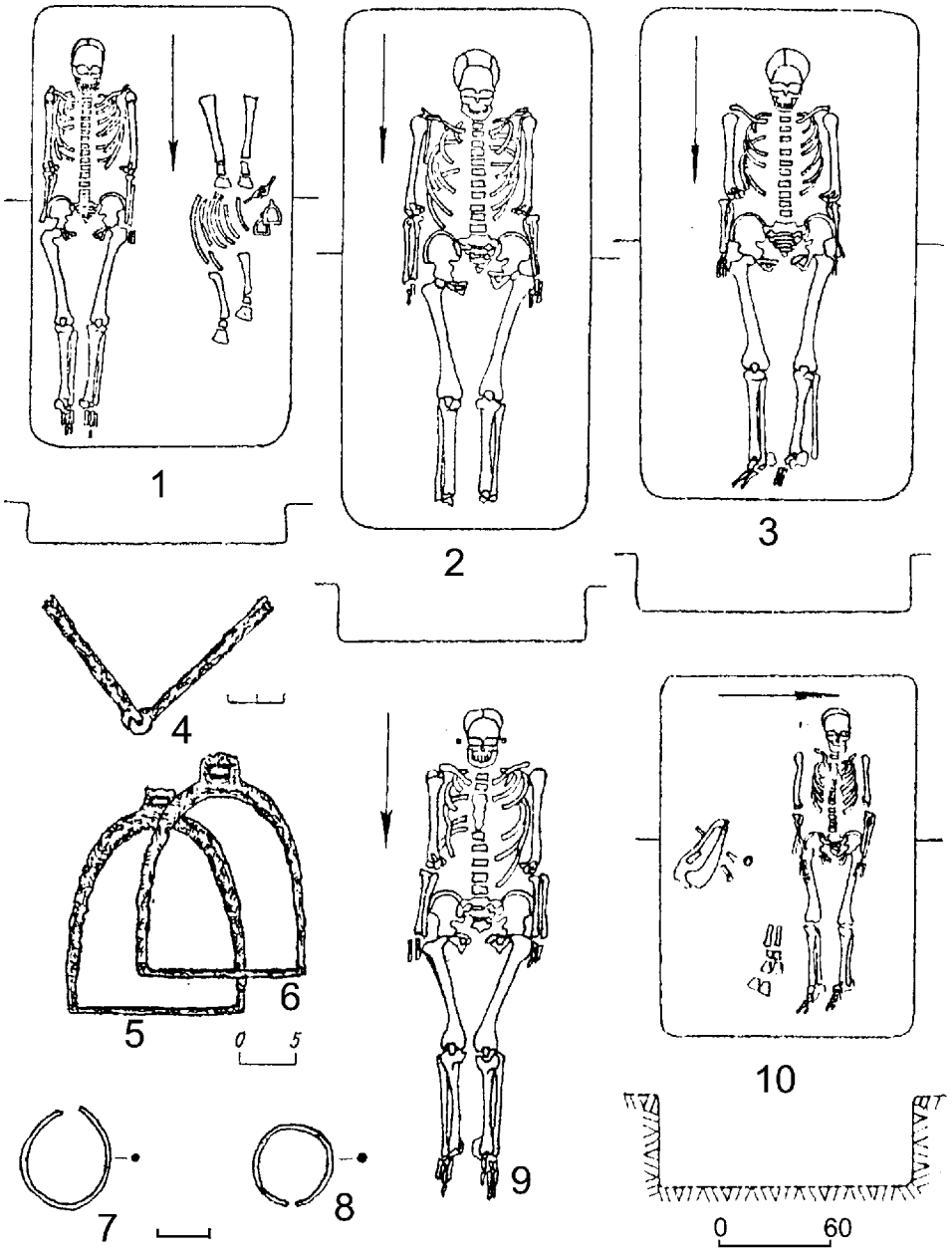

Fig. 41. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1–3, 9, 10) and their funerary inventory (4–8) at Balabanu (1–9) and Chircăieşti (10).

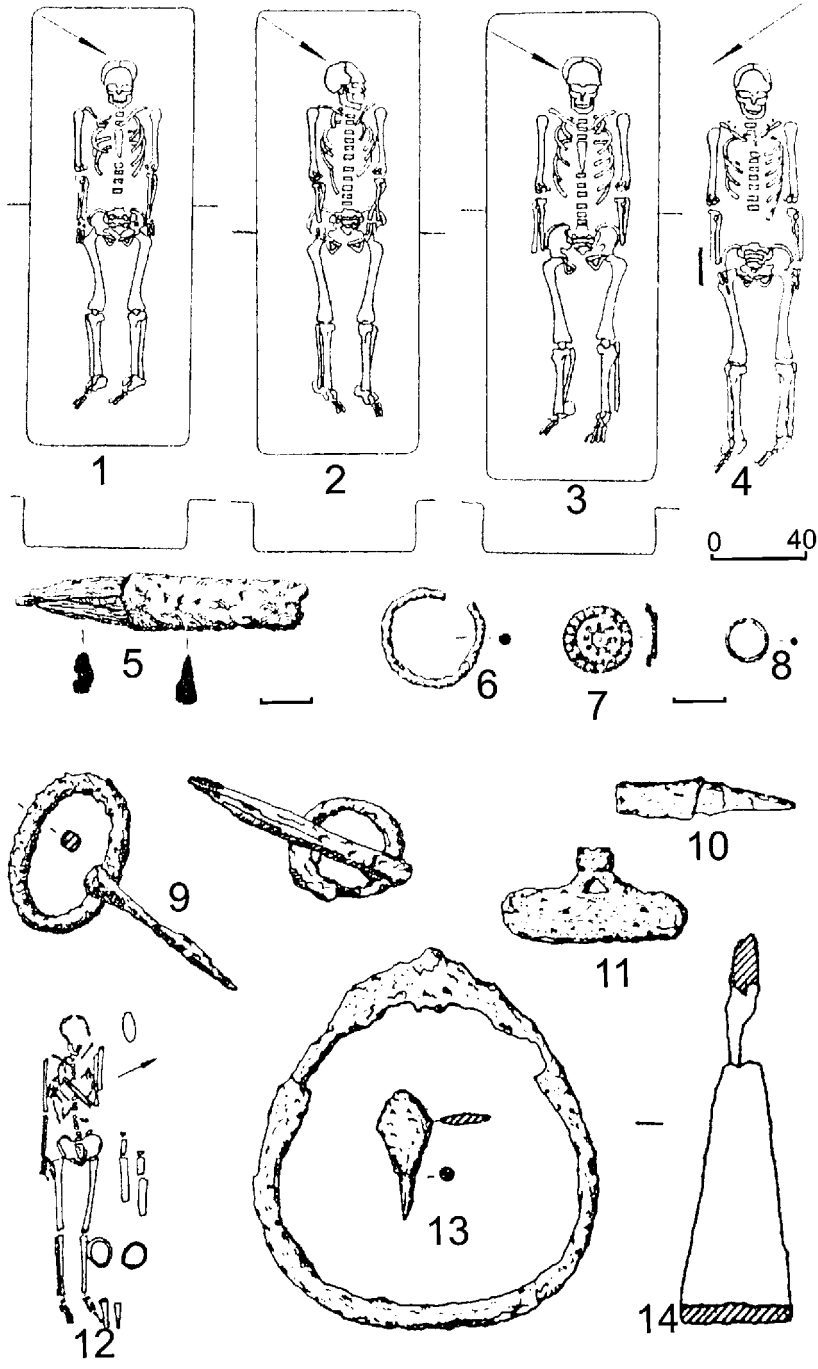

Fig. 42. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1–4, 12) and their funerary inventory (5–11, 13, 14) at Chircăieşti (1–8) and Cârnăţeni (9–14).

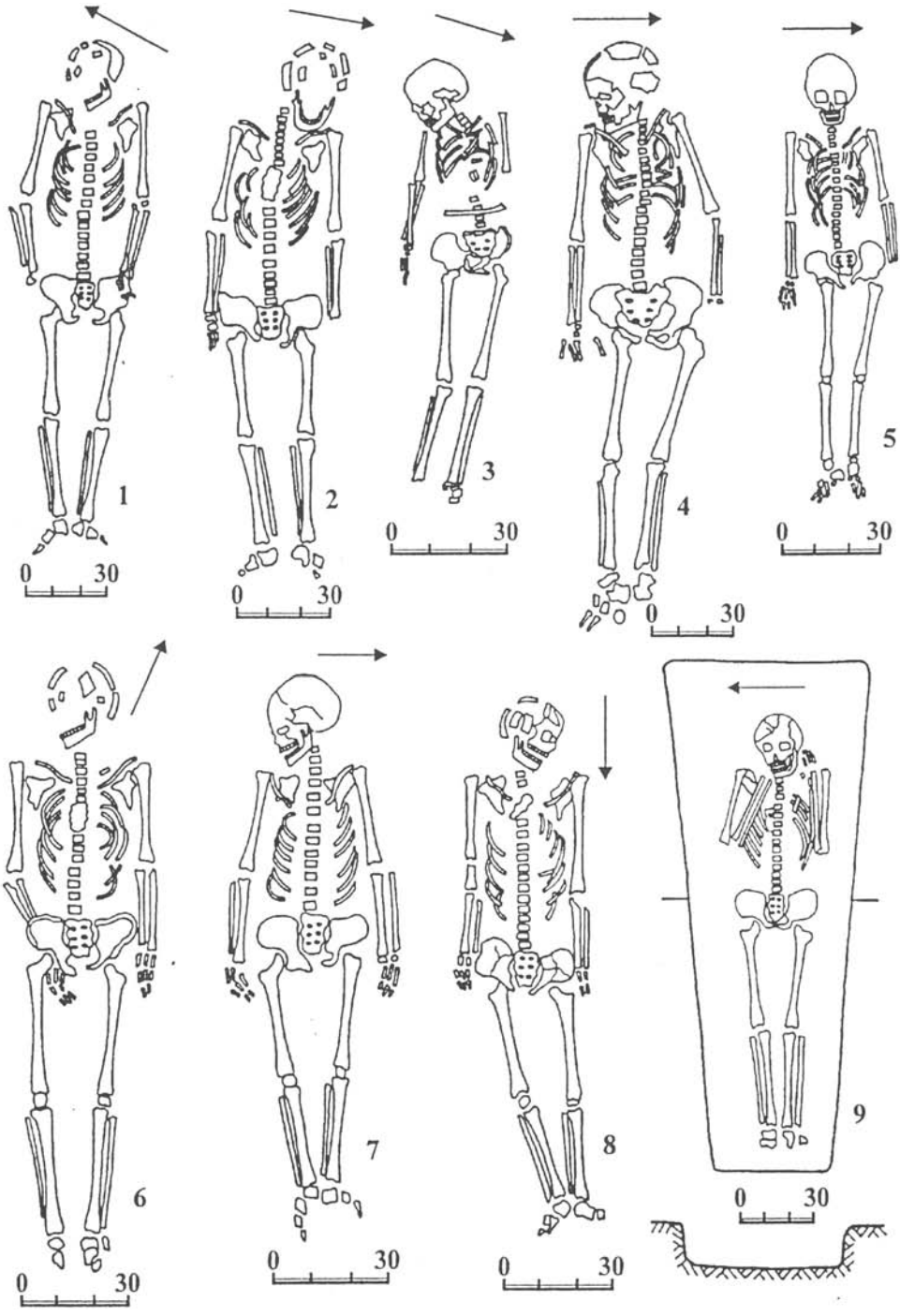

Fig. 43. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves at Taraclia.

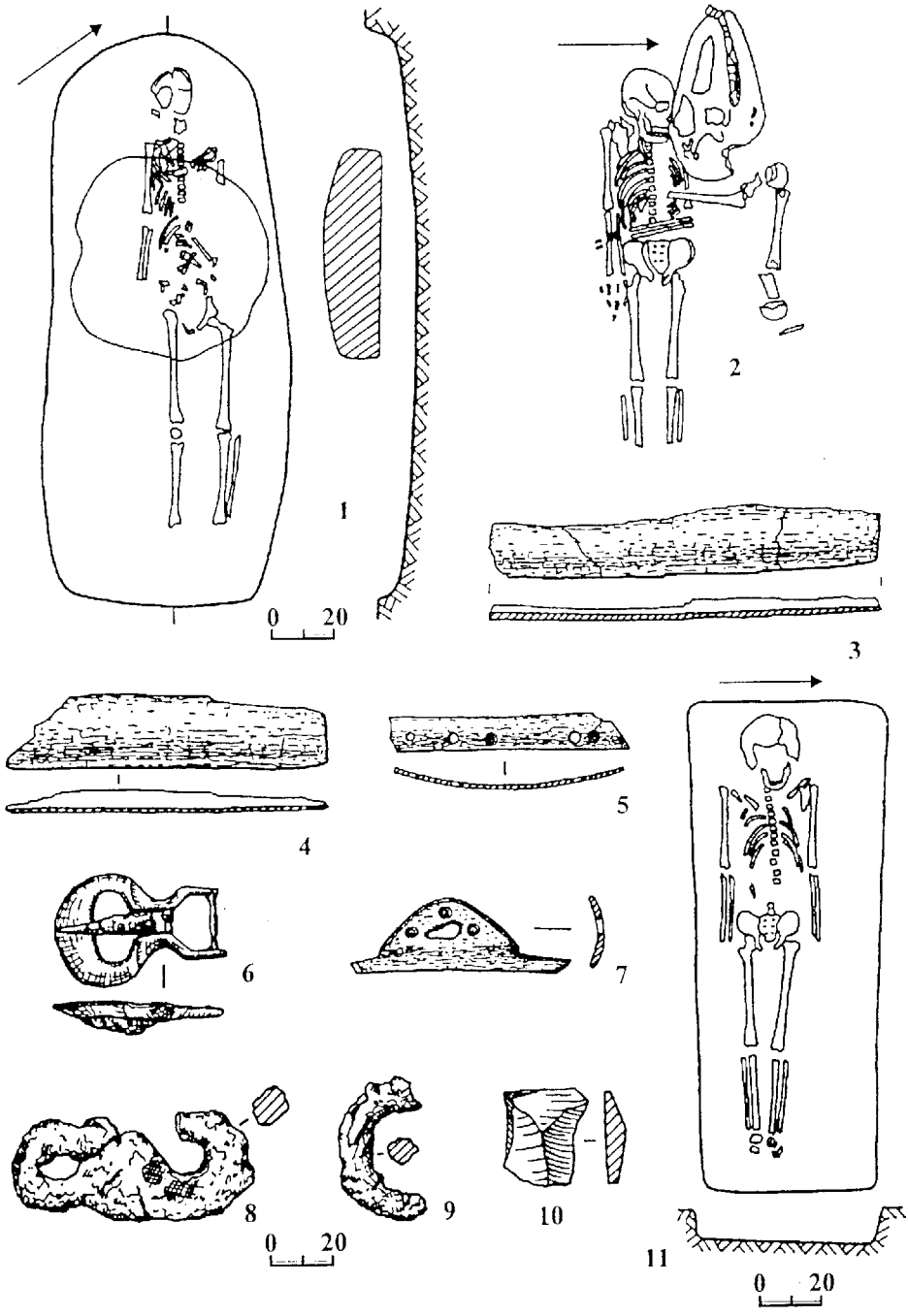

Fig. 44. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1, 2, 11) and their funerary inventory (3–10) at Taraclia.

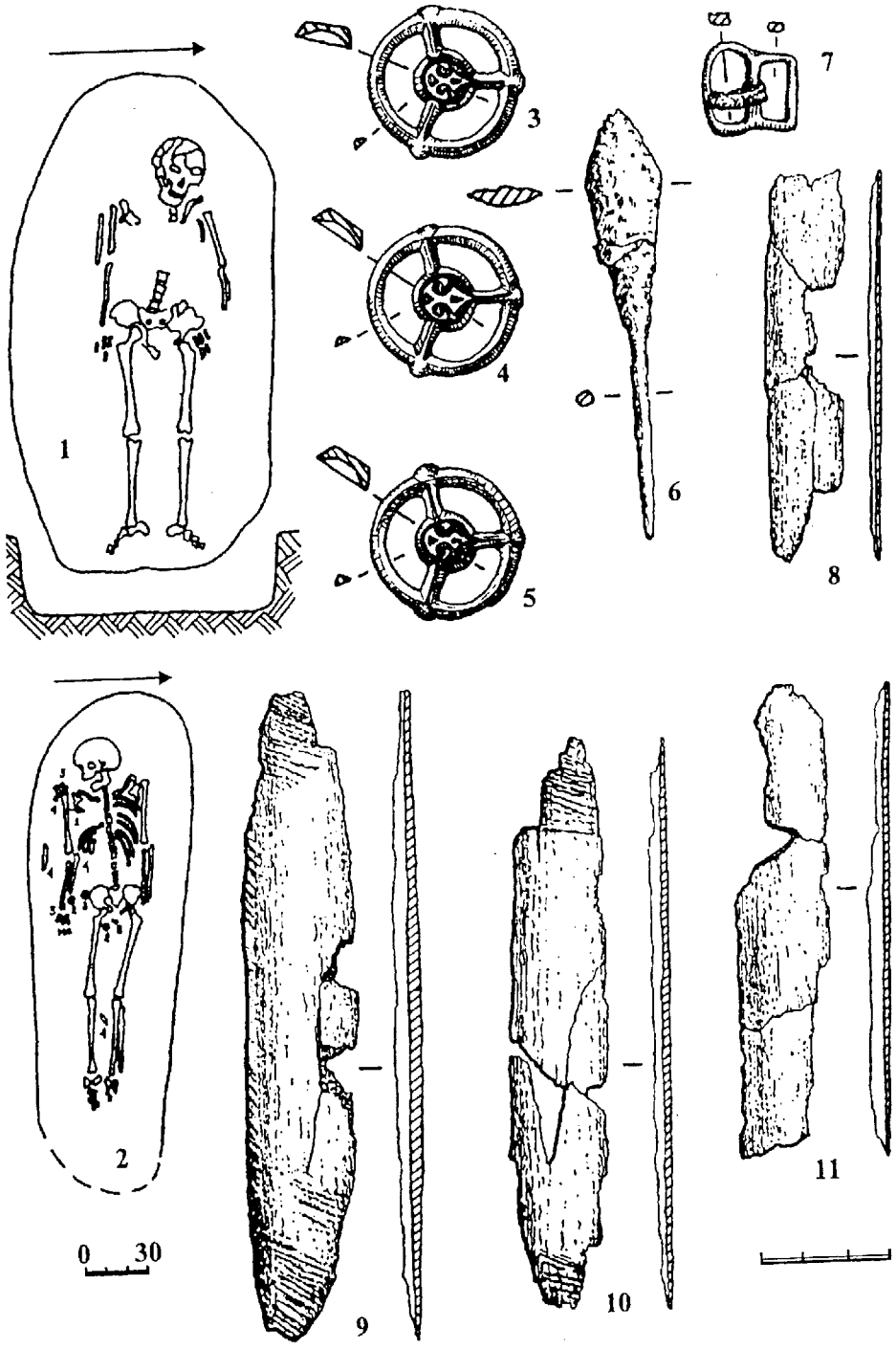

Fig. 45. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1, 2) and their funerary inventory (3–11) from Taraclia.

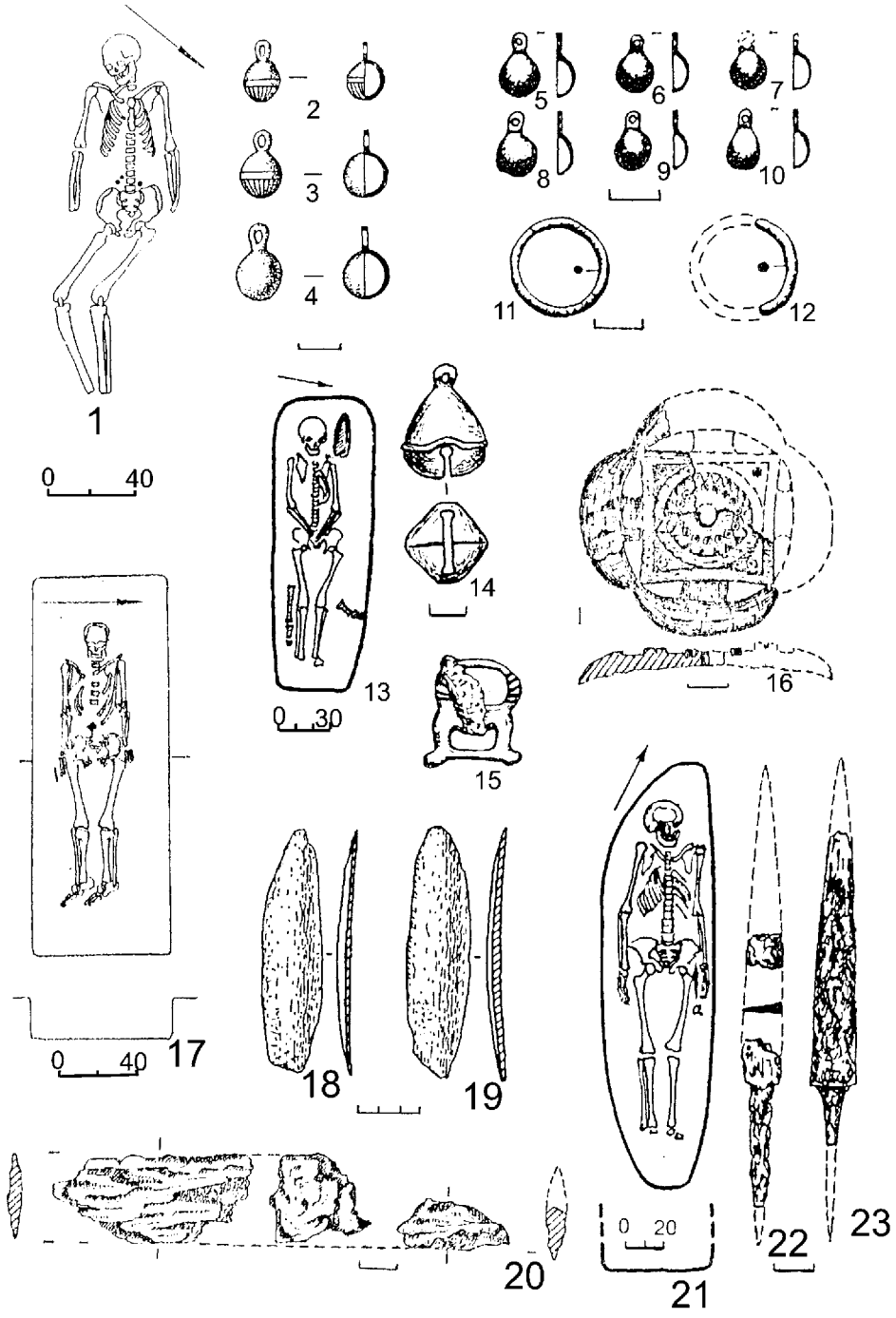

Fig. 46. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (1, 13, 17, 21) and their funerary inventory (2–12, 14–16, 18–20, 22, 23) at Olăneşti (1–4), Chirileni (5–12), Divizia (13–14, 21–23), Opaci (15), Ursoaia (16–17, 20), Cazaclia (18–19).

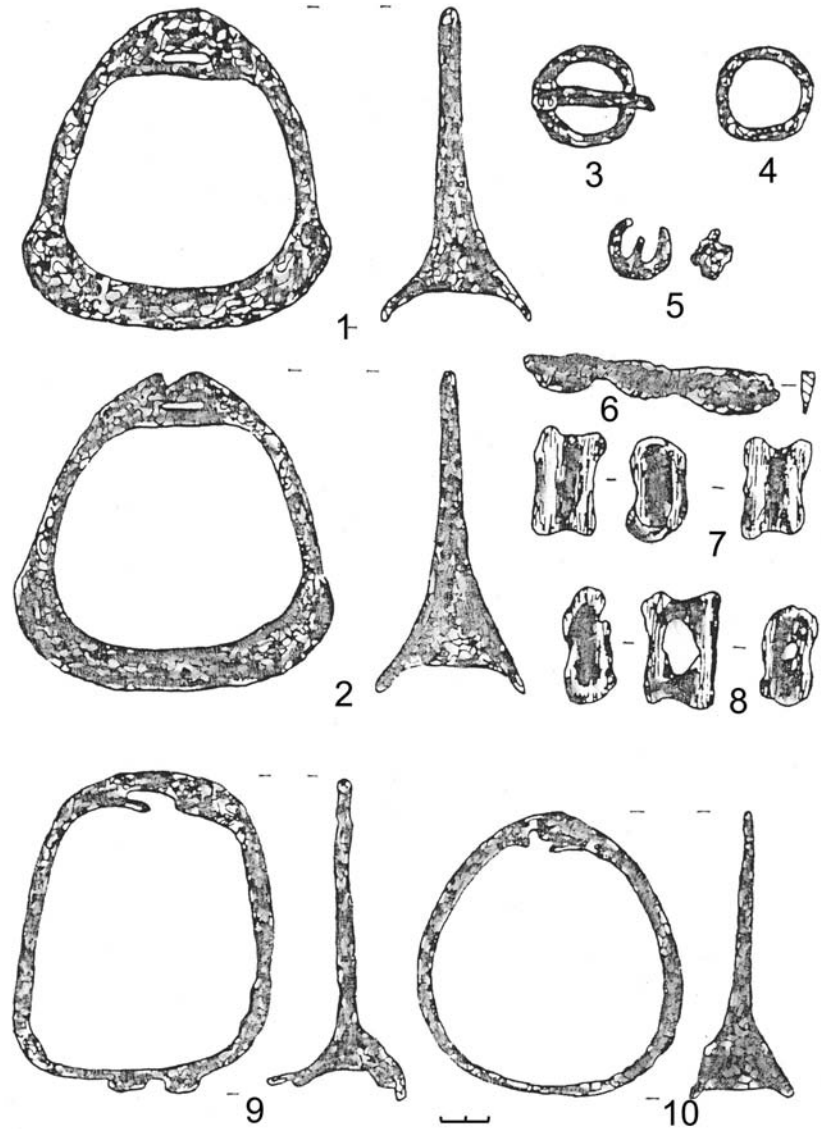

Fig. 47. Iron (1–6, 9, 10) and bone (7, 8) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Ivanovca.

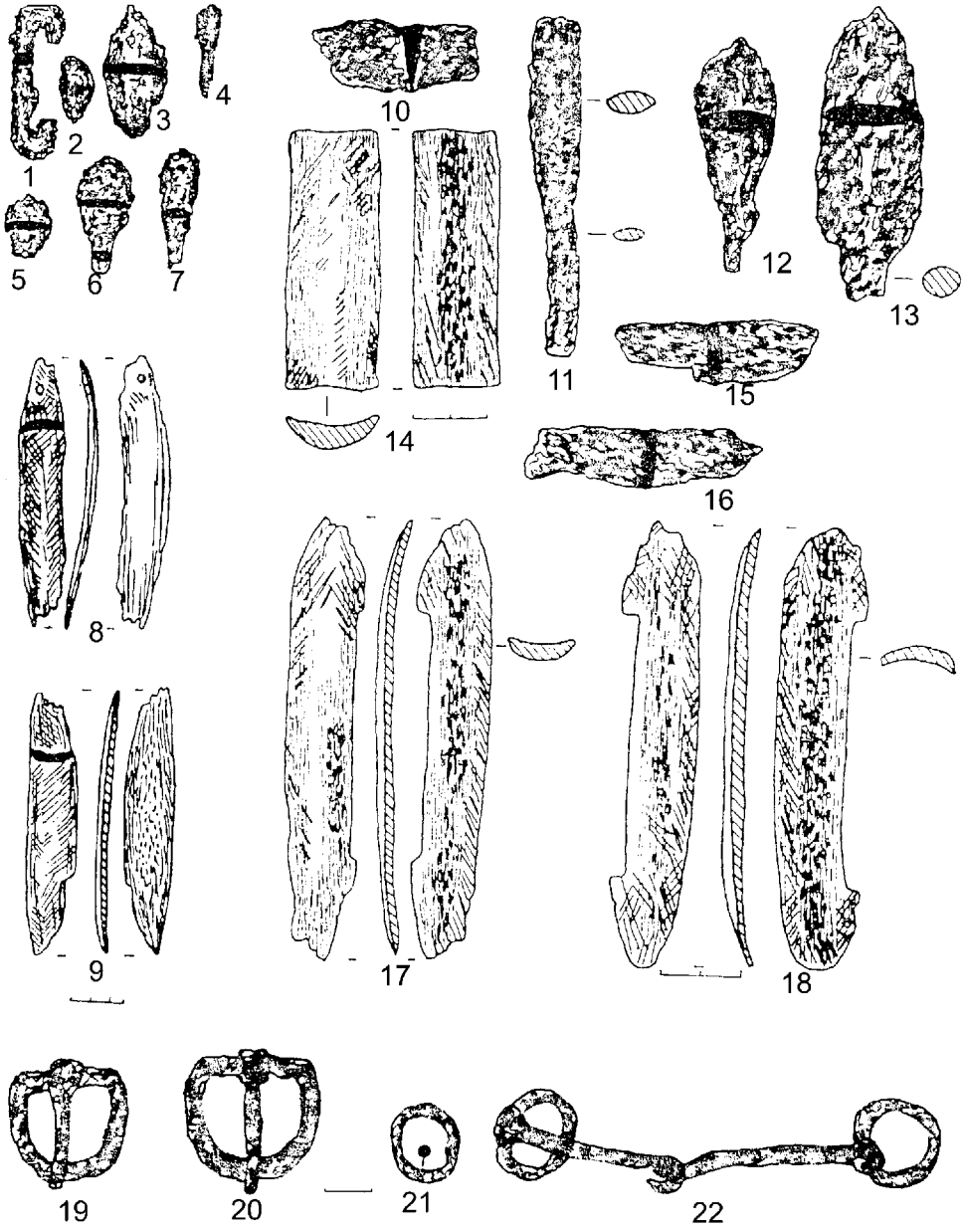

Fig. 48. Iron (1–7, 10–13, 15, 16, 19–22) and horn (8, 9, 14, 17, 18) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Sevirova (1–9), Alexandrovca (10–18) and Ivanovca (19–22).

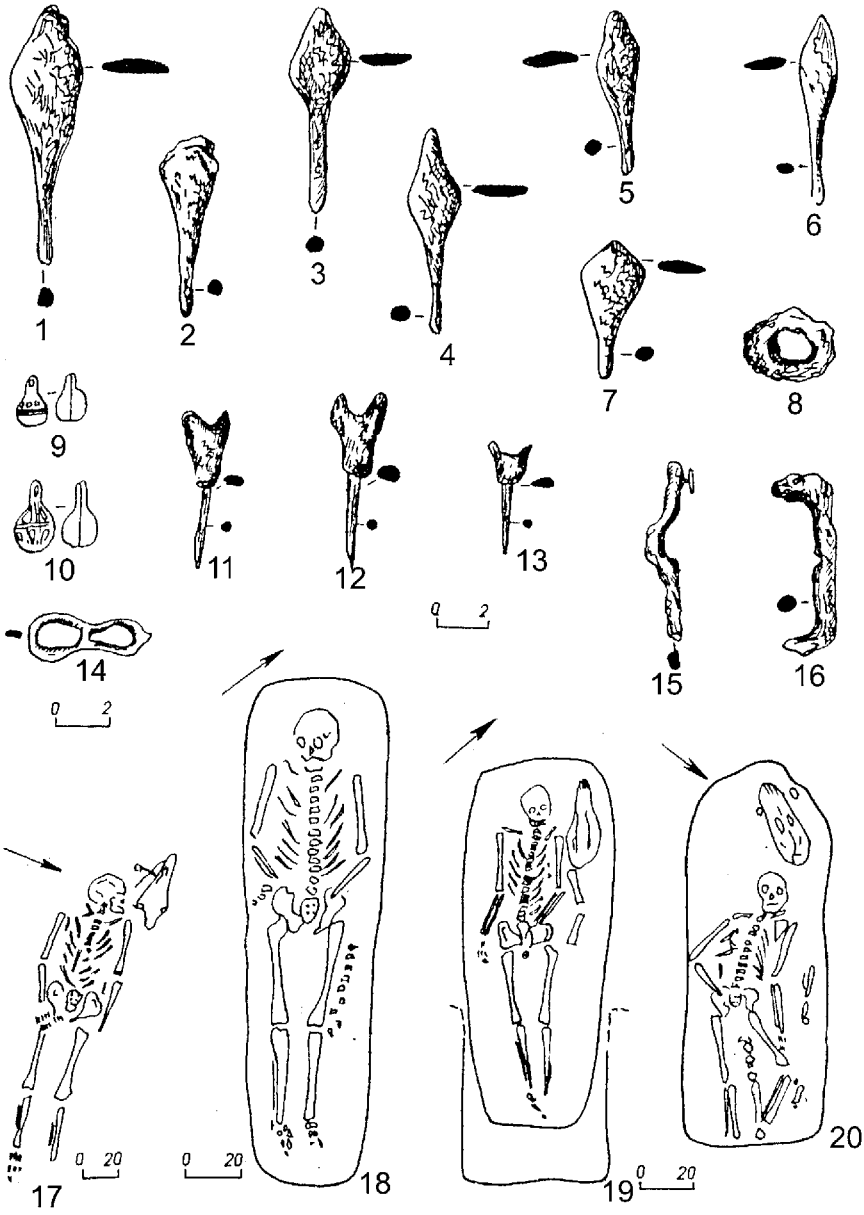

Fig. 49. Plan of some Turkic nomads' graves (17– 20) and their funerary inventory (1–16) at Iablona (1–7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18), Plavni (8, 11–14, 17), Calanciac (19) and Limanskoe-"Fricăţei" (20).

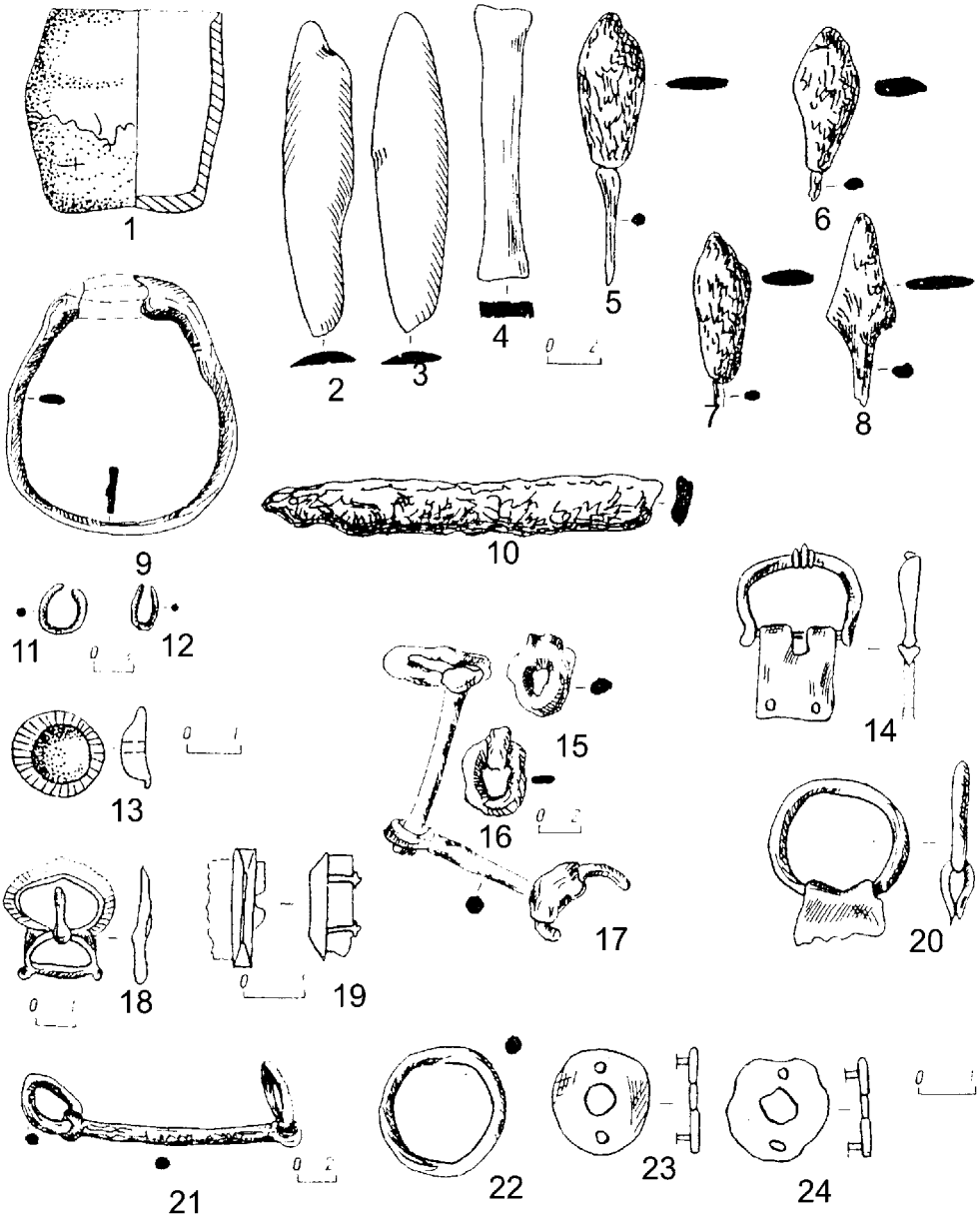

Fig. 50. Clay pot (1), horn (2–4) and metal (5–24) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Belolesie (1, 9, 21), Limanskoe-"Fricăţei" (2–8, 10), Joltâi Iar (11, 12), Plavni (13), Ciauş (14–17, 19, 20, 22–24) and Ogorodnoe (18).

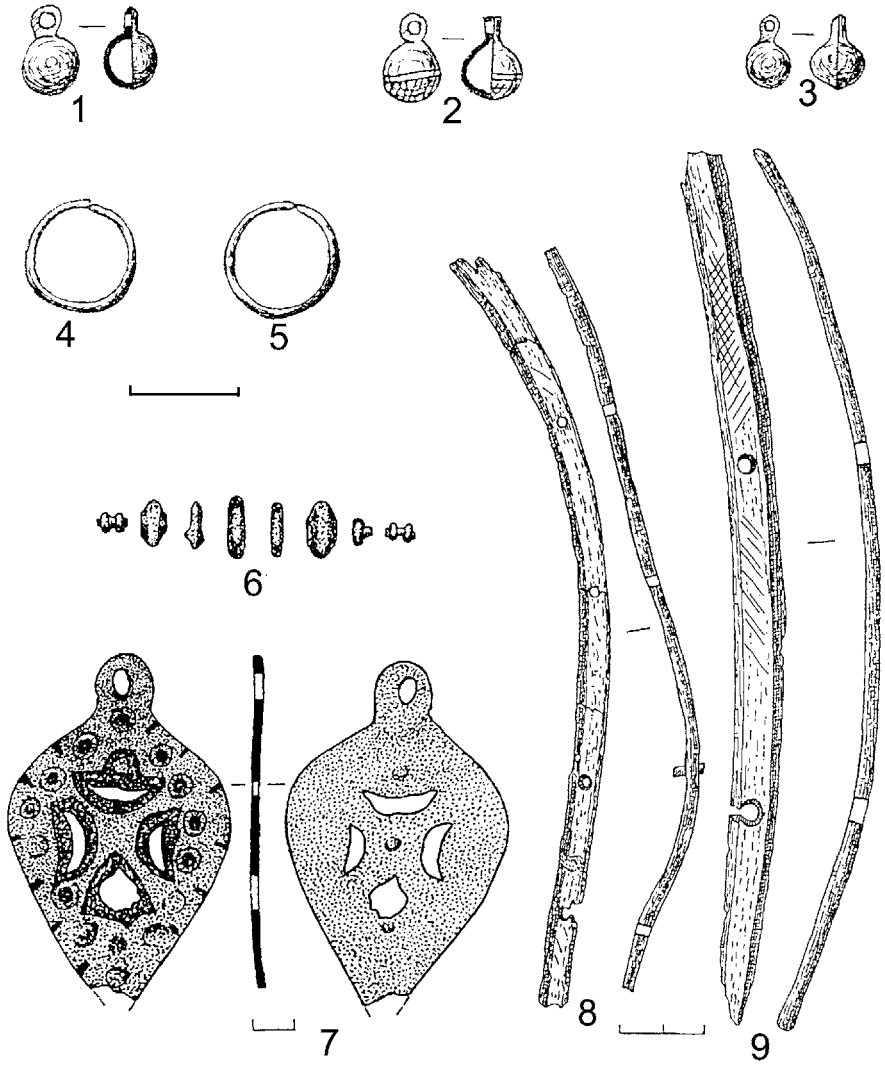

Fig. 51. Metal (1–5, 7), glass (6) and horn (8, 9) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Bolgrad (1–5), Palanca (6, 7) and Balabanu (8–9).

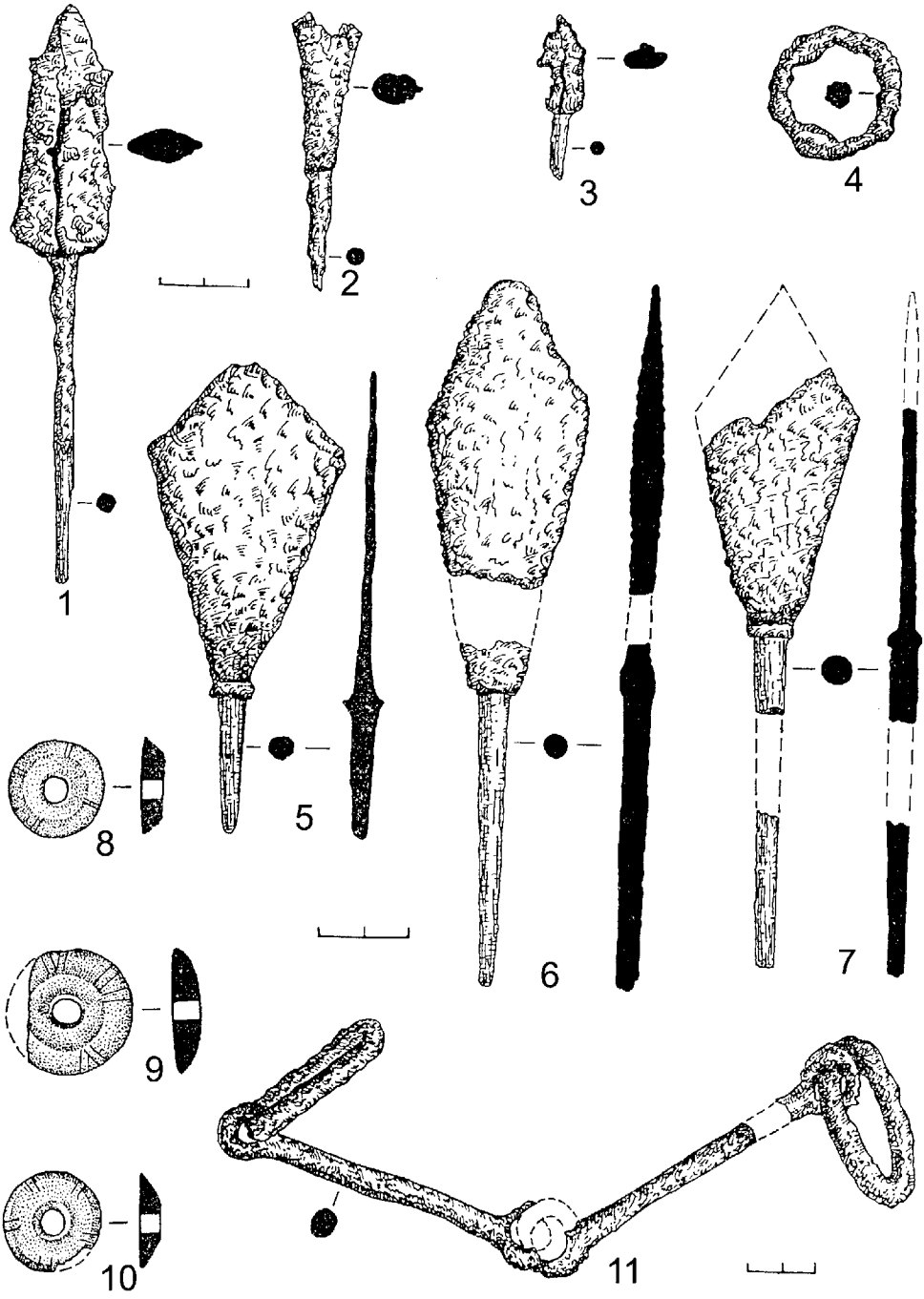

Fig. 52. Iron (1–7, 11) and bone (8–10) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Balabanu.

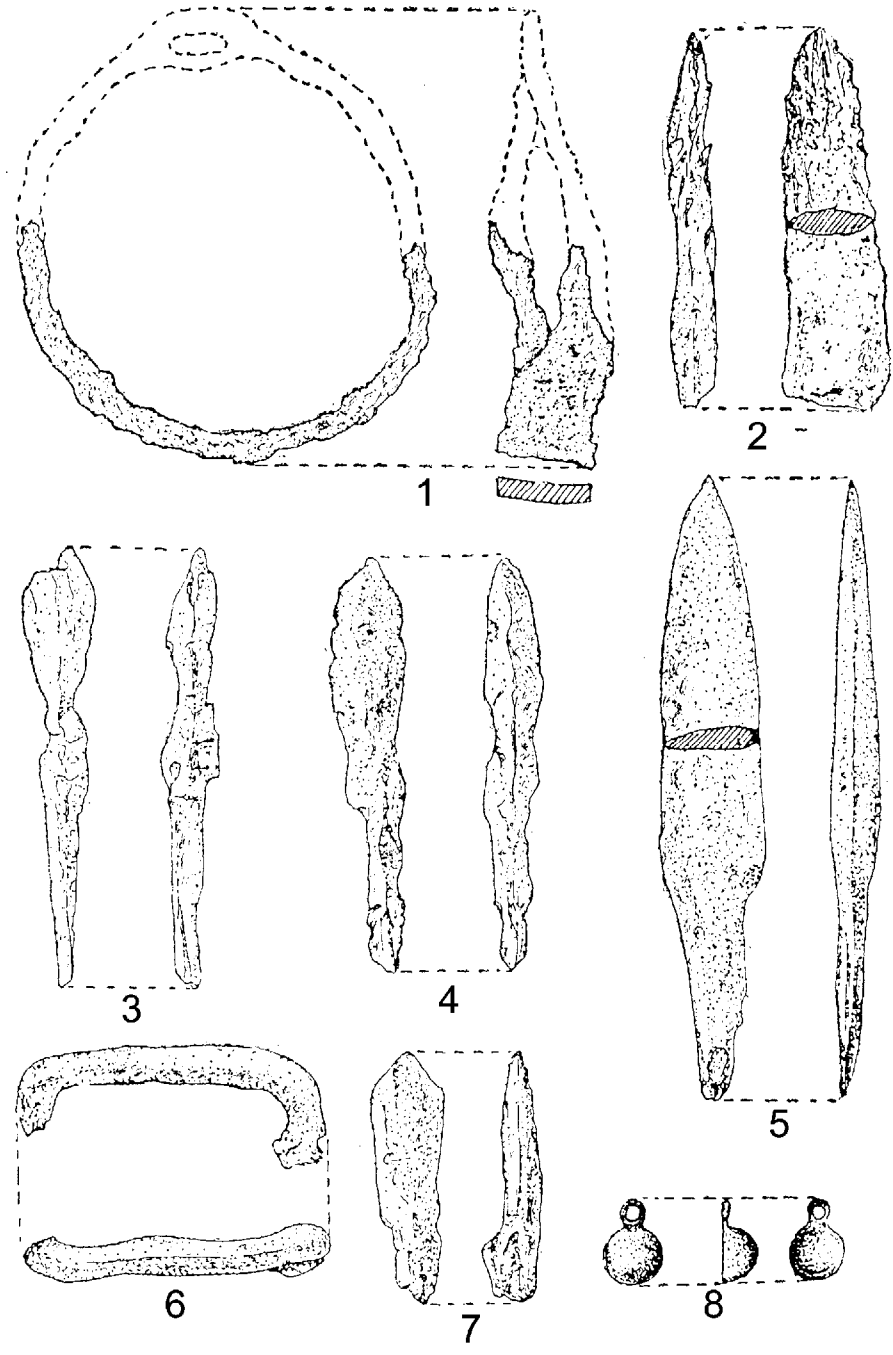

Fig. 53. Iron (1–7) and copper (8) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Roma.

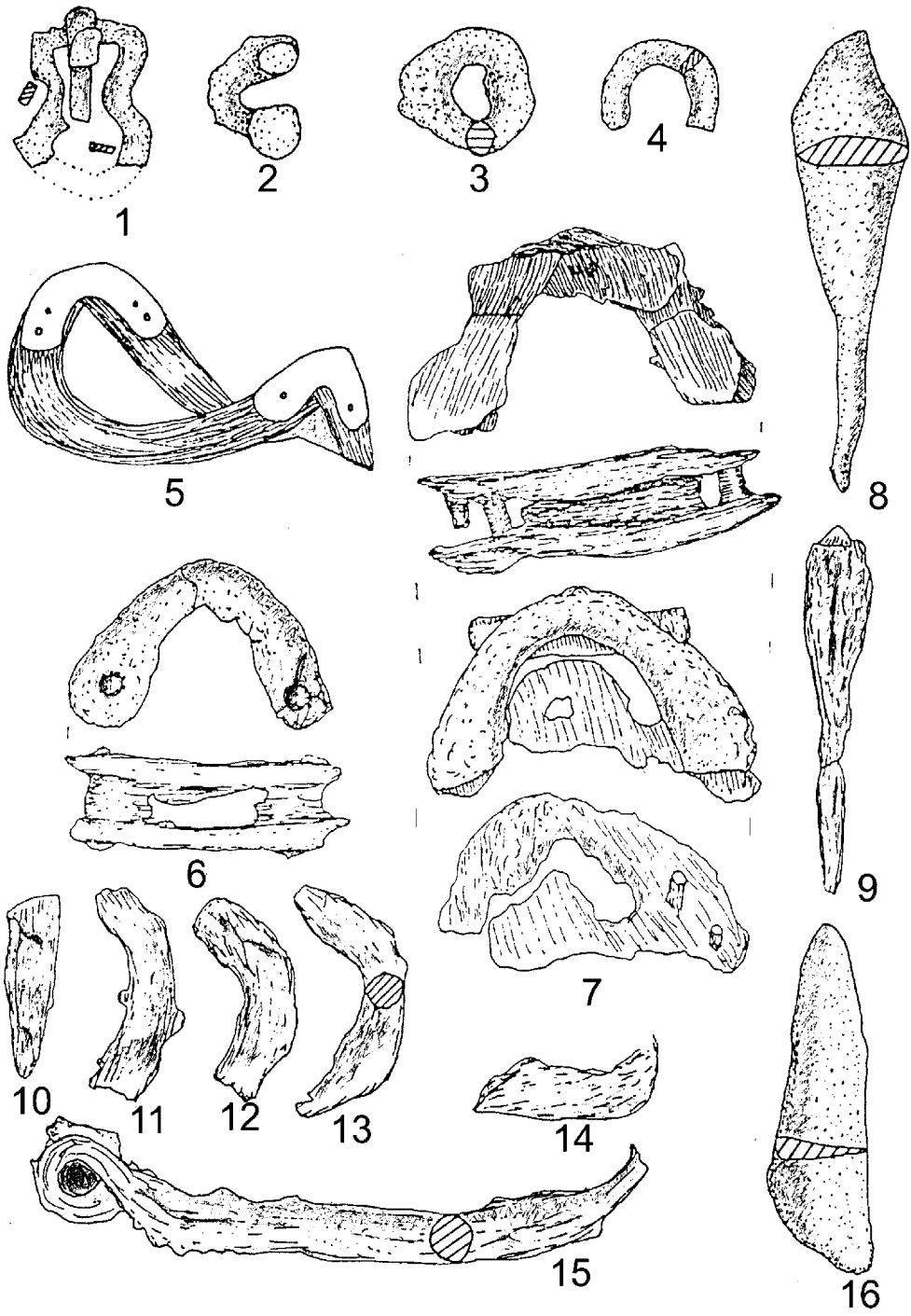

Fig. 54. Iron (1–4, 8–16), iron and wood (6, 7) objects and a saddle reconstruction (5) from the funerary inventory of a Turkic nomads' grave at Matca.

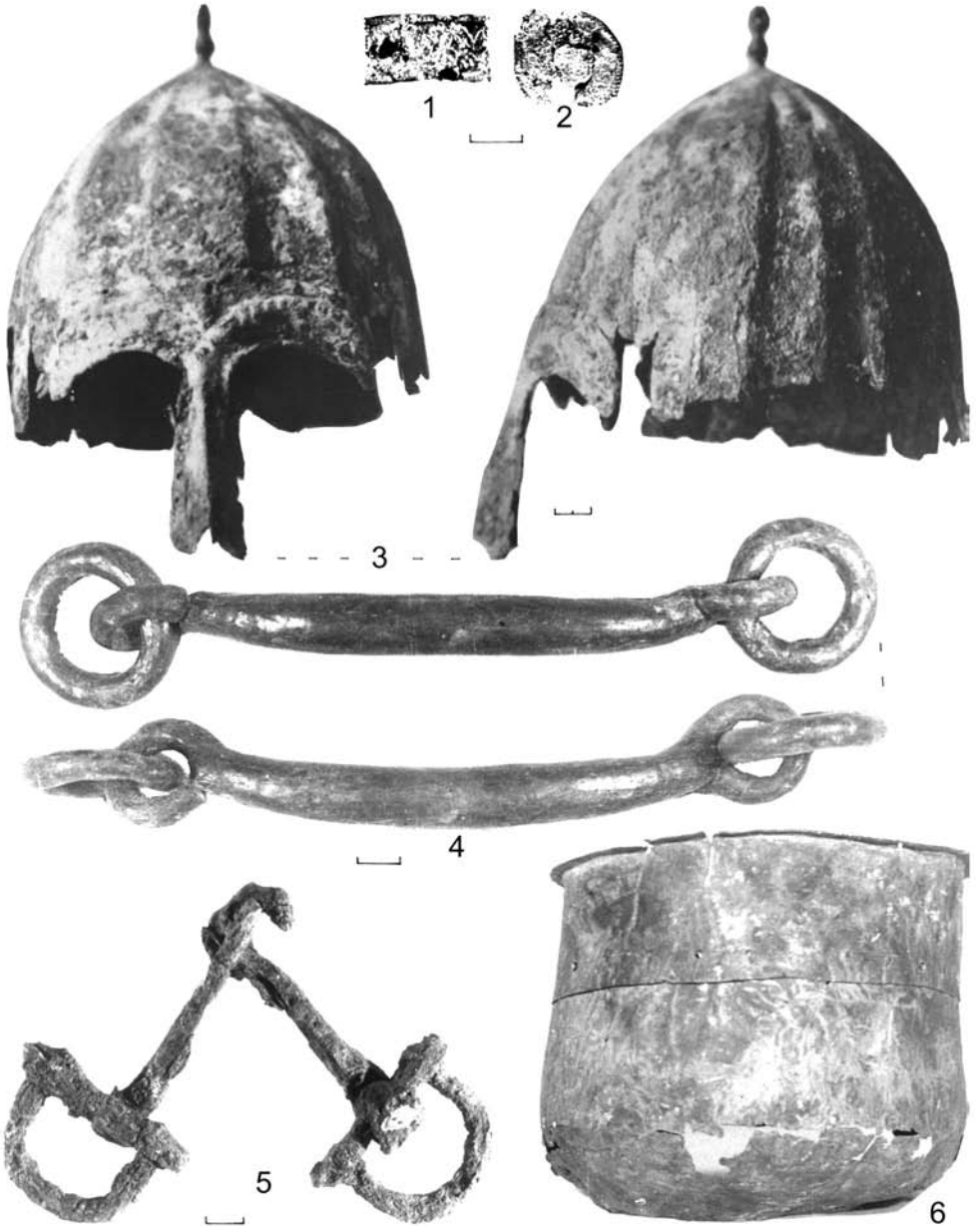

Fig. 55. Gold (1, 2), silvered iron (3), iron (4, 5) and copper (6) objects from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Pogoneşti (1, 2, 5, 6), Moscu (3) and Griviţa-Vaslui (4).

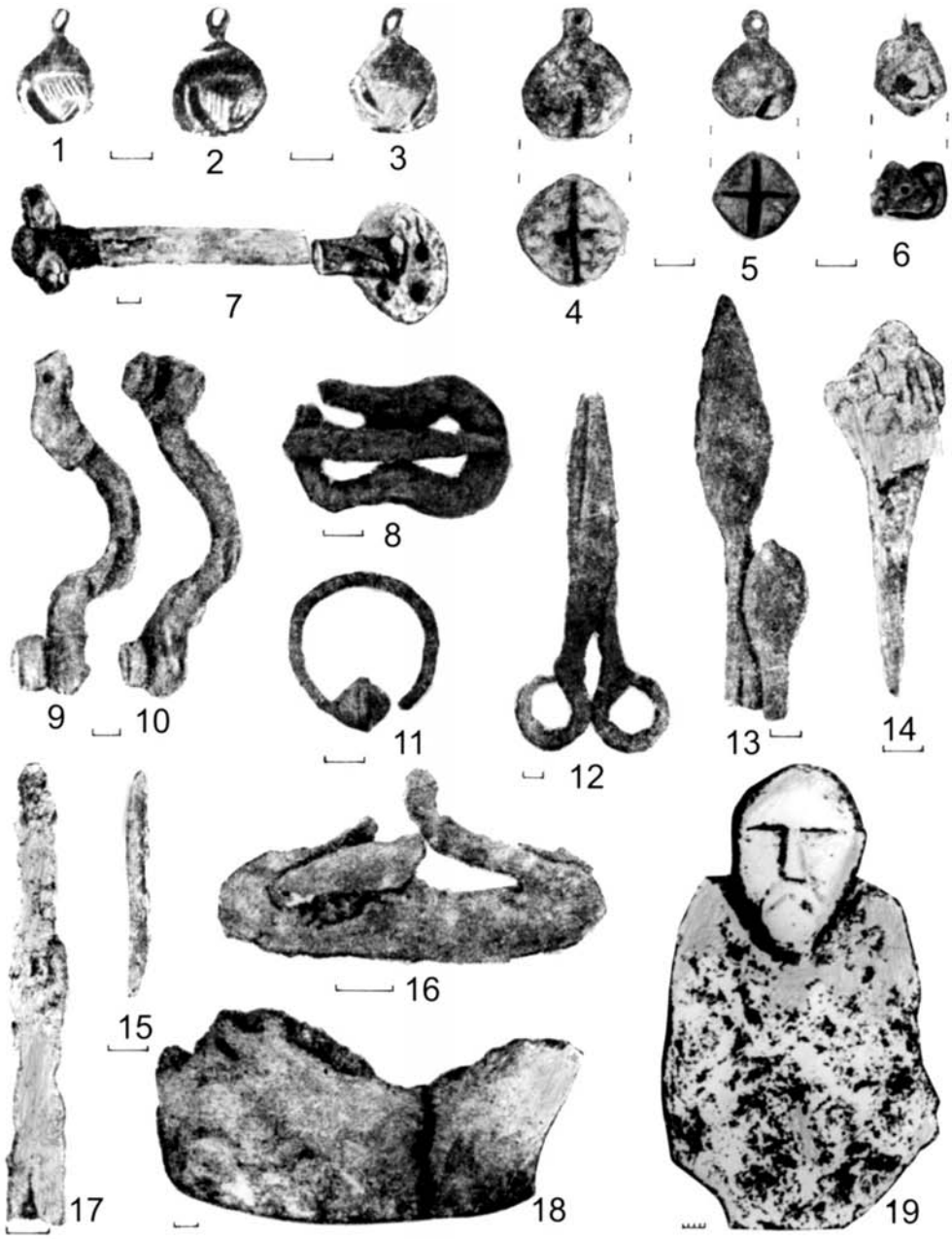

Fig. 56. Metal objects (1–17) and fragment of a clay pot (18) from the funerary inventory of the Turkic nomads' graves at Tudora (1–3) and Grădişte (4–18) and a stone statue at Năduşita (Gribova) (19).

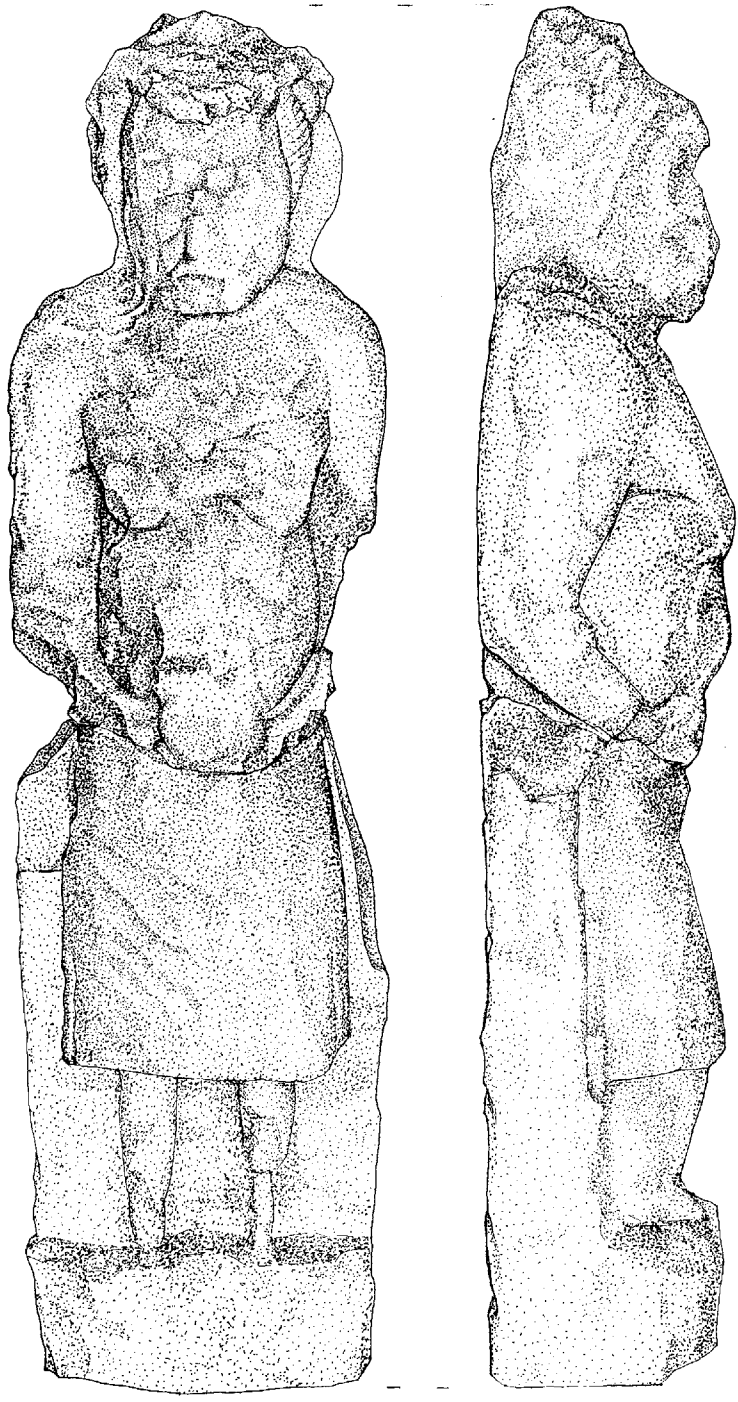

Fig. 57. Stone statue (*kamennaia baba*), attributed to the Cumans, from an unidentified place in the north-Pontic steppes, preserved in the Moldavian Historical Museum of Iaşi.

Fig. 58. Stone statues (*kamennye baby*), representing Cuman men, from the north-Pontic steppes.

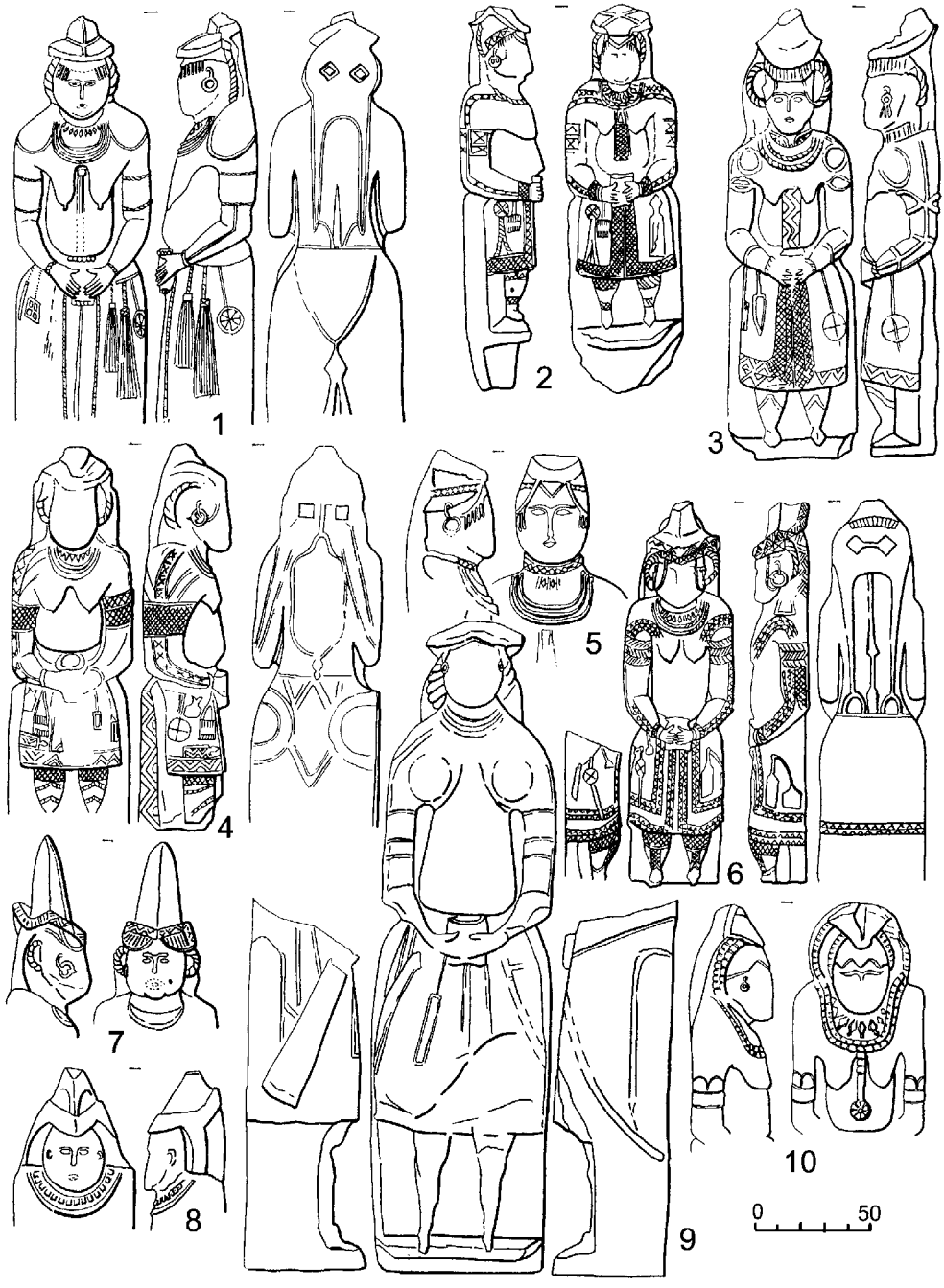

Fig. 59. Stone statues (*kamennye baby*), representing Cuman women, from the north-Pontic steppes.

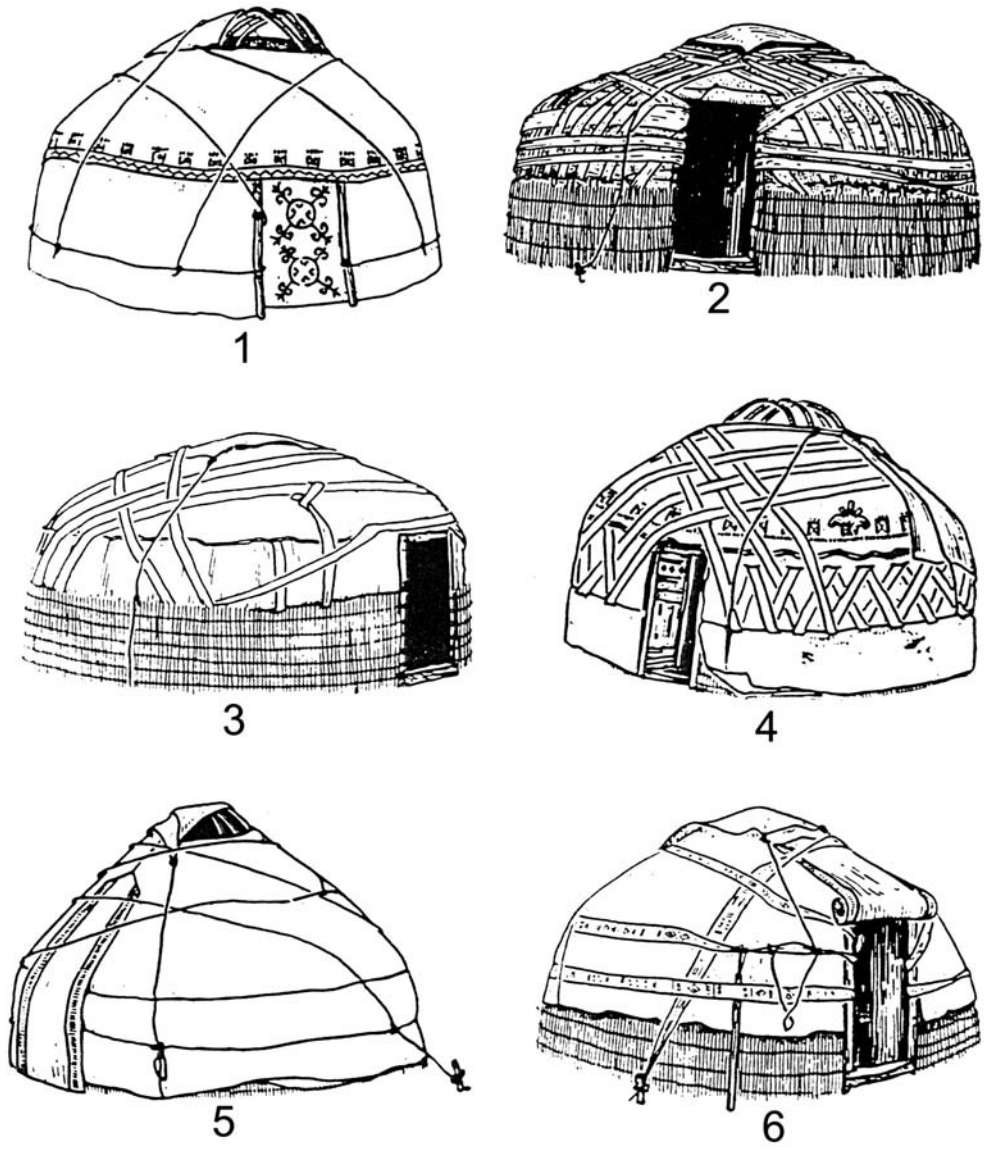

Fig. 60. Types of trellis tent of nomads from the steppe zone of Eurasia: Southern Qirqiz (1, 4), Qunrad Özbek (2), Laqay Özbek (3) and Northern Qirqiz (5, 6).

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